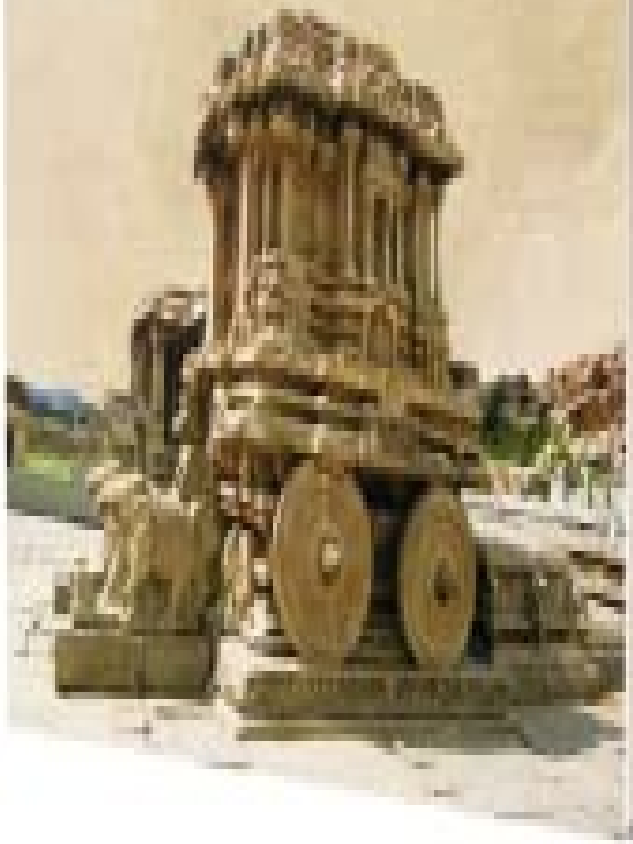
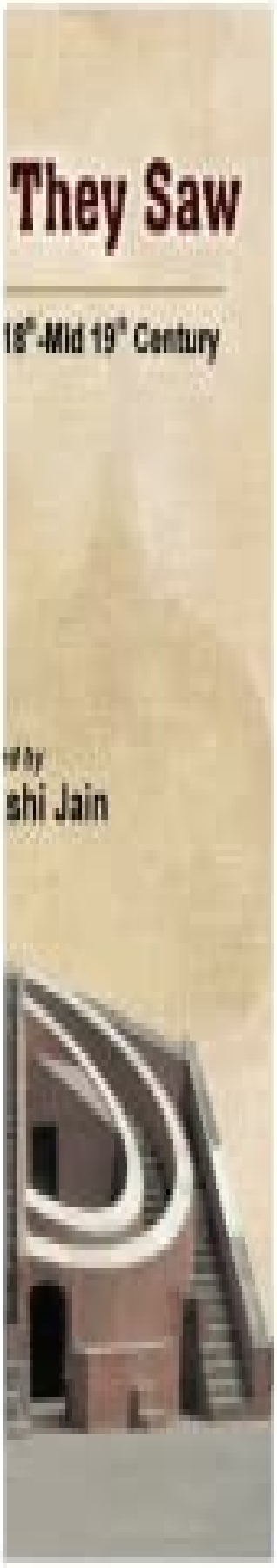
The India They Saw

Foreign Accounts : 8th-15th Centuries

Edited by
Meenakshi Jain





The India They Saw

Foreign Accounts : 5th Century BC-7th Century AD

Edited by

Sandhya Jain

THE INDIA THEY SAW

Foreign Accounts : 5th Century BC-7th Century AD
(Volume I)

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Prabhat Books
A Division of Prabhat Prakashan
ISO 9001:2008 Publishers

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

In the year 2004, on returning from South East Asia, Nobel Prize recipient, Sir Vidia Naipaul requested us to arrange a meeting with a group of Delhi based thinkers to share the impressions of his visit. He was simply overwhelmed with what he saw in South East Asian countries like Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia etc. We hurriedly, invited about twenty people to a get together with Sir Vidia. The meeting held on June 15, 2004 was attented by Sarva Shri Dinanath Mishra, Balbir Punj, Brij Kishore Sharma, Shankar Saran, Meenakshi Jain, Sandhya Jain, Ram Madhav, Devendra Swarup and some others. Sir Vidia described how he was astonished to see deep Indian cultural influence in the region not only in the past but even today. He felt sad that present day Indians appeared to have little recollection of the grandeur of their ancient civilization and its lasting contribution to the world civilization. He felt strongly that it would be a worth while endeavour to prepare a compendium of foreign perceptions of India down the ages.

During later discussions, it was decided that the project would cover the period from earliest times up to the mid-nineteenth century, the changed sensibility towards India thereafter consequent to the establishment of the British Colonial rule, being well known. The present volumes are the result of these deliberations.

We are thankful to Sandhya Jain and Meenakshi Jain for agreeing to take up the project despite their other professional commitments and completing it so meticulously. We are grateful to Prof. Devendra Swarup for having agreed to coordinate the project till its fruition. Sandhya Jain compiled and edited the material for the first volume, while Meenakshi Jain prepared the remaining three volumes. Both of them have recorded their experiences and impressions in detailed Introductions to their respective volumes separately.

We wish to place on record our heartfelt gratefulness to Sir Vidia for not only conceiving the project, but also for painstakingly going through volumes I and III and making many valuable suggestions which the editors have attempted to incorporate. We feel indebted to Prof. Lokesh Chandra and Dr. B.M. Pande for their valuable contribution in the preparation of the first volume. We are highly grateful to Prof. Devendra Swarup, without

whose continuous active guidance and involvement, this ambitious project would not have seen the light of the day.

We are conscious that many other compilations of foreign accounts on India are already available, but we do feel that this series of four volumes will add much to the present knowledge of our readers in this area and also pave the way for publication of many other volumes based on the first hand study of the original sources in foreign languages other than English as, it was painfully discovered during the preparation of these volumes that most of the material still lies untranslated into English, which is the only window available to most of the Indian Scholars. With this Note, we offer these volumes to our readers and cordially invite their comments and suggestions, which would help us to improve the quality of the later editions.

INTRODUCTION

The idea of a compilation on India through the eyes of incredulous and enchanted foreign observers was mooted by Sir Vidia Naipaul during a conversation in October 2004, with a view to providing contemporary readers with a bird's-eye view of how this ancient land has ever fascinated and attracted the merchant, the student, the curious, the adventurer, and the devout. These accounts by outsiders offer valuable insights into the history and culture of an epoch in which Indian records were generally deficient from the perspective of modern scholars. The classical writers (mainly Greeks and Romans) and Buddhist pilgrims (Chinese, Koreans) who traversed the region in the early historical period bore witness to the sheer abundance of India's material civilisation, the vastness and variety of her landscape, and her well-earned reputation for spiritual and philosophical efflorescence.

For students of Indian history, these testimonies have proved exceptionally helpful in piecing together the political history of the land and gleaning information on a host of worldly matters on which the native Indian literature of the same period was lacking. Indian tradition tended to portray historical persons and events, traditions, social, moral, legal, and economic issues, from a civilisational perspective, with a view to providing instruction on *dharma* (the Hindu moral paradigm), *artha* (wealth, prosperity and well-being), *kama* (worldy desires and aspirations) and *moksa* (salvation)[1]. Rooted in the poetic labours of *Sutas* and *Magadhas*, royal eulogists who preserved the genealogies of the gods, sages, kings and heroes, these became the bedrock of our *itihasa-purana* tradition, the sources for the myriad *Puranas*, and *Itihasas* such as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, which, G.P. Singh argues, "include almost all the elements of historical tradition"[2]. By the age of the Imperial Guptas, royal archives evolved, though these were prone to destruction during periods of political unrest.[3]

Early European travellers and colonial historians tended to dismiss the Indian system of codifying the key facts and lessons of history as mythology, though A.L. Basham conceded, "...we have ample evidence to show that great empires rose and fell in India, and that, as in religion, art,

literature and social life, so in political organisation India produced her own system, distinctive in its strength and weakness."[4] For Europeans inheriting the Greek tradition of historiography, the Indian system of recording chronology in a cosmic time-scale of *yugas* (aeons) was incomprehensible, though modern scientists, astronomers, and climatologists debunking the hysteria over 'global warming' are working along the time-scales of Hindu cosmology. Kalhana's medieval text, *Rajatarangini*, is generally hailed as the first historical account based on proper chronology, though it too deferred to the *Puranas* as source materials. Indeed, no account of Indian history can bypass the ancient traditions and source materials as Indian history is simultaneously civilisational and chronological.

From a modern perspective, however, it must be admitted that India's early indigenous literary corpus is often difficult to date with even reasonable accuracy. The Jainas took to writing early and scrupulously dated all their manuscripts (and monuments and sculptures); modern historians have neglected to scour their literature to settle problems of disputed chronology in India. With regard to the classical writers, however, there is broad academic agreement over the dates of their travels and writings. They had an inquiring mind and eagerly sought details about the religious and worldly lives (which they delineated strictly) of the Indian natives they encountered.

These ancient adventurers were interested in the political history and forms of government, administrative and social systems, military techniques and rules of warfare, taxes, climate and physical landscape, rivers, hills, mountains, flora and fauna, agriculture, trade and commerce, ports, mineral resources, mining and deep sea excavation, social and economic conditions of the Indian kingdoms, the morals and manners of the people, the religious diversity and coexistence, and the actual as well as the ideal conduct of kings. They were enthralled by the multitude of tribes and their linguistic varieties, as also the unique Indian ability to communicate secular and sacred ideas across differences of tribe and language, so that India presented a matchless cultural continuity even in that primeval epoch; they were also impressed by the innumerable settlements (villages, fortified cities) that they encountered.

In our own era, the classical records facilitated the identification of archaeological discoveries, which have deepened our knowledge of the hoary past immeasurably. Yet a word of caution is in order as, for all the light they throw upon ancient society, many authors were so enchanted at arriving in a land so remote from their own – whose civilisational accomplishments had reached their own shores – that they betrayed immense gullibility, swallowing without introspection implausible tales of fabulous races, mythical creatures, and supernatural attainments. Their credulity is surprising in view of the fact that the ancient Greeks themselves possessed a vast intellectual repertoire, with a sophisticated genre of literature and drama, and knowledge of the disciplines of history, geography, mathematics and astronomy, and several well developed schools of philosophy.

Some of this confusion has been attributed to the Greek domination of Egypt and northern Africa, and their tendency to equate India with Ethiopia (Sudan region), a fallacy that persisted even after the voyages of merchants and the travails of Alexander had opened this part of the world to their scrutiny. This partially explains the otherwise inexplicable medley of society and customs, race and colour, topography, geography, climate, flora and fauna that the Greeks reported to their native audience. Even the highly erudite Philostratus thought that the Ethiopians were an Indian people who revolted against their king Ganges and killed him; this led to their expulsion from India, whereafter they settled near Egypt, forming Ethiopia.[5]

Modern scholars trace much of this confusion to Alexander, who carried his own chroniclers along on his campaign to Persia and India; they recklessly transposed Greek mythology and even topography on to the Indian landscape, as part of an exercise to impress their domestic audience regarding their king's heroic exploits. Thus they superimposed or equated their gods Bacchus, Prometheus, Dionysus and Herakles with divinities encountered in India, and insisted their gods had visited this land in the hoary past and bequeathed to it its present religion. Nowhere did the Greek writers pause to wonder why, if that were indeed the case, there was so little in common between their own customs, religious practices and philosophies, and those of the ancient Hindus whose lands they were seeking to conquer.

Respecting the good sense, taste, and enhanced awareness of the modern reader, we have eliminated from the present selection most of the utterly absurd stories which invited the contempt of even contemporary (and later) Greek and Roman scholars, in favour of narratives that showcase the exalted philosophical speculations, unique social customs, and the natural wealth and material abundance that mesmerised India's foreign guests. Our selections from these authors follow conventional chronology, as we believe chronology is the skeleton of history. A brief biographical sketch of the respective authors gives modern readers a flavour of the range of their original and surviving corpus, their mental and physical exertions to acquire and depict an accurate picture of the country, and their success in gleaning information about the land and people in the face of complex difficulties of communication and comprehension. What emerges is an impressive continuity of India's civilisational journey, her ideas and philosophies, customs and practices, material wealth and grandeur, and, above all, her early and unique ability to marry mundane existence to the quest for spiritual truth and liberation.

Despite an often peculiar cocktail of fact and fiction, the classical texts are a treasure trove of information about political history, contemporary rulers, forms of government, administrative institutions, military weapons and rules of warfare, geography, flora, fauna, mineral wealth, natural wealth of rivers and agricultural produce, economic issues like taxation, articles of trade and commerce, social customs and religion, monks and asceticism, the personal virtue of women and the hoary practice of *sati* by women and self-immolation by ascetics (both already entrenched practices which made a strong impression upon the Greeks), and a host of other issues. Yet these amateur scribes sometimes mistook tales from the epics and other legends for reality and this may well be the genesis of the fabulous races and unbelievable creatures that dot the pages of India's history as written by her foreign admirers.

At other times, the writers were clearly superimposing Ethiopian facts or fables on to the Indian landscape. Onesicritus claimed that Kathaea elected the most handsome citizen as king, but he was obviously influenced by Herodotus who mentioned this as an Ethiopian custom.[6] His allusion to ebony as a product of Ethiopia[7] was transferred to India by others.[8] Apart

from such obvious inaccuracies, the early European idealisation of India is a legacy of the ancient Greeks. They attributed to Indians great virtues, extraordinary beauty and longevity, benevolence, a highly developed sense of justice, piety and kindness, largely because they did not face any malice or pettiness from the populace, despite the cruelty and violence of most of Alexander's battles.

The rise of Christianity caused Europe to retreat into a cocoon. Thereafter, Buddhist pilgrims who traversed the land between the fourth and the eighth centuries, visiting the major monasteries and sites consecrated by the presence of the Buddha, to study and acquire authentic copies of the scriptures, wrote significant accounts spanning a range of subjects. This uninhibited intellectual and spiritual exploration of India's *sanskritic* culture and way of life came to an abrupt end with the rise of Islam in Arabia in the seventh century, and its outward thrust into Europe, north Africa, central Asia and the Indian sub-continent, where it fought to establish political and religious supremacy.

India's hoary visitors

The Phoenicians[9] were probably the first Mediterranean peoples to explore the Arabian Sea and import Indian products as early as 975 BC. Hiram, king of Tyre, reportedly sent his fleet from Ezion Geber at the Gulf of Aqaba in the Red Sea to obtain 'ivory, apes and peacocks' from the port of Ophir[10] to decorate the palaces and temples of King Solomon. These are generally regarded as Indian products. The Arabian Sea, named Erythraean Sea by the Greeks, linked India to west Asia via the Persian Gulf, probably from the time of the Indus Valley civilisation. Another sea-route to south Arabia at the Red Sea-Arabian Sea junction most likely opened up in c. 1000 BC, when the Sabaens or Himyarites[11] set up cities in southern Hijaz and Hadramaut. Herodotus said the Egyptian ruler Necho (c. 610 BC) sent ships with Phoenician sailors into the Indian Ocean (i.e. Arabian Sea) through the Persian Gulf. Around the same time, Hanno, a Phoenician admiral of Carthage, sailed to India.[12]

Indian philosophy and wisdom captivated the outside world, and there was early contact between Indian and Greek philosophers. Pythagoras (c. 580

BC) and Histaspis, father of the Persian king Darius, reputedly visited India to study philosophy. Some of the authors who virtually shaped the early Mediterranean view of India include:

1. Skylax of Karyanda (also Caryanda), Greek historian and geographer of the sixth century BC. He wrote the first account by a traveller when sent to explore the Indus from Kaspatyros by the Persian king Darius I, who wanted to annex the lower valley of the Indus. He sailed down the Indus to the sea and westward to the Red Sea. His account can be traced in fragments recorded by later writers, which mostly concern legends about India.

2. Hekataeus of Miletus. His *Geography* mentions some Indian names: Indoi, Indus, Kallatiai, Argante, Gandarii, Kaspatyros, and Opiai, a people of the Indus.

3. Herodotus (489-425 BC), *History*.

4. Ktesias (also Ctesias, 489-425 BC) the Knidian, a contemporary of Hippocrates. His *Indika*, written while serving as royal physician at Persia, is a cocktail of fact and fiction, though he confirms Herodotus' documentation of Indian merchandise, merchants, and envoys, thereby signifying regular traffic by land and sea routes.

India's legendary wealth enticed Alexander. Marching through Persia and Afghanistan, he crossed the Jhelum and the Chenab, but could not proceed beyond the Beas as his soldiers and officers became nervous and edgy over the unexpected and sustained ferocity of native resistance. Splitting his forces at the southern mouth of the Indus, he led one part by land and entrusted the other to Nearchus to explore the route to the mouths of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Alexander believed the ocean was nearby as the 'Indian Gulf' (Arabian Sea) formed "one stretch of water with the Persian Gulf, and the Hyrcanian Sea (Caspian Sea) with the Indian Gulf. From the Persian Gulf our fleet shall sail around to Libya, as far as the Pillars of Heracles (Straits of Gibraltar)" [*Anabasis Alexandri,* v. 26.1-3].

Nearchus, a native of Crete, raised and educated at the Macedonian court along with prince Alexander, chronicled his master's invasion of India in 326 BC, along with an account of the perilous voyage to which he owes his

place in history. The sources diverge sharply regarding the total strength of the fleet. Arrian speaks of two thousand vessels; Diodorus of one thousand; in the *Indika* Arrian mentions 800, manned by seafaring communities like the Phoenicians, Cypriots, Carians and Egyptians who served in the army.[13] Nearchus' memoirs, like other early Greek works of the era, are lost; some portions have percolated down to us through the works of Strabo and Arrian (second century AD).

Alexander's retreat is said to have fortified trade routes as he appointed local governors in the provinces through which he marched. His geographers and historians strove to make detailed and accurate reports about their passage in the region. Amyntas' measurements of the daily marches were confirmed by Megasthenes when he visited Chandragupta Maurya at Pataliputra. The geographers found that Indians had a precise knowledge of their land,[14] and thus garnered information about towns, rivers and mountains far beyond the army's ingress. In the division of empire after Alexander's death, Nearchus received Lykia and Pamphylia, which he ruled under the overlordship of Antigonos. The year of his death is unknown; he last finds mention in history in 314 BC.

The geography of the world, particularly of Persia, was of immense interest to the Greeks. They believed that the largest rivers originated in the greatest mountain ranges, and hence regarded the Hindukush as the greatest watershed in Asia from which all rivers, including the Indus, flowed. At the time of Aristotle, Alexander's teacher, there was a raging debate over the flooding of the Nile. The Greeks believed the Red Sea was an enclosed body of water and the Nile flowed southwards and joined the Indus, which also emptied its waters into the Southern Ocean.[15] They maintained that due to this purported connection between the Indus and the Nile, India's monsoon rains triggered the flooding of the Nile in Egypt.

The Greeks made their second attempt at direct contact with India when King Euergetes II of the Ptolemy dynasty of Egypt deputed Eudoxus (115 BC) with a shipwrecked Indian sailor. The two successfully negotiated a round trip of the Malabar coast, returning with a rich harvest of spices and precious stones, which Euergetes seized for having financed the voyage. The hapless Eudoxus set sail again, only to vanish from the radar of history. The knowledge gleaned from these voyages was lapped up eagerly by the

geographers, especially in Alexandria. Working there in the third century BC, Eratosthenes struggled to understand the world on the basis of scientific concepts; the evidence suggests his depiction of India was truer than Ptolemy's four centuries later. Claudius Ptolemy's *Geographia* was translated into Arabic in the eighth century, but we do not know if he made any maps as none have been found. He erred in giving India an east-west coastline; the Chinese knew it was a peninsula.

Envoys to Palimbothra (Patna), such as Megasthenes from the Greek ruler Seleucus I (c. 305 – 304 BC), Deimachus from the Syrian court, and Dionysius from the Egyptian, wrote about India. The Seleucid Empire covered Mesopotamia, northern Syria and western Iran; trade with India was by both land and sea and included items such as teak, spices, jewels, incense, costus (a medicinal plant, Sanskrit *kushtha*) and cinnamon.[16] The envoys gathered information about India's location relative to other countries, her boundaries and shape, length and breadth, physical features, wealth, the character of the people and the nature of their social and political institutions. Most of their data pertained to north India, though the Greek envoy travelled more widely and meticulously collected material for his magnum opus, *Indika*, which became a major sourcebook for subsequent writers. Megasthenes' facts were sometimes mistrusted by writers like Strabo, and as the original is lost, it is difficult to judge the merits of their doubts. R.C. Majumdar felt his recreated corpus suffers from grave deficiencies and deserves only cautious acceptance, as we shall see later.

Megasthenes arrived in India in 302 BC and penned what is generally held to be the first dated account of the times. India ran a lucrative sea-trade with the Persian Gulf ports of Mesopotamia and the Red Sea ports of Egypt. The principal land route was the caravan trail from Taxila to Balkh. A few decades later, Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka, sent monks to Greece and Egypt to spread the message of Buddha. Preceptors were also sent to Sri Lanka, southeast Asia, China, Tibet and Mongolia, stimulating a sharp rise in visitors from these regions, compelling later rulers to keep track of the movements of foreigners.

By the time the Romans became the predominant power in the Mediterranean, the region had a roaring sea trade with India. The Romans

set up trading stations along the west coast, as evidenced by the discovery of their coins. So great was the flow of silver and gold from Rome that Pliny protested in the Senate against Rome's one-way trade with India; but India had no use for any Roman produce.

Indian merchandise reached the port of Berenike (also Berenica)[17] on the Red Sea. History credits Egyptian navigator Hippalus with unravelling the secret of the regularity of the monsoon winds and being the first foreigner to sail directly across the Arabian Sea to Mouziris (Cranganore)[18], though Indian sailors were obviously using the monsoon currents much earlier. Pliny said boats left Berenike in mid-summer and sailed to the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, after which they took another forty days to reach Mouziris. Alexander's contemporary, Strabo, witnessed 120 ships sailing from Myos Hormos[19] on the Egyptian coast to India.[20]

The return trip began in December, under a north-east wind, till the boats entered the Arabian Gulf and met with a south or south-west wind. This made a round trip possible in the course of a year. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, written in the mid-first century AD, gives a detailed account of the voyage and the goods traded at each port. The *Periplus* refers to several navigational techniques that enabled sailors to identify the approaching coast by observing changes in the colour of the water and the presence of sea-snakes. As sailing in the Indian Ocean was determined by the cycle of the monsoon winds, the correct interpretation of natural phenomena was critical for success at sea.[21]

Susan Gole[22] says there must have been several sailors' manuals in this period, though the *Periplus* is the only one concerning India which has survived. It provides the first detailed description of local boats in the Indian Ocean in the early centuries CE. On India's south-west coast, the *Periplus* describes the *sangara*, large dugout canoes held together by a yoke, and the huge *kolandiophonta* that sail across to Chryse and the Ganga region (section 60). Pliny refers to 'canoes made of hollowed tree-trunks' used to transport pepper from the district of Cottonara to Becare in south India (*Historia Naturalis* VI. xxvi. 104-6).[23]

A modern copy of a manual in the Kutchi dialect of Gujarat survives, but nothing is known of its origins. The early Indians were inveterate travellers by land and sea, and it is quite remarkable that no sea charts have survived as it appears logical that sailing directions would have been written down and followed. Indeed, literary sources indicate the use of charts, the Sanskrit terms being *citra* or *alekhya*, painting or delineation.[24] Buddhaswami's fifth-century text, *Brhatkathaslokasamgraha*, refers to details of a particular sea, direction and place being inscribed on a wooden board with a cover (*samputaka*) and used to locate a lost ship.[25]

Unlike the Greeks, the Romans had no patience with geographical speculation and theory. Their maps of Asia survive in the Peutinger Tables, a twelfth or thirteenth century copy of a map made around the first century AD. Spread across twelve sheets, it is a road map of all principal roads of the empire. The eleventh sheet showing India has few details; what is pertinent is that it is based on information different from that available to Ptolemy.[26]

Post-Christian era writers relied mostly on secondary sources and lacked personal knowledge. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* probably visited the seats of commerce on the western seaboard and collated information for the benefit of Greek merchants and traders on the route between Egypt, India and East Africa. His text is in *koine* Greek, a dialect easily understood by merchants and traders, and enumerates the coasts to be avoided along with the major landfalls: "to set a course along the coast of Arabia is altogether risky, since the region offers poor anchorage, is foul with rocky stretches, cannot be approached because of cliffs, and is fearsome in every respect" (section 20).[27]

Kosmas (also Cosmas) Indikopleustes (Indian voyager), a merchant who later became a Christian monk (probably Nestorian), was in western India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) from 535 to 547 AD, and seems to have visited the Malabar coast. His *Topographia Christiana* describes India's trade with Sri Lanka and countries berthing at its southern coasts. The Tamils had already made a mark trading in pepper, pearls and beryls, which drew merchants from east and west. The *Periplus* and *Topographia* contain a wealth of information garnered from traders, travellers visiting India, envoys from

India to the emperors at Rome or Constantinople, and from Indians themselves settled in Alexandria.

No significant travelogue exists between 302 BC and 535 AD, though some secondary historical accounts appeared. The Greek ruler of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelpus (285-247 BC) sent Dionysius as envoy to the Maurya ruler Bindusara. Greeks from Egypt were frequent visitors to India in the third century BC; Greek names for certain items of common use came to resemble their Tamil equivalents. Claudius Ptolemy, Alexandrian astronomer, mathematician and geographer, drew a map of India, which was published in 1475.[28]

Maritime commerce with China

India's maritime commerce with China goes back to 680 BC when her merchants sailed eastwards, marketing Indian products such as rubies, pearls, and sugar. They set up Indian colonies in Pegu, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra and Borneo and trading settlements in southern China and the Malayan peninsula. In the first century BC, the Kushans of the Yueh-chi tribe settled in Bactria began to press into India and it was during their rule that Indian sages made inroads into China. The earliest reference to India in Chinese works dates from the second century BC and speaks of *Yan-tu* or *Yin-tu*, meaning Hindu, and *Shin-tu* meaning Sindhu. After Hiuen Tsang's extensive travels in the mid-seventh century, maps were made in China to illustrate his book, the *Si Yu Ki*. These divided India into five parts, hence the reference to *Five Indies* or *Gotenjiku Zu*.

Chinese pilgrims coming to India to pay homage at the sacred Buddhist sites and to procure copies of manuscripts of the Buddha's teachings had a clear idea of the shape of the country. Fa-hien, the first important monk to arrive, began his journey by land in 399 AD, via the south of the Gobi Desert and Yarkand, and entered India through the Indus Valley. Besides the central Asian route, there were two other overland routes from China to India. The one through Yunan province, Upper Burma and Assam was not commonly used; the other was through Tibet and Nepal. Fa-hien spent a decade (AD 401?-412?) in northern India, living for three years in Pataliputra. He arrived during the reign of Chandragupta II. Though primarily concerned with the study of Buddhism, accomplished at

Pataliputra, he described many cities, rulers and other interesting facts in his narrative. He noted that India is narrow towards the south and broad towards the north, like the faces of its people.

These early Buddhist pilgrims endured great hardships of travel and communication in their ardent desire to understand Buddhist theology and ritual. Their writings are more lucid than those of the classical authors, but by no means exempt from similar gullibility.

Exceptions to this malady include I-tsing who focused upon the purity of Buddhist ritual and the life sketches of Chinese and Korean monks visiting India around the time of his own stay in the country, and the somewhat pedantic Korean Hye Ch'O (Chinese, Hui Chao), who arrived when the armies of the new faith of Islam were cutting through central Asia. Though historically important, Hye Ch'O's work survives only in the form of a fragment, which suffers many deficiencies, but as it is little known outside the world of scholars, we have deemed it appropriate to reproduce it in full for the benefit of the general reader.

Alexander: Curiosities of a well chronicled story

Any narrative about ancient India's foreign chroniclers necessarily begins with the audacious ingress of the Macedonian king into the region, and his unceremonious withdrawal from the shores of the Beas. Although there is evidence of cultural and commercial exchanges between India and the regions of the Arabian Sea and Persian Gulf prior to Alexander's advent, western historians have insisted on giving the king the credit for opening India up to the western world. The youthful Alexander has cast an enduring spell upon Western literary and historical traditions. His pronounced sense of his place in history led him to take his own historians along on his conquest; they in turn depicted him in a manner consistent with the expectations of a Greek audience, even if this involved taking some liberties with truth. In this sense, his expedition was simultaneously as much mythical as it was factual.

The prevalent Greek historical tradition of the time may well explain the curious discrepancies in the accounts of history's most famous invasion. The Greeks maintained copious records from very early times, and Alexander himself wrote lengthy epistles to his mother. His admiral Nearchus, master pilot Onesicritus, geographer Aristobulus, and general

Cleitarchus penned what were purported to be eye-witness accounts of the various battles of the Indian campaign. Subsequent Greek scholars regarded the narratives of Onesicritus and Cleitarchus as untrustworthy, though Arrian accessed Aristobulus' work.

Despite Alexander's precautions, the earliest surviving histories of his conquests originate in the Roman Empire only three centuries later, in response to new political needs. They begin with Diodorus Siculus' *Bibliotheke*, a universal history; Plutarch comes more than a century later, when Rome was the ascendant power in the Mediterranean.[29] The works of Arrian, Strabo, Curtius Rufus, Justinus, and the unknown author of the *Itinerarium Alexandri Magni*, written for the guidance of Emperor Constantius II in his war against Persia, reputedly rest upon the original accounts of Alexander's own scribes.

Contemporary scholars are reappraising the hitherto accepted legends regarding Alexander's Indian conquest. The influence of the Macedonian encounter on Indian culture, followed by Greek settlements in Bactria and its environs, is being subjected to fresh scrutiny in the light of new research. Hitherto, the sources regarding Alexander's successes were mainly textual, in the form of chronicles, letters (some of dubious value), myths, and above all, colonial interpretations of their historical significance. Archaeological excavations over the past decades, however, have yielded coins, inscriptions, and the remains of settlements, which are being scrupulously analysed. What emerges is a view that Alexander, and later the Indo-Greeks, were confined to the periphery of Indian polity and culture, and hence failed to impact upon the larger Indian consciousness.

Historians have generally agreed that the campaigns in Bactria and India were brutal and tough, and the purported victory against king Porus his greatest military success. At Hydaspes (Jhelum), Alexander faced a numerically superior foe; Greek writers show great deference towards Porus, portraying him as an impressive warrior, five cubits (over two metres) tall, handsome, proud and magnificent astride his war elephant. When the battle was lost, he did not flee the carnage in the manner of Darius the Great King, but continued to fight with his troops until, wounded on the right shoulder and weak from loss of blood, he finally turned away.

Impressed at his heroism and grandeur, Alexander wished to save his life and deputed his lieutenants to bring Porus to him.

Both the battle and the daring strategies which gave Alexander the upper hand in the contest have been diligently examined by scholars. There are many inconsistencies in the accounts that have come down to us, though the generals Aristobulus and Ptolemy, as also the garrulous Coenus, were supposed to have been present. Plutarch claimed his version was based on Alexander's description of the battle in his letters. Arrian simply recorded the differing versions of Aristobulus and Ptolemy though, as a younger contemporary of Plutarch, he would have been aware of Alexander's letters, which may reasonably be considered the definitive version of the encounter, and it is certainly curious that Arrian neglected to refer to them. There are similar variations in narratives regarding Porus' defence, capture, and speech before Alexander. Hence modern scholars doubt the Greek version of this battle; all surviving accounts have been written many centuries after the event.

According to the conventional narrative, Porus fought valiantly, and when finally defeated, met the conqueror with remarkable equanimity and grace. On being asked by the victor how he would like to be treated, he famously responded: "Treat me, O Alexander, in a kingly way!" Awed, the conqueror reinstated Porus as king of the Pauravas, adding substantially to his realm,[30] truly a kingly way, and Porus became a loyal friend.

Scholars now doubt if Porus, who emerged from the conflict with a significantly enlarged kingdom, truly came off worst in this martial engagement,[31] especially as Alexander soon thereafter withdrew from India. Having entered the country with 120,000 men and 15,000 horsemen, he withdrew with barely a fourth of the force.[32] Greek accounts of battles with other heroic tribes, particularly during the retreat when no territorial gains were to be made, depict large-scale mayhem with the burning of cities and massacre of the populace and large-scale taking of prisoners. This suggests that Alexander may have faced unremitting hostility from the native tribes, and probably had to fight to clear a passage back home, a situation at variance with the nobility of his encounter with Porus.

Undeniably, India stripped Alexander of his halo of invincibility. The Greeks had some awareness of India's fighting prowess even before

Alexander marched eastwards to vanquish the Persian king Darius III in 331 BC, avenging Greece's previous defeat by Xerxes in 480 BC. Herodotus mentions an Indian (Pathan) contingent that fought at Plataea in 479 BC during Xerxes' invasion of Greece. After Alexander subdued Bactria (modern Turkestan) up to Amu Darya (river Oxus), he crossed the Hindukush in spring 327 BC and engaged with fearsome tribes from a base near modern Kabul. The following year he crossed the Indus and received a cordial reception from the Taxila ruler (near modern Rawalpindi), who had turbulent neighbours. Thereafter, he reputedly defeated Porus (Puru), whose kingdom lay between the Jhelum and the Chenab, before proceeding to the banks of the Beas.

At this legendary spot, at this poignant hour in the political destiny of India, the triumphant Greek army famously mutinied and refused to advance further to combat more puissant warriors for uncertain gains. Greek authors recount Alexander's desperate pleas to his soldiers to quickly complete the remaining wars in the country as its principal power (Porus) stood vanquished and the fabled wealth of the East lay in the lands just beyond, compared to which the bounty from the Persians appeared niggardly. Offering generous bribes, the king promised they would now fill their personal coffers and the whole of Macedonia and Greece with pearls, precious stones, gold, and ivory.[33] Coenus refuted this contention, eloquently enumerating the formidable forces awaiting them across the shore. Coenus' speech – which hardly sounds like the voice of a general of a triumphant army – has also suffered from contradictory reportage. Curtius stressed the distress of the soldiers; Plutarch did not mention it. Diodorus emphasised the 'utmost misery' of the soldiers and Alexander's attempt to placate them by permitting them to plunder[34] and bribing their wives and children.

The subsequent abrupt exodus of the supposedly victorious Greeks has been projected as Alexander's concession to spare his army certain decimation in the arid Indian summer. Whatever the true reason, it cannot be disputed that India was the only land to stop the world conqueror in his tracks by the steadfast resistance of courageous tribes and tiny republics.

Modern scholars view the 'great army' that struck fear in the hearts of the Greek warriors as a diplomatic ruse, as the great historical Indian empire

(the Maurya) did not rise until after Alexander's departure, and that too, in distant Magadha. It is probable that the war elephants that terrified the Greeks were those of Porus,[35] and that the Greek warriors were simply worn out fighting the puny but fierce tribes they encountered all the way after leaving Persepolis, with no commensurate benefits in the form of war booty, thereby exhausting even the gains made in Persia.[36] This may explain Alexander's insignificant impact on India, particularly in the Gangetic plain where new powers were rising, with the result that there is no reference to him in Sanskrit literature. However, the labours of successive Greek historians under the Roman Empire centuries later perpetuated his legend in the Greek, Roman and later even Arab, Persian and European worlds. Alexander's memory was still throbbing in the early centuries of the Christian Era when Philostratus' semi-fictional account of the travels of Apollonius of Tyana shows him visiting Porus' temple where he claims to have seen bronze reliefs of Alexander's feats.[37]

The king retreated via the Indus, devastating all he encountered en route, before finally reaching Susa in Persia in May 324 BC. He died the subsequent year, and by 317 BC, the last vestiges of Greek authority in the Punjab had vanished. Babylonian ruler Seleucus Nikator's attempt to seize Alexander's Indian provinces in 306 BC was rebuffed, and in a treaty the subsequent year, he ceded Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and modern Baluchistan to Chandragupta, in return for 500 elephants.

Modern scholars challenge the veracity of Greek sources in establishing a dependable chronology of Indian history. They view Greek 'reliability' as a colonial legacy, worthy of scrutiny. The early British quest for the Greeks was less a 'scientific' inquiry into India's archaeological heritage and history and more a search for the beginnings of Empire, which the British perceived themselves as inheriting from the Greeks.[38] Similarly, they question the true extent of Alexander's legacy in north India, particularly in the use of Greek as a language of culture, as was the case with Persian in the medieval era.

Percival Spear exemplifies the colonial mindset when he claims Alexander's lasting importance lies in the opening of viable routes between India and the West; his fleet proving the potential of the sea route; his army

the land route via Kabul, Mulla Pass and Baluchistan. These were kept open for two centuries by the Hellenistic Age that followed his advent.

Jean-François Salles counters that Nearchus' voyage, for all its grave dangers and grim privations, was *an escape from India* and not an approach to India. Its principal purpose was to accompany and assist Alexander's return by land, while also sometimes exploring this 'new' region. It is pertinent that Nearchus' records[39] contain hardly any nautical information, at least in Arrian's excerpts. Yet this Alexandrine scheme of entering India via the Hindukush and returning via the Persian Gulf gripped the imagination of Greek writers and was replicated in the third century AD in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, though the sage's adventures supposedly took place in the first century AD.[40] This formula lends credence to the belief that Indian sailors may have assisted Nearchus' journey.

According to his historians, Alexander was keen to personally navigate the whole circuit of the sea from India to Persia. He feared only the length of the voyage and the possibility that the fleet may be marooned on a coast without harbours or proper supplies, thus ruining his hitherto good fortune and reputation for success, which the Greeks were loathe to admit had been tarnished by a puissant and irreverent India! Yet Alexander instantly faced difficulties in finding a commander with the nerve for adventure and glory, and the ability to execute his (Alexander's) plans. Nor was it easy to persuade the Greek soldiers to overcome their fears of the hazardous expedition and mount the ships.[41]

Nearchus offered to lead the expedition to Persia if the sea proved navigable and the journey "within the power of man to perform." In the absence of other volunteers, Alexander had no choice, despite his reluctance to place such a close friend in danger. Nearchus set off when the Etesian winds which inhibit summer navigation subsided, in the year when Kephisidoros was the Archon at Athens.

Arriving months later at Susa, they received Alexander's returning army and celebrated their safe return with gusto. The almost simultaneous arrival of the fleet and the army at Susa vindicates the view that the voyage was conceived as a safety valve to protect a portion of the Greek army from India's indomitable tribes. The fact that the retreating Alexander, having abandoned his dream of world (certainly of Indian) conquest, had to engage

in several intense battles on his way back home, suggests that besides the climate and the terrain, the natives tormented him every inch of the way. Alexander's Indian experience can be pithily summed up in the philosopher's query to Onesicritus: "For what purpose has Alexander come all the way hither?"

Percival Spear says that Alexander introduced Persian influences into India. He conquered the highly developed and complex Achaemenid empire, and he and his Seleucid successors adopted and adapted its institutions. The Mauryan empire that rose after his departure resembled Persian and not Greek models. The Kharosthi in Asoka's (273-232 BC) inscriptions is closer to Aramaic than Greek. Still, it is generally held that Alexander and later the Seleucids settled large numbers from the Greek world in this region.

Megasthenes

It would be appropriate to reappraise the entrenched legacy of the celebrated Megasthenes, who enjoys unique status among India's early historiographers. The Greek envoy's depiction of occupation-based castes and other social customs have so dominated academic discourse and popular imagination that some obvious deficiencies in the corpus that has come down to us have, as R.C. Majumdar protests, failed to receive the attention they deserve. Megasthenes was deputed as envoy to Sandrocottus, generally identified with the Mauryan Emperor Chandragupta (though some academics believe the issue is far from settled). By all accounts, he resided at Palimbothra (Pataliputra, modern Patna) and frequently called upon the Indian ruler. Whatever the length of his stay in the country, he appears to have come to India only once. He had also met Porus and rated him higher than Sandrocottus/Chandragupta.

Megasthenes owes his enduring fame to his book, *Indika*, which later writers freely accessed for information on India. The *Indika* has not survived, and our own knowledge of Megasthenes rests on passing references by Strabo, Arrian, Pliny and Clemens Alexandrinus, which indicate that he lived with Seleucus Nicator and Sibyrtius, satrap of Arachosia. Majumdar says there is ambiguity about the dates of his arrival and the duration of stay in India, though he probably arrived just before 300

BC, after the treaty between Chandragupta Maurya and Seleucus Nicator, founder of the Seleucid dynasty and empire.

The Indian system of social organisation made a deep impression upon the Greek envoy. Yet his listing of seven castes was inaccurate, though it is unclear if the mistake was made by Megasthenes or by successive writers who claimed him as their source. The German scholar Schwanbeck prepared a 'critical edition' of the *Indika* by collecting all fragments based on Megasthenes; the English translation was by J.W. McCrindle. Majumdar questions the merit of this exercise as the selected '*Fragments'* fall into four categories, viz., passages other writers specifically attributed to Megasthenes; passages closely resembling the former but not specifically attributed to Megasthenes; passages preceding or following these two categories; and long passages falling in one of the three groups, including incidental notices. He opines that while the first two types of passages can with some justice be ascribed to the *Indika*, this may not apply to other selections.

Defending his thesis, Majumdar says that the first Fragment, from *History of Diodorus* (II 35-42), which Schwanbeck designated "*An Epitome of Megasthenes*," spans over fourteen printed pages without once mentioning the Greek envoy. Equally suspect, he says, is Diodorus' claim that Alexander advanced as far as the Ganga. As Megasthenes was of the same era as Alexander and resided at Pataliputra on the banks of the Ganga, maintaining close affinity with the ruler and the populace, he would surely have known the limits of Alexander's advance. Strabo records that Craterus wrote to his mother that Alexander marched as far as the Ganga; hence it is probable that Diodorus gathered his faulty data from Craterus or others, rather than Megasthenes.

Strabo acknowledges referring to Megasthenes and others; Majumdar believes Diodorus also accessed other works. Had he relied solely or even principally upon Megasthenes, he would certainly have cited him for authenticity. As C.H. Oldfather, Diodorus' English translator notes: "It cannot be known whether Diodorus used Megasthenes directly or through a medium; his failure to mention his name a single time is a little surprising, if he used him directly" (*Diodorus of Sicily,* English trans., 1935).

Diodorus in fact often departs from Megasthenes. He claims the breadth of India from east to west is 28,000 stadia; Megasthenes speaks of 16,000

stadia (a point on which Schwanbeck and McCrindle concur). A differential of 75% in measurement between a book and its supposed archetype raises legitimate doubts. Diodorus further asserts that the Indus may be the largest river in the world after the Nile, but Arrian quotes Megasthenes to say the Ganga is much larger than the Indus. Interestingly, McCrindle's *Fragment II* observes that the Nile and the Danube together do not equal even the Indus, let alone the Ganga (M-II, 47). Majumdar concludes that Fragments I and II cannot originate from the same *Indika*; yet both have been uncritically accepted as such by Schwanbeck and McCrindle.

Schwanbeck's *Fragment XXVII* comprises four paragraphs from Strabo (53-56), held to derive from Megasthenes. Yet Strabo only thrice cites Megasthenes as his authority for three isolated statements (one each in paras 53, 54, and 56), though he covers myriad topics. As Strabo did refer to several sources and often cited them, it cannot be presumed he relied solely on Megasthenes for all information included in a single para or consecutive paras which mention the envoy. If *Fragment XXVII* derived solely from the *Indika*, three specific citations of Megasthenes for three separate statements would be redundant; most likely only those three statements derive from him.

Some mistakes are conspicuous. Strabo cites Megasthenes while describing seven castes (Paras 39-41 and 46-49 of *Fragment XXXIV*), but digresses to discuss wild animals (Paras 42-45 of *Fragment XXVII*) before returning to the theme of caste. It is possible to view the discussion on wild animals as an auxiliary note to para 41 on the third caste of shepherds and hunters, as they deal with animals. At the end of Para 45 Strabo says, "Let me now return to Megasthenes and continue his account from the point where I left it."

Para 49 relates to the seventh caste, whose members held the chief offices of State. The succeeding Paras 50-52 describe the officers without once alluding to Megasthenes, yet they are presumed to rest on *Indika*. Further, while describing the third caste of shepherds and hunters, Strabo strays into a long thesis on elephants and other animals, based on "both Megasthenes and others". Hence, the additional note on the seventh caste cannot be blindly accepted as sourced from *Indika*, though Strabo does not explicitly say it derived from other sources. As Strabo and Diodorus differ

significantly in details about the second, fourth, and sixth castes, both can hardly have relied only upon Megasthenes for their facts.

Majumdar notes that the reference to Municipal and Military Boards of administration in the narrative on the seventh caste has led many scholars to doubt if Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, which is silent about such bodies, was actually written in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. He advises caution while invoking Megasthenes on any issue where his name is not specifically cited.

Besides, Megasthenes was by no means the sole source of information about eastern India. Arrian avers: "a few authors have described the country as far as the river Ganges and the parts near its mouth and the city of Palimbothra." Majumdar laments that Schwanbeck simply assumes that the *Indika* was the most exhaustive account of India and that later classical writers trusted it so much that one could presume they sourced their work wholly from Megasthenes, unless specifically stated otherwise. This is despite Schwanbeck being aware that writers like Eratosthenes, Strabo, Arrian and Pliny were wary of Megasthenes and his *Indika*.

Arrian observed that Megasthenes insisted that the story of gold-digging ants was true, though he could not verify it. Schwanbeck pleads that Megasthenes accurately recorded all that he himself observed as well as what was told to him by others. Majumdar retorts that as Megasthenes clearly lacked the faculty of discrimination, one must be prudent while assessing his accounts. His blind acceptance of the most unnatural phenomena and incredible tales about men and animals adds weight to this warning.

Other writers were hardly flawless. Strabo claims that Megasthenes said Indians were ignorant of the art of writing, but simultaneously quotes a testimonial by him to the effect that Indians knew writing![42] Strabo quotes Nearchus that Indians wrote on linen cloth, while Curtius mentions the use of the barks of trees for writing in Alexander's time. In fact, Indians were quite adept in writing as can be seen from the subsequent rock and pillar inscriptions of Chandragupta's grandson Asoka; the well-formed letters of the script indicating a long gestation period of many centuries. The implications of the use of writing are significant as writing is a critical technology of the intellect. It facilitated the organisation of complex tasks

such as sorting and storage of information under numeric and alphabetic heads, use of charts and maps, and stimulated art and culture.[43] Of course, all Greeks without exception were enchanted by the Brahmins and *Sramanas* (Buddhist and Jaina ascetics), and made strenuous attempts to understand the Hindu doctrine of the immortality of the soul.

Overall, the evidence suggests that the classical writers were prone to error owing to a poor understanding of the country and society, and a tendency to generalise on the basis of isolated facts, such as the contention that there were no slaves in India. Ancient *Smritis* and literature mention slavery; the *Arthasastra* classifies slaves and details their rights, disabilities, and terms of release. Majumdar believes this inaccuracy derived from a mental comparison between the depressed condition of slaves in Greece and Rome, while Indian slaves seemed comparable to domestic servants.

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The core question concerning Alexander's intrusion into north-west India is whether it had a lasting significance in Indian history. The king is reported to have settled a large number of Greek mercenaries in regions north of the Hindukush, though here again the figures differ. Arrian (IV.22) mentions 13,500 soldiers in the Oxus valley, while Curtius says another 4,600 were left in Arachosia (VII.3-4). Besides, there were the pensioned soldiers settled in newly founded towns; Alexander reputedly founded seventy Alexandrias.[44] After his death in 323 BCE, Seleucus I (Nicator) and the Indo-Greeks introduced Greek populations in the area, but their impact on the language and culture of the natives was negligible. The Greek influence in the Indian north-west (including present day Afghanistan and Pakistan) was best reflected in Gandhara art, in the form of Buddha's robes; his posture; Vajrapani in the form of Heracles; mythological figures such as satyrs, Corinthian columns, and other decorative elements.[45]

To our modern sensibilities, the history of our ancient past appears as a fable, hazy and incomplete. Before we turn to our extracts, it would be in order to mention the inadequacies in the present work. The compiler is not acquainted with the Greek, Latin, Chinese or Korean languages, and has relied solely upon standard English translations. The compilation is offered in as accurate a chronological sequence as possible, with fragmentary references placed at the end of the section on classical writers, in order to

complete the narrative while reflecting the incomplete nature of our materials. The choice of passages is based upon a perception of what will interest the general reader thirsty for knowledge about the past, in a compact and accessible format. This has necessitated drastic pruning of available materials,[46] as our purpose is not to relive the travails of the weary travellers of yore, but to highlight the extant social, political, religious, cultural, commercial and geographical reality of that era, captured by quill pen and ink by amateur biographers, either deeply or tangentially, according to their individual abilities and perceptions. We have, as per convention, retained the original spellings of the author or translator, and for convenience of style avoided use of diacritical marks, opting instead to italicise Indian words. Special thanks are due to Ms Rekha Gupta who painstakingly checked the manuscript for errors; needless to add, all errors and shortcomings are the sole responsibility of the compiler.

We conclude with illuminating excerpts about the Brahmin dynasty that built Angkor Vat in Kampuchea (Cambodia), and the Ayodhya princess who married into the royal family of Korea. Although these are not, strictly speaking, by foreign writers who visited India in our chosen epoch, we feel they round off the narrative and would enchant the reader. At the very end are brief sketches of Chinese and Korean pilgrims by I-tsing, who sought to honour the monks who came in search of the Law and perished far from home. They highlight the volume of spiritual traffic to India in those difficult days.

We have tried to avoid lengthy footnotes or explanatory notes, except to indicate information that adds to the meaning and readability of the narratives. A brief resumé about each author precedes the selected passages, to provide the reader with context and perspective, and it is our sincere hope that this approach will help construct a mental picture of the flowering of India's rich, diverse, and unbroken heritage in the epoch in which she became renowned as the 'golden bird.'

—Sandhya Jain

CHAPTER — 1

HERODOTUS

Herodotus, the designated Father of History in the Western tradition, was born between 490 and 480 BC at Halikarnassos, a town in Caria on the south-west coast of Asia Minor (Anatolia of the Greek world), then subject to Persian rule. He died sometime after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BC, at Thurii, a city of Magna Graecia on the Tarentine Gulf, where he penned his famous *History* (or *The Histories*). McCrindle observes that Herodotus had a poor knowledge of India. He knew it was one of the remotest provinces of the Persian Empire towards the east, but had no real notion of its extent and exact location. His work contains the first reference to the legend of gold-digging ants, whose strenuous efforts reputedly produced the huge gold tribute India gave Persia in the reign of Darius. The passages selected below are based on Bohn's *Herodotus* translated by Cary, in the works of J.W. McCrindle and R.C. Majumdar.[47]

BOOK I

India's export of dogs:

192. …. Moreover he (Babylonian governor Tritantaechmes) kept so great a number of Indian dogs that four great villages of the plain were appointed to provide food for the dogs and eased from all other burdens.[48] Such were the riches of the governor of Babylon.

BOOK III

Fabulous tribute to Persia:

97. Darius, son of Hystaspes, set up twenty Satrapies (provincial governorships), and assessed each nation for taxes. (Of these Satrapies) Twentieth: The Indians, the most populous of all the nations in the world, paid the largest sum – 360 talents of gold-dust.[49]

People, language and attire:

98. I will now describe the method by which the Indians obtain the great quantity of gold which enable them to pay the above-mentioned quantity of gold-dust. That part of India towards the rising sun is all sand. Indeed of all the inhabitants of Asia of whom we have any reliable information, the Indians are the most easterly – beyond them the country is uninhabitable desert. There are many tribes of Indians who speak different languages; some of them are pastoral and nomadic, and others not. Some inhabit the marsh-country by the river. The people eat raw fish which they catch by going out in boats made of reeds, – each boat made from a single joint. These Indians make their garment from a sort of rush which grows in the river, gathering it and beating it out, and then weaving it into a kind of matting which they wear to cover their chests, like a breastplate.

Vegetarian ethic:

100. Other Indians have the following different custom: they neither kill anything that has life, nor sow anything, nor are they wont to have houses, but they live upon herbs, and they have a grain the size of a millet in a pod, which springs spontaneously from the earth, this they gather, and boil it and eat it with the pod. When any of them falls ill, he goes and lies down in the desert, and no one takes any thought about him, whether dead or sick.

Gold-digging ants:

102. There are other Indians bordering on the city of Caspatyrus[50] and the country of Pactyice,[51] settled northward of the other Indians, whose mode of life resembles that of the Bactrians.[52] They are the most warlike of the Indians, and these are they who are sent to procure the gold; for near this part is a desert by reason of the sands. In this desert, then, and in the sand, there are ants in size somewhat less indeed than dogs, but larger than foxes. Some of them are in possession of the King of the Persians, which were taken there. These ants, forming their habitations underground, heap up the sand, as the ants in Greece do, and in the same manner; and they are very like them in shape.[53] The sand that is heaped up is mixed with gold. The Indians therefore go to the desert to get this sand, each man having three camels, on either side a male one harnessed to draw by the side, and a

female in the middle. This last the man mounts himself, having taken care to yoke one that has been separated from her young as recently born as possible; for camels are not inferior to horses in swiftness, and are much better able to carry burdens.

104. The Indians then adopting such a plan and such a method of harnessing, set out for the gold, having before calculated the time, so as to be engaged in their plunder during the hottest part of the day, for during the heat the ants hide themselves under the ground. Amongst these people the sun is hottest in the morning, and not, as amongst others, at mid-day.

105. When the Indians arrive at the spot, having sacks with them, they fill them with the sand, and return with all possible expedition. For the ants, as the Persians say, immediately discovering them by the smell, pursue them and they are equalled in swiftness by no other animal, so that the Indians, if they did not get the start of them while the ants were assembling, not a man of them could be saved. Now the male camels (for they are inferior in speed to the females) slacken their pace, dragging on, not both equally, but the females, mindful of the young they have left, do not slacken their pace. Thus the Indians, as the Persians say, obtain the greatest part of their gold; and they have some small quantity more that is dug in the country.

Geography and abundance:

106. The extreme parts of the inhabited world somehow possess the most excellent products; as Greece enjoys by far the best tempered climate. For in the first place, India is the farthest part of the inhabited world towards the east, as I have just observed; in this part, then, all animals, both quadrupeds and birds, are much larger than they are in other countries, with the exception of horses; in this respect they are surpassed by the Medic breed called the Nysaean horses. In the next place, there is abundance of gold there, partly dug, partly brought down by the rivers, and partly seized in the manner I have described. And certain wild trees there bear wool[54] instead of fruit, that in beauty and quality excels that of sheep; and the Indians make their clothing from these trees.

BOOK IV

Darius' expedition to the Indus:

44. A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report and also Scylax of Caryanda.[55] They accordingly setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea; then sailing on the sea westward, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the King of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians… to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius subdued the Indians and frequented this sea.

BOOK VII

Indian warriors in the Persian army of Xerxes:

65: The Indians wore garments of tree-wool and carried bows of reed and iron-tipped arrows of the same. Such was their equipment; they were appointed to march under the command of Pharnazathres, the son of Artabates.

86. The Indians were armed in like manner as their foot; they rode swift horses and drove chariots drawn by horses and wild asses.

187. That is the number of Xerxes'[56] whole armament: but none can say what was the exact sum of cooking women, and concubines and eunuchs; nor of the beasts of draught and burden and the Indian dogs that were with the host, could any one tell the number, so many they were.

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CHAPTER — 2

KTESIAS THE KNIDIAN

Ktesias (also Ctesias) was the first to give the Greeks a special treatise on India, a region previously known from marginal references in the *Geography* of Hekataios of Miletos and the *History* of Herodotus. Ktesias hailed from Knidos, an important Lacedaemonian colony on the coast of Karia. His father was Ktesiokhos (or Ktesiarkhos), and the family belonged to the Asklepiadai priestly caste, whose hereditary profession was medicine. He was a younger contemporary of Hippokrates (also Hippocrates of Cos, famous Greek physician of the Age of Pericles), but his date of birth is unknown. He must have become famous before 416 BC, when he went to Persia and lived 17 years as physician to the royal court, first under Darius II and then under his successor Artaxerxes Mnemon. He accompanied the latter in battle against Cyrus and cured a wound received in the battle of Kunaxa (V. *Anab*. I viii, 27). He returned to his own country in 398 BC, after which nothing is known of him.

Ktesias had a literary flair and wrote several works, the most important being a history of Persia. He wrote a Treatise on India, *Indika*, which is lost, but was abridged by Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople in AD 858, and other writers. It was based on information gathered from Persian officials travelling to India on the king's service, and from Indians who visited the Persian Court as merchants or envoys bearing presents and tribute from the princes of Northern India, part of which was then subject to Persian rule.

Given his proximity to India, it is inexplicable why Ktesias never visited the land that fascinated him so much, especially since, as royal physician, he had a special interest in medicaments available in India to treat problems like snake-bite, which would have led him to do commerce with the visiting caravans of merchants. The regular traffic between royal envoys and travellers in his time would have made travel safe and reasonably comfortable. Perhaps his royal duties kept him fully occupied. Yet he seems to have found ample time to converse with the foreign guests and indulge his quest for knowledge of this part of the world.

Ktesias' colourful account of the Assyrian Queen Semiramis' ill-fated expedition to India has been dismissed by serious scholars in the absence of

corroborative evidence from other sources. Greek historians like Arrian said she died before reaching India. Yet Ktesias would have us believe that Semiramis butchered 300,000 black oxen, distributed their meat among artisans and workers, had dummy elephants made from the skins, and transported them to India by hiding a camel and rider inside each![57] It is probable that Ktesias merely adapted a version of Homer's famous Trojan Horse to an Indian landscape.

Ktesias was quite susceptible to fantasia; this exasperated ancient scholars who referred to him in the absence of other sources on India. Modern scholars have partially repaired his reputation by concluding that some of his errors, especially regarding fabulous races and incredible animals, derived from confusion regarding stories rooted in the two great epics and other narratives. We have selected extracts that scholars believe possess some academic merit.

FRAGMENT I. ECLOGA IN PHOTII, *BIBL.* LXXII, P. 144 SEQQ.

On the extraction of gold:

4. He notices the fountain which is filled every year with liquid gold, out of which are annually drawn a hundred earthen pitchers filled with the metal. The pitchers must be earthen since the gold when drawn becomes solid, and to get it out the containing vessel must needs be broken in pieces. The fountain is of a square shape, eleven cubits in circumference, and a fathom in depth. Each pitcherful of gold weighs a talent.[58] He notices also the iron found at the bottom of this fountain, adding that he had in his own possession two swords made from this iron, one given to him by the king of Persia (Artaxerxes Mnemon), and the other by Parysatis, the mother of that same king. This iron, he says, if fixed in the earth, averts clouds and hail and thunderstorms, and he avers that he had himself twice seen the iron[59] do this, the king on both occasions performing the experiment.

Dogs, gems, the heat:

5. We learn further that the dogs of India are of very great size, so that they fight even with the lion;[60] that there are certain high mountains having mines which yield the sardine-stone, and onyxes, and other seal stones; that the heat is excessive, and that the sun appears in India to be ten times larger than in other countries; and that many of the inhabitants are suffocated to death by the heat. Of the sea in India, he says, that it is not less than the sea in Hellas; its surface however for four finger-breadths downward is hot, so that fish cannot live that go near the heated surface, but must confine themselves always to the depths below.[61]

River Indus and the giant reeds:

6. He states that the river Indus flows through the level country, and through between the mountains, and that what is called the Indian reed grows along its course, this being so thick that two men could scarcely encompass its stem with their arms, and of a height to equal the mast of a merchant ship of the heaviest burden. Some are of greater size even than this, though some are of less, as might be expected when the mountain it grows on is of vast range. The reeds are distinguished by sex, some being male, others female. The male reed has no pith, and is exceedingly strong, but the female has a pith.[62]

On the people and the worship of the sun:

8. He describes the Indians as extremely just, and gives an account of their manners and customs. He mentions the sacred spot in the midst of an uninhabited region which they venerate in the name of the Sun and the Moon. It takes one a fifteen days' journey to reach this place from Mount Sardous.[63] Here for the space of five and thirty days the Sun every year cools down to allow his worshippers to celebrate his rites, and return home unscorched by his burning rays. He observes that in India there is neither thunder nor lightning nor rain, but that storms of wind and violent hurricanes which sweep everything before them, are of frequent occurrence. The morning sun produces coolness for one half of the day, but an excessive heat during the other half, and this holds good for most parts of India.

9. It is not, however, by exposure to the sun that the people are swarthy, but by nature, for among the Indians there are both men and women who are as fair as any in the world, though such are no doubt in a minority. He adds that he had himself seen two Indian women and five men of such a fair complexion.

11. He writes that in the middle of India are found the swarthy men called Pygmies[64], who speak the same language as the other Indians. They are very diminutive, the tallest of them being but two cubits in height, while the majority are only one and a half…. Of the Pygmies three thousand men attend the king of the Indians, on account of their great skill in archery. They are eminently just, and have the same laws as the Indians.

Silver mines and gold:

12. There is much silver in their part of the country, and the silver-mines though not deep are deeper than those in Baktria.[65] Gold also is a product of India. It is not found in rivers and washed *from the sands* the like gold of the river Paktolos, but is found on those many high-towering mountains which are inhabited by the Griffins, a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and claws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers except only on the breast where they are red. On account of those birds the gold with which the mountains abound is difficult to be got.[66]

Justice and crimes:

14. The justice of the Indians, their devotion to their king and their contempt of death are themes on which he loves to expatiate. He notices a fountain having this peculiarity, that when any one draws water from it, the water coagulates like cheese, and should you then detach from the solid lump a piece weighing about three obols, and having triturated this, put the powder into common water, he to whom you give this potion blabs out whatever he has done, for he becomes delirious, and raves like a madman all that day. The king avails himself of this property when he wishes to discover the guilt or innocence of accused persons. Whoever incriminates

himself when undergoing the ordeal is sentenced to starve himself to death, while he who does not confess to any crime is acquitted.[67]

The health of Indians :

15. The Indians are not afflicted with headache, or toothache, or ophthalmia, nor have they mouthsores or ulcers in any part of their body. The age to which they live is 120, 130, and 150 years, though the very old live to 200.[68]

A dog-headed race:

20. He writes that on the mountains just spoken of there live men having heads like those of dogs, who wear the skins of wild beasts, and do not use articulate speech, but bark like dogs, and thus converse so as to be understood by each other. They have larger teeth than dogs, and claws like those of dogs, only larger and more rounded. They inhabit the mountains, and extend as far as the river Indus. They are swarthy, and like all the other Indians extremely just men. With the Indians they can hold intercourse, for they understand what they say, though they cannot, it is true, reply to them in words, still by barking and by making signs with their hands and their fingers like the deaf and the dumb, they can make themselves understood. They are called by the Indians *Kalystrioi,* which means in Greek dog-headed. Their food is raw flesh. The whole tribe numbers not less than 120,000 men.[69]

Vegetable dyes:

21. Near the sources of this river (Hyparkhos, Pliny says Hypobarus) there grows a certain purple flower, which is used for dying purple, and is not inferior to the Greek sort, but even imparts a far more florid hue. In the same parts there is a wild insect about the size of a beetle, red like cinnabar, with legs excessively long. It is as soft as the worm called *skolex* and is found on the trees which produce amber, eating the fruits of those trees and destroying them, as in Greece the wood-louse ravages the vine-trees. The Indians grind these insects to a powder and therewith dye such robes,

tunics, and other vestments as they want to be of a purple hue.[70] Their dye-stuffs are superior to those used by the Persians.

A tribe of cattle-herders:

22. The Kynokephaloi living on the mountains do not practice any of the arts but subsist by the produce of the chase. They slaughter the prey, and roast the flesh in the sun. They rear however great numbers of sheep and goats and asses.[71] They drink the milk of the sheep and the whey which is made therefrom. They eat moreover the fruit of the *Siptakhora* – the tree which produces amber, for it is sweet. They also dry this fruit, and pack it in hampers as the Greeks do raisins. The same people construct rafts, and freight them with the hampers as well as with the flowers of the purple plant, after cleansing it, and with 260 talents weight of amber, and a like weight of the pigment which dyes purple, and 1000 talents more of amber. All this cargo, which is the season's produce, they convey annually *as tribute* to the King of the Indians. They take also additional quantities of the same commodities for sale to the Indians, from whom they receive in exchange loaves of bread and flour and cloth which is made from a tree-grown stuff (cotton). They sell also swords such as they use in hunting wild beasts, and bows and javelins, for they are fell marksmen both in shooting with the bow and in hurling the javelin. As they inhabit steep and pathless mountains they cannot possibly be conquered in war, and the king moreover once every five years sends them as presents 300,000 arrows and as many javelins, 120,000 shields and 50,000 swords.

23. These Kynokephaloi have no houses but live in caves. They hunt wild beasts with the bow and the spear, and run so fast that they can overtake them in the chase…. That man is considered the richest who possesses most sheep, and in property of this sort consists all their wealth…. They are just,[72] and of all men are the longest-lived, attaining the age of 170, and some even of 200 years.

Wild asses or rhinoceroses:

25. Among the Indians, he proceeds, there are wild asses as large as horses, some being even larger. Their head is of a dark red colour, their eyes

blue, and the rest of their body white. They have a horn on their forehead, a cubit in length [the filings of this horn, if given in a potion, are an antidote to poisonous drugs]. This horn for about two palm-breadths upwards from the base is of the purest white, where it tapers to a sharp point of a flaming crimson, and, in the middle, is black. These horns are made into drinking cups, and such as drink from them are attacked neither by convulsions nor by the sacred disease (epilepsy). Nay, they are not even affected by poisons, if either before or after swallowing them they drink from these cups wine, water, or anything else. While other asses moreover, whether wild or tame, and indeed all other solid-hoofed animals have neither huckle-bones, nor gall in the liver, these one-horned asses have both.[73] Their huckle-bone is the most beautiful of all I have ever seen, and is, in appearance and size, like that of the ox. It is as heavy as lead, and of the colour of cinnabar (vermillion) both on the surface, and all throughout. It is exceedingly fleet and strong, and no creature that pursues it, not even the horse, can overtake it.

Rhinoceros hunt:

26. On the first starting it scampers off somewhat leisurely, but the longer it runs, it gallops faster and faster till the pace becomes most furious.[74] These animals therefore can only be caught at one particular time – that is when they lead out their little foals to the pastures in which they roam. They are then hemmed in on all sides by a vast number of hunters mounted on horseback, and being unwilling to escape while leaving their young to perish, stand their ground and fight, and by butting with their horns and kicking and biting kill many horses and men. But they are in the end taken, pierced to death with arrows and spears, for to take them alive is in no way possible. Their flesh being bitter, is unfit for food, and they are hunted merely for the sake of their horns and their huckle-bones.

On a lethal worm:

27. He states that there is bred in the Indian river a worm like in appearance to that which is found in the fig, but seven cubits more or less in length, while its thickness is such that a boy ten years old could hardly clasp

it within the circuit of his arms. These worms have two teeth – an upper and a lower, with which they seize and devour their prey. In the daytime they remain in the mud at the bottom of the river, but at night they come ashore, and should they fall in with any prey as a cow or a camel, they seize it with their teeth, and having dragged it to the river, there devour it. For catching this worm a large hook is employed, to which a kid or a lamb is fastened by chains of iron. The worm being landed, the captors hang up its carcase, and placing vessels underneath it leave it thus for thirty days. All this time oil drops from it, as much being got as would fill ten Attic *kotylai*.[75] At the end of the thirty days they throw away the worm, and preserving the oil they take it to the king of the Indians, and to him alone, for no subject is allowed to get a drop of it. This oil [like fire] sets everything ablaze over which it is poured and it consumes not alone wood but even animals. The flames can be quenched only by throwing over them a great quantity of clay, and that of a thick consistency.[76]

Perfumes and unguents:

28. But again there are certain trees in India as tall as the cedar or the cypress, having leaves like those of the date palm, only somewhat broader, but having no shoots sprouting from the stems. They produce a flower like the male laurel, but no fruit. In the Indian language they are called *karpion*, but in Greek *muroroda* (unguent-roses). These trees are scarce. There oozes from them an oil in drops, which are wiped off from the stem with wool, from which they are afterwards wrung out and received into alabaster boxes of stone. The oil is in colour of a faint red, and of a somewhat thick consistency. Its smell is the sweetest in all the world, and is said to diffuse itself to a distance of five stadia around. The privilege of possessing this perfume belongs only to the king and the members of the royal family. A present of it was sent by the king of the Indians to the king of the Persians, and Ktesias alleges that he saw it himself, and that it was of such an exquisite fragrance as he could not describe, and he knew nothing whereunto he could liken it.[77]

29. He states that the cheese and the wines of the Indians are the sweetest in the world, adding that he knew this from his own experience, since he

had tasted both.

Mineral wells:

30. There is a fountain among the Indians of a square shape and of about five ells in circumference. The water lodges in a rock. The depth downward till you reach the water is three cubits and the depth of the water itself three *orguiai*. Herein the Indians of highest distinction bathe [both for purification and the averting of diseases] along with their wives and children; they throw themselves into the well foot foremost, and when they leap in the water casts them up again, and not only does it throw up human beings to the surface, but it casts out upon dry land any kind of animal, whether living or dead, and in fact anything else that is cast into it except iron and silver and gold and copper, which all sink to the bottom. The water is intensely cold and sweet to drink. It makes a loud bubbling noise like water boiling in a caldron. Its waters are a cure for leprosy, and scab. In the Indian tongue it is called *Ballade*.[78]

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CHAPTER — 3

STRABO

Greek geographer and historian, Strabo, was born in Amasia, a Hellenised city and royal residence of the kings of Pontus in Asia Minor. The dates of his birth and death are unknown, but he lived in the reign of Augustus and also when Tiberius ruled in AD 21. Groskurd believes he died three years later. His father's family is unknown, but his maternal relatives who held important offices under Mithradates V and VI were of Hellenic and Asiatic origin. Strabo himself was completely Greek in language and education. Like Herodotus, he was a veteran traveller and had ventured eastwards upto Armenia. He did not visit India, and had a poor opinion of the writings of Nearchus and Megasthenes. His *Geography*, finalised between AD 17 and 23, is hailed as the most important ancient work on the subject, and includes a section (Book XV) on India and Persia. The selected extracts are from McCrindle.[79] Though Strabo appears to follow Alexander's route in describing India's wonders, we have excluded the battles and confined our selections to the Indian country and people.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

BOOK XV

Strabo confesses he has not visited India:

2. I must ask the reader to receive my description of this country with some indulgence, for it lies at a great distance off, and not many persons of our nation have seen it; such as have visited its shores have seen a part of it only, and their accounts consist chiefly of what they heard from report.

The self-immolation by Indian sages deeply impacted the Greek mind:

4. The merchants of the present day who sail from Egypt to India by the Nile and the Arabian Gulf have seldom made a voyage as far as the Ganges. They are ignorant men and unqualified for writing an account of the places they have visited. From one place in India and from one king, Pandion,[80]

but according to other writers, Porus,[81] there came to Caesar Augustus gifts and an embassy accompanied by the Indian Sophist who committed himself to the flames at Athens, like Kalanos, who had exhibited a similar spectacle in presence of Alexander.

10. From the former discussion it appeared that the views set forth by Eratosthenes in the third book of his *Geography,* in a summary concerning the country regarded as India at the time of its invasion by Alexander, are the most credible of all. At that period the Indus formed the boundary between India and Ariane, which lay immediately to the west,[82] and was subject to the Persians; for in later times the Indians occupied a great part of Ariane which they received from the Macedonians.[83]

Fertility and abundance; Greeks fascinated by Indian sugarcane:

20. Megasthenes indicates the fertility of India by the fact of the soil producing two crops every year both of fruits and grain. Eratosthenes writes to the same effect, for he speaks of a winter and a summer sowing and of rains at both seasons alike; for a year, he says, never passes in which rain does not fall at these periods, whence ensues a great abundance, the soil never failing to bear crops. An abundance of fruit is produced by trees; and the roots of plants, particularly of large reeds, are sweet, both in their nature and by coction; for the water, whether it comes from the clouds or the rivers, is warmed by the rays of the sun. He means, I think, to say, that what is called by other nations the ripening of fruits and juices is called by the Indians *coction*, and this tends to produce a flavour no less agreeable than the coction by fire. To the same cause he attributes the great flexibility of the branches of trees from which the wheels of carriages are made, as well as the fact that the country has trees upon which wool grows. Nearchus says that their webs of fine cotton were made from this wool,[84] and that the Macedonians used it for stuffing mattresses and the padding of saddles. The Seric fabrics are of a similar kind and made from some sorts of byssos bark, by combing the fibres.[85] About reeds he has noted that they yield honey,[86] although there are no bees; and he mentions a fruit-bearing tree, the produce of which causes intoxication.

The banyan tree held the Greeks in thrall:

21. India produces many remarkable trees: among others, one having branches which bend downwards, and leaves which are not less in size than a shield. Onesikritos (also Onesicritus) when describing minutely the country of Mousikanos,[87] which he says is situated in the most southern part of India, relates that there are some large trees from which branches grow out to the length even of twelve cubits. These branches then grow downwards as if they had been bent until they touch the ground. They next penetrate into the soil and take root like shoots that have been planted. Then they spring upwards and form a trunk, whence again, in the manner described, branches bend themselves downward and plant the ground with one layer after another, and so on in this order, so that from a single tree there is formed a long shady canopy like a tent supported by numerous pillars. As regards the size of the trees, he stated that their trunks could scarcely be clasped by five men. Aristoboulos also, where he mentions the Akesines and its confluence with the Hyarotis (river Ravi) speaks of trees with branches bent downward, and of such a size that fifty horsemen could be sheltered from the noontide heat under the shade of a single tree (*ficus Indica*, banyan-tree). According to Onesikritos, however, four hundred horsemen could be so sheltered.

Vine and medicinal plants:

22. In the country of Mousikanos there grows of itself, he says, a kind of grainlike wheat, and also a vine which produces wine, though other writers assert that there is no wine in India[88]… Both Aristoboulos and other writers related that India produces many medicinal plants which yield a great variety of dyes.[89] He adds that it was ordained by law that if any person discovered a deadly substance, he should be put to death unless he also discovered an antidote. If he discovered one, he was rewarded by the king. India, like Arabia and Ethiopia, produces cinnamon and spikenard and other aromatics. It has a temperature like theirs in respect of the sun’s rays, but it surpasses them in having copious supplies of water, whence the atmosphere is humid, and therefore more nutritious and productive, as is equally the case with the land and the water. On this account the land and the water

animals in India are found to be of a larger size than they are in other countries.

Taxila and the reference to snake worship in Abisaros:

28. Between the Indus and the Hydaspes is Taxila, a large city and governed by good laws.[90] The surrounding country is thickly peopled and extremely fertile, as the mountains here begin to subside into the plains. The inhabitants and their king, Taxiles, received Alexander with kindness, and in return came by more than they bestowed, so that the Macedonians were jealous, and said it appeared as if Alexander found none worthy of his bounty until he had crossed the Indus.[91] Some say that this country was larger than Egypt. Above this country among the mountains lie the dominions of Abisaros,[92] by whom, as the envoys who came from him related, were kept two serpents, one of which was 80 and the other 140 cubits in length. This we learn from Onesikritos, who may as well be called the master fabulist as the master pilot of Alexander. For all the companions of Alexander preferred the marvellous to the true, but this writer seems to have surpassed them all in telling tales of wonder. Some of his statements, however, are probably true and worthy of record, and must not be passed over even though one distrusts their veracity. Other writers also mention the serpents, and say that the natives hunt them among the Emodoi mountains[93] and rear them in caves.

Kathaians of Sangala, probably Amritsar region, were obsessed with beauty. Greek writers are awed by *Sati*:

30. … By way of embellishing their persons, they dye their beards with a great variety of the most florid hues. This custom prevails elsewhere among many of the Indians, who bestow great attention on dyeing both their hair and their garments with the colours of surprising beauty which their country produces. The people in other respects are frugal, but are fond of ornament. A peculiar custom is mentioned as existing among the Kathaians – that the husband and wife choose each other, and that the wives burn themselves along with their deceased husbands. The reason for this practice is that the wives would sometimes fall in love with young men, and desert their

husbands or poison them. This law was therefore instituted with a view to suppress the practice of administering poison. But it is probable that the law never existed nor the circumstances to which its origin is ascribed. It is said that in the country of Sopeithes there is a mountain not far off, as Gorgos the miner has testified. The Indians being unacquainted with mining and the smelting of ores do not know their own wealth, and therefore traffic with greater simplicity.

On a powerful breed of dogs in Punjab:

31. It is related that the dogs in the country of Sopeithes are of astonishing courage. Alexander received one hundred and fifty of them as a present from Sopeithes. To prove their mettle, two were set on to attack a lion, and when these were overpowered, two others set on. When the contest was about equal, Sopeithes ordered a man to seize one of the dogs by the leg and to drag him away, or if he still held on, to cut off the limb. Alexander at first refused to let the dog be so mangled, as he wished to save its life, but when Sopeithes said, 'I will give you four instead of it,' he consented, and saw the dog allow its leg to be cut off by slow incision rather than let go its hold.[94]

Simplicity of the people and the sheer wealth of the Mousikanos of Upper Sind:

34. Onesikritos… expatiates in praises of the country of Mousikanos, and notices those characteristics which its inhabitants share with other Indians, that they are long-lived and that the term of life extends to 130 years (the Seres, however, according to some writers, are still longer-lived), that they live sparingly and are healthy, even though their country produces everything in abundance. The following customs, however, are peculiar to them: to have a common meal which they eat in public as did the Lacedemonians, their food consisting of the produce of the chase; to use neither gold nor silver though they have mines of these metals; to employ instead of slaves young men in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiotai, and the Lacedemonians the Helots; to study no science with attention except that of medicine, for they regard the excessive pursuit of any art, as war for instance and the like, as wickedness; to have

no actions at law but for murder and outrage, for to escape these evils does not lie in one's own power, but it is otherwise in the case of contracts where each one can protect his own interests, so that if one of the parties violates his faith, the other must endure the wrong, for a man must be cautious whom he trusts, and not engross the attention of the city with his lawsuits. Such are the accounts given by men who accompanied Alexander in his expedition.

Pataliputra and the Hindu caste system:

36. Palibothra [is] a city 80 stadia in length and 15 in breadth. It is of the shape of a parallelogram, and is surrounded by a wooden wall, pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows. It has a ditch in front for the purpose of defence and for receiving the sewage of the city. The people in whose country this place is situated are the most distinguished in all India, and are called the Prasioi.[95] The king in addition to his family name must adopt the surname of Palibothros, as Sandrokottos, for instance, did, to whom Megasthenes was sent on an embassy. This custom also prevails among the Parthians, for all are called Arsakai.[96]

39. He (Megasthenes) says that the population of India is divided into seven castes.[97] The first in rank but smallest in number are the philosophers. Persons who wish to offer sacrifices or perform other sacred rites employ their services on their private account, but the kings employ them on the public account, at what is called the Great Assembly, where at the beginning of the New Year all the philosophers repair to the king at the gates. Here any of them who may have committed anything useful to writing, or observed any means for improving the crops and the cattle, or anything of advantage to the state, declares it publicly. If any one is detected giving false information, thrice the law enjoins him to be silent for the rest of his life, but he who proves to have been correct in his observations is exempted from paying any taxes or contributions.

40. The second caste consists of the husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population and are of a very mild and gentle disposition. They are exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They do not go to cities, either on business or to take part in their

tumults. It therefore frequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, men may be seen marshalled for battle and risking their lives against the enemy, while other men are ploughing or digging in perfect security under the protection of these soldiers. The whole of the land belongs to the crown, and the husbandmen till it on condition of receiving as wage one-fourth of the produce.

41. The third caste consists of shepherds and hunters, who alone are permitted to hunt and to keep cattle and to sell beasts of burden or to let them out on hire. In return for clearing the land of wild beasts and birds which infest sown fields, they receive an allowance of corn from the king. They lead a wandering life and dwell in tents. No private person is permitted to keep a horse or an elephant. The possession of either is regarded as a royal privilege. These animals are under the charge of grooms.[98]

Strabo diverts discussion on caste to discuss snakes:

45. Nearchos expresses his surprise at the multitude and malignancy of the tribe of reptiles. They retreat from the plains to the villages which do not disappear under water at the time of the inundations, and fill the houses. On this account the people raise their beds to a great height from the ground, and are sometimes compelled to abandon their homes, through the presence of these pests in overwhelming numbers. In fact, were it not that a great proportion of the tribe suffered destruction by the waters, the country would be reduced to a desert. The minute size of some and the immense size of others are sources of danger; the former, because it is difficult to guard against their attacks, the latter by reason of their strength, for snakes are to be seen of sixteen cubits in length. Charmers go about the country who are supposed to be able to cure snake-bites, and their art of medicine is all but entirely restricted to this, for they are seldom attacked by diseases, as they live frugally and abstain from wine. When diseases do attack them their wise men treat them for recovery. Aristoboulos says that he did not see a single example of the magnitudes so much talked of – except a snake which was nine cubits and a span in length – I myself saw one in Egypt much about that size which had been brought from India.[99] He says also that he saw many serpents of a much smaller size, and asps and large scorpions.

None of these however are so dangerous as the slender small snakes, not more than a span long, which are found concealed in tents, in house utensils, and in walls and hedges. Persons wounded by them bleed at every pore, and suffer great pain, and die if assistance is not immediately rendered; but assistance is at command on account of the efficacy of Indian roots and drugs. Not many crocodiles, he says, are to be found in the Indus, and these are harmless to mankind,[100] but most of the other animals of that river are the same as those bred in the Nile, except the thrissa, the mullet, and the dolphin, on account of the crocodiles, but great numbers ascend the Indus. Small prawns find their way up as far as the mountains, and the larger sort as far as the junction of the Indus and Akesines. So much then on the subject of wild animals. Let us now return to Megasthenes, and resume from where we digressed.

Caste system of Megasthenes (continued) :

46. After hunters and shepherds, the fourth caste follows, consisting, he says, of those who work at trades, vend wares, and are employed in bodily labour. Some of these pay taxes, and render to the state certain prescribed services. But the armour-makers and shipbuilders receive wages and provisions from the kings for whom alone they work. The commander-in-chief supplies the army with weapons, and the admiral of the fleet lets out ships on hire both to those who undertake voyages and to merchants.

47. The fifth caste consists of fighting-men, who, when not engaged in active service pass their time in idleness and drinking. They are maintained at the king’s expense, and hence are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field, for they carry nothing of their own with them but their own bodies.

48. The sixth caste consists of the inspectors. To them is entrusted the superintendence of all that goes on, and of making reports privately to the king. The city inspectors employ as their coadjutors the courtesans of the city, and the inspectors of the camp the courtesans who follow the army.

49. The seventh caste consists of the counsellors and assessors of the king. To them belong the offices of state, the tribunals of justice and the general administration of public affairs. No one is allowed to marry out of his own caste, or to exchange one profession or trade for another, or to follow more

than one business. An exception is made in favour of a member of the philosopher caste on account of his superior merit.

On magistrates, taxes and city administration:

50. Of the magistrates some have the charge of the market, others of the city, others of the soldiery. Some superintend the rivers, measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. These persons have charge also of the hunters, and have the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes and superintend the occupations connected with land, as those of the woodcutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They make the public roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to indicate the byroads and distances.

51. Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The first have the inspection of everything relating to the industrial arts, the second entertain strangers, assign them lodgings, observe their mode of life by means of the attendants whom they attach to them, and escort them out of the country, or, if they die, send home their property, take care of them in sickness, and when they die, bury them. The third body consists of those who enquire at what time and in what manner births and deaths occur, not only for the purpose of imposing a tax, but also of preventing births or deaths, whether among the high or the low from being concealed. The fourth body is occupied with retail and barter. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that products in season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in a variety of articles unless he pays a double tax. The fifth body supervises manufactured articles and sells them by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine imposed for mixing them together. The sixth and last body consists of those who collect the tenth of the price of the articles sold. Fraud in the payment of this tax is punished with death. Such are the functions which these bodies separately discharge. In their collective capacity they have charge both of their special departments and of matters affecting the public welfare, such as the repairs of public works, the regulation of prices, and the care of markets, harbours, and temples.

52. Next to the city-magistrates there is a third governing body which directs military affairs. This also consists of six divisions with five members to each. One division is associated with the admiral of the fleet, another with the superintendent of the bullock-teams used for transporting military engines, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. They supply attendants who beat a drum, and others who carry gongs; grooms also for the horses, and mechanists and their assistants. By the sound of the gong they send out foragers to bring in grass, and by rewards and punishments ensure the work being done with dispatch and safety. The third division has charge of the infantry, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war-chariots, and the sixth of the elephants. There are royal stables for the horses and elephants, and also a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and his horse and his elephant to the stables. They use the elephant without bridles. The chariots are drawn on the march by oxen, but the horses are led along by a halter, that their legs may not be galled and inflamed, nor their spirits damped by drawing chariots. In addition to the charioteer two men-at-arms sit beside him in the chariot. The war-elephant carries four men – three who shoot arrows from his back – and the driver.

Moral character of Indians :

53. The Indians all live frugally, especially when in camp. They care not to congregate in large unruly masses, and they consequently observe good order. Theft is a thing of very rare occurrence. Megasthenes, who was in the camp of Sandrokottos which consisted of 400,000 men, says he found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of 200 drachmai,[101] and this among a people who have no written laws, but are ignorant of writing, and conduct all matters by memory.[102] They lead nevertheless happy lives, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine except at sacrifices. Their beverage is prepared from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice-pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contacts appears from the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges or deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses, but make their deposits and confide in one another. Their houses and property are for the most part unguarded.

54. Their favourite mode of exercising the body is by friction in various ways, but especially by passing smooth ebony rollers over the surface of the body. Their tombs are plain, and the mounds raised over the dead, lowly. In contrast to the simplicity they observe in other matters, they love finery and ornament. They wear dresses worked in gold, and adorned with precious stones, and also flowered robes made of fine muslin. Attendants follow them with umbrellas; for they hold beauty in high esteem and resort to any device which helps to improve their looks. They respect alike truth and virtue. Hence they assign no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom.

The Indian rulers:

55. The care of the king's person is entrusted to women, who also are bought from their parents. The bodyguards and the rest of the soldiery are posted outside the gates. A woman who kills a king when drunk is rewarded by becoming the wife of his successor. The sons succeed the father. The king may not sleep during the daytime, and at night he is obliged to change his couch from time to time to defeat plots against his life. The king leaves his palace not only in time of war, but when he has to sit in court to try causes. He remains there for the whole day without allowing the business to be interrupted, even though the time arrives for attending to his person. This attention consists in the friction of his person with cylinders of wood. He continues hearing cases while the friction, which is performed by four attendants, is still proceeding.[103]

Types of Philosophers, personal discipline, sexual abstinence, vegetarian and other ethics, notions of death:

58. Speaking of the philosophers, he says that those who inhabit the mountains are worshippers of Dionysos, showing as proofs *that he had come among them* the wild vine which grows in their country only, and the ivy, and the laurel, and the myrtle, and the box-tree, and other evergreens, none of which are found beyond the Euphrates except a few in parks, which it requires great care to preserve. Some of their customs are of a Dionysiac character, their wearing muslin robes and the turban, using perfumes, dressing themselves in garments dyed of florid hues, and their kings

marching out from the palace to the beat of the drum and the jingling of musical bells. But the philosophers who live in the plains worship Herakles.[104]

59. According to another principle of division, he makes two sects of the philosophers, one of which he calls the Brachmanes and the other the Garmanes.[105] The Brachmanes are held in higher estimation, for they agree more exactly in their opinions. From the time of their conception in the womb they are under the care and guardianship of learned men who go to the mother, and under the pretence of using some incantations for the welfare of herself and her unborn child, in reality give her prudent hints and counsels, and the women who listen to them most willingly are thought to be the most fortunate in their offspring. After their birth the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in years their masters are men of superior accomplishments. The philosophers reside in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style and lie on pallets of straw and (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sexual pleasures; and occupy their time in listening to serious discourse and in imparting knowledge to willing ears. But the hearer is not permitted to speak or cough, or even to spit, otherwise he is cast out from their society that very day as being a man without self-control. After living in this manner for seven-and-thirty years,[106] each individual retires to his own possessions, where he lives in security and under less restraint, wearing robes of muslin and a few gold ornaments on his fingers and in his ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals which assist man in his labours, and abstain from hot and highly seasoned food…. The Brachmanes do not communicate a knowledge of philosophy to their wives, lest they should divulge any of the forbidden mysteries to the profane, if they became depraved, or lest they should desert them if they became good philosophers; for no one who despises alike pleasure and pain, life and death, is willing to be subject to another; and this is the character both of a good man and of a good woman.

Their discourse turns most frequently on death. They regard this life as the time, so to speak, when the child within the womb becomes mature, and death as a birth into a real and happy life for those that are philosophers. On this account they undergo much discipline as a preparation for death. They

consider nothing that befalls men to be either good or bad, for otherwise some persons would not be affected with sorrow and others with joy by the very same things, their notions being as inane as dreams, nor would the same persons be affected at different times with sorrow and joy by the very same things. With regard to ideas about physical phenomena, our author says that they display great simplicity, for they are better in their actions than in their reasoning, their belief being chiefly based upon fables. On many points, however, their opinions coincide with those of the Greeks, for the Brachmanes say with them that the world was created, and is liable to destruction, that it is of a spherical figure, and that the Deity who made and governs it is diffused through all its parts. They hold that the principles of all things are different, but that water was the principle employed in the formation of the world; that in addition to the four elements there is a fifth nature from which the heaven and the stars were produced, and that the earth is situated in the centre of the universe. Concerning generation, the nature of the soul, and many other subjects, they express views similar to those of the Greeks. They wrap up their doctrines about the immortality of the soul and judgment in Hades in fable after the manner of Plato. This is the account which Megasthenes gives of the Brachmanes.

60. Of the Sarmanes the most honourable, he says, are those called the Hylobioi.[107] They live in the forests, subsist on leaves and wild fruits, wear garments made from the bark of trees, and abstain from wine and commerce with women. They communicate with the kings who consult them by messengers regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the Deity. Next in honour to the Hylobioi are the physicians for they apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man. They are frugal in their habits, but do not live in the fields. Their food consists of rice and barley-meal, which every one gives who is asked, as well as every one who receives them as a guest. By their knowledge of medicine they can make persons have a numerous offspring and make also the children to be either male or female. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies in most repute are ointments and plasters. All others they suppose to partake largely of a noxious nature. Both this class and the other class of persons practice fortitude as well by undergoing active toil as by enduring suffering, so that they will remain motionless for

a whole day in one fixed posture. Besides these there are diviners and sorcerers and those who are conversant with the rites and customs relating to the dead, who go about villages and towns begging. Those who are more cultured than these, and mix more with mankind, inculcate the vulgar opinions concerning Hades, which they think conducive to piety and sanctity. Women study philosophy with some of them, but they too abstain from sexual intercourse.

On Alexander's meeting with Brahmin Sages, one of whom returned with him:

61. Aristoboulos says that in Taxila he saw two of the sages, both Brachmanes; the elder had his head shaved, but the other wore his hair; both of them were followed by their disciples. Their spare time is spent in the market-place; in respect of their being public counsellors they receive great homage, and have the privilege of taking without payment whatever they want that is offered for sale; on every person whom they accost they pour oil of sesamum until it trickles down to their face; of honey, which is exposed for sale in great quantity, and of sesamum they take enough wherewith to make cakes, and their food costs them nothing. They came to Alexander's table and took their meal standing, and gave an example of their endurance by retiring to a place that was near where the elder lying on his back endured the sun and the rains which were now falling, as spring had by this time set in. The other stood on one leg holding up with both his hands a beam of wood about three cubits long; when the leg became fatigued he supported himself on the other, and continued thus the whole day long. The younger seemed to have far greater self-control, for having followed the king for a short distance he quickly turned back home. The king sent after him, but he requested the king to come to him if he wanted anything at his hands. The other accompanied the king to the end of his days, and in staying with him dressed in a different style and altered his whole mode of life. When he was reproached by some for so doing, he answered that he had completed the forty years of asceticism which he had promised to observe.[108]

Discourse about philosophy with Naked Sages and their choice of fire for the cessation of life:

63. Onesikritos says that he himself was sent to converse with these sages. For Alexander heard that these men went about naked, inured themselves to hardships, and were held in highest honour; that when invited, they did not go to other persons, but requested such to come to them if they wished to participate in their exercises or conversations. Such being their principles, Alexander neither thought it consistent with his dignity to go to them nor cared to compel them to do anything that was contrary to their inclinations and their native customs. He therefore dispatched Onesikritos to them, who relates that he found at the distance of twenty stadia from the city fifteen men standing in different postures, sitting or lying down naked, who did not move from these positions till the evening, when they returned to the city. The most difficult thing to endure was the heat of the sun, which was so violent that no one else could without pain endure to walk on the ground at midday with bare feet.

64. He conversed with Kalanos, one of these sages, who afterwards accompanied the king to Persis, where he died after the manner of his country, amid the flames of the funeral pyre on which he had been laid. Onesikritos found him at the time of his visit lying upon stones. He approached the sage, and, having accosted him, informed him how he had been sent by the king to hear their wisdom, and to bring him a report of its nature. So then, if there was no objection, he was ready to listen to his discourse. Kalanos, observing that he wore a mantle, a broad-brimmed cap and long boots, laughed, and said: In former times the world was full of corn and barley, as it is now of dust; the fountains then flowed, some with water and others with milk, or it might be with honey or with wine and with oil; but mankind by repletion and luxury became proud and insolent. Then Zeus, indignant at this state of things, made all disappear, and allotted to man a life of toil. When temperance, however, and other virtues had appeared once more in the world, an abundance of good things again arose. But at present the condition of satiety and wantonness was approaching, and threatened to do away with the existing state of things. Having spoken thus, he requested Onesikritos, if he wished to hear him, to strip off his

clothes, and lying down naked on the same stones with himself, to listen to his discourse.

While Onesikritos was hesitating what to do, Mandanis, who was the oldest and wisest of these sages, rebuked Kalanos for his insolence and for his showing that vice himself even while condemning it in others. He then called Onesikritos to him, and said that he praised the king because though he ruled over so great an empire, he nevertheless desired wisdom, and was the only philosopher in arms that he had ever seen. It would indeed be the greatest of all benefits if those who have the power to persuade the willing and compel the unwilling to learn moderation were men of good sense. 'I am entitled,' he added, 'to indulgence, if, while conversing by means of three interpreters, who, except the language, understand nothing we say any more than the vulgar, I am unable to demonstrate the utility of *philosophy.* One might as well expect water to flow pure through mud.'

65. The tendency of his discourse, he said, was this, that the best doctrine was that which removed pleasure and grief from the mind; that grief differed from labour in that the former was an enemy and the latter a friend to man; for men exercised their bodies with labour in order to strengthen their mental powers, by which means they would put an end to dissensions, and would unite in giving good counsel to all, both to the public and to individuals. They would now unite also in advising Taxiles to receive Alexander as a friend, for if he received a person better than himself, he would dispose him to good. Mandanis having spoken to this effect, then enquired whether such doctrines were current among the Greeks. Onesikritos replied 'that Pythagoras taught a similar doctrine, and enjoined his disciples to abstain from animal food; and that Sokrates and Diogenes,[109] to whose discourses he had listened, held like opinions. Mandanis replied that in other respects he thought they entertained sound notions, but erred on one point by preferring custom to nature, for otherwise they would not be ashamed to go naked like himself and to subsist on frugal fare – for that was the best house which required least repairs.' He says also that they busy themselves with enquiries concerning natural phenomena, prognostics, rains, droughts and diseases. When they repair to the city they disperse themselves in the market-place. If they happen to meet any who carried figs or bunches of grapes, they take what he bestows without giving

anything in return. If he carries oil, he pours it over them, and they are anointed with it. Every wealthy house is open to them, even the apartments of the women. On entering they share the repast and join in the conversation. It is considered most disgraceful to have any bodily disease. Hence when one suspects himself to be infected he rids himself of life by means of fire, for having prepared a funeral pile and anointed himself, he settles himself upon the pyre, orders it to be kindled, and remains motionless while he is burning.

66. Nearchos gives the following account of the Sages. Some of the Brachmanes take part in political life, and attend the kings as counsellors. The others are engaged in the study of nature. Kalanos belonged to the latter class. Women study philosophy along with them, and all lead an austere life. With respect to the customs of the other Indians, he informs us that their laws, whether those applicable to the community or to individuals, are not committed to writing, and are quite different from those of other nations. For example, among some tribes it is the custom to offer virgins as a prize to the victor in a boxing-match, so that they may be married though portionless.[110] Among other tribes again the land is cultivated by families in common, and when the crops are collected, each person takes a load for his support throughout the year. The remainder of the produce is burned to give them a reason for setting to work anew, and not remaining idle. Their weapons consist of a bow and arrows which are three cubits long, or a javelin and a shield, and a broadsword three cubits long. Instead of bridles they use muzzles which differ little from halters, and the lips are perforated with spikes.

68. As an example of the disagreements among writers on India, we may take what they say about Kalanos. They are at one in stating that he went away from India with Alexander, and while still with him underwent a voluntary death by fire, but they do not agree as to the cause and manner of his death; for some have written to this effect: Kalanos accompanied the king in the capacity of his eulogist beyond the mountains of India, contrary to the common custom of the philosophers of that country, who attend upon their kings, instructing them in matters relating to the gods, in the same manner as the Magi attend the Persian kings. When he became sick at Pasargadai,[111] this being the first sickness he ever had, he put an end to

himself in his seventy-third year, without heeding the entreaties of the king. A pyre was raised and a golden couch placed upon it. He then laid himself down thereon, and having covered himself up was burned to death. Others again say that a chamber was constructed of wood and filled with the leaves of trees, and that a pyre having been made upon the roof, he was shut up in it according to his directions, after the procession with which he had been accompanied – that he then flung himself upon the pyre, and was consumed like a beam of wood along with the chamber. Megasthenes, however, says that self-destruction is not a dogma of the philosophers, but that those who commit this act are regarded as foolhardy; that some are naturally of a severe temper and inflict wounds upon their bodies or cast themselves down a precipice, that those who are impatient of pain drown themselves, and those of ardent tempers throw themselves into the fire. Kalanos was a man of this stamp. He was ruled by his passions and became a slave to the table of Alexander. He is on this account condemned by the Indians, but Mandanis is praised, because when messengers from Alexander invited him to go to the son of Zeus, with the promise of gifts if he complied, and threats of punishment if he refused, he did not go. Alexander, he said, was not the son of Zeus, for he was not so much as the master of the larger part of the world. For his part he wanted none of the gifts of a man whose desires nothing could satiate, and as little did he fear his threats, for while he lived India would supply him with food enough, and when he died he would be delivered from the flesh now wasted with age, and would be translated to a better and a purer state of existence. Alexander commended him and excused him from coming.

70. The Pramnai[112] are philosophers opposed to the Brachmanes, and are contentious and fond of argument. They ridicule the Brachmanes who study physiology and astronomy as fools and impostors. Some of them are called the Pramnai of the mountains, others the Gymnetai, and others again the Pramnai of the city or the Pramnai of the country. Those of the mountains wear deer-skins and carry wallets filled with roots and drugs, professing to cure diseases by means of incantations, charms, and amulets. The Gymnetai, in accordance with their name, are naked, and live generally in the open air practicing endurance, as I have already mentioned, for seven-and-thirty years. Women live in their society without sexual commerce.

71. The Pramnai of the city live in towns and wear muslin robes, while those of the country clothe themselves with the skins of fawns or antelopes. In a word, the Indians wear white apparel – white muslin and linen (contrary to the statements of those who say that they wear garments dyed of florid hues); all of them wear long hair and long beards, plait their hair and bind it with a fillet.

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CHAPTER — 4

PLINY

Gaius Plinius Secundus (c. AD 23-79), the Elder Pliny, was a Roman scholar, statesman, and author of *Naturalis historia* (*Natural History*), comprising 37 books dealing with geography, ethnography, anthropology, physiology, zoology, and other subjects. Pliny went to Rome after the death of Nero and held several high offices of state, patronised by Vespasian and his son Titus. He published the first ten books himself about AD 77, dedicated to Titus. The rest were published by his nephew and adopted son, Pliny the Younger, after his death in the eruption of Mount Vesuvius two years later. Pliny's *Natural History* has several valuable references to India (Book VI) as they record facts not mentioned elsewhere. The extracts selected are based on English translations of McCrindle[113] (M-V) and Bostock (*The Natural History of Pliny* translated by John Bostock and H.T. Riley, London, George Bell and Sons 1890). We have tried to avoid topics dealt with by other authors, though some overlapping is inevitable in a work of this nature, and nuances by various authors themselves make interesting reading. We have excluded narratives on "fabulous races" as utterly irrelevant to the modern reader.

Position, boundaries, and physical characteristics of India:

Book VI. c. 17 (21) But where the chain of Hemodus rises the communities are settled, and the nations of India, which begin there, adjoin not only the eastern sea but also the southern, which we have already mentioned under the name of the Indian Ocean. That part which faces the east runs in a straight line to the bend where the Indian Ocean begins, and measures 1875 miles. Then from this bend to the south up to the river Indus, which forms the western boundary of India, the distance, as given by Eratosthenes, is 2475 miles. But many authors have represented the total length of its coast as being a sail of forty days and forty nights, and its length from north to south as being 2850 miles.[114] Agrippa has estimated its length at 3300 miles, and its breadth at 2300…

Here the appearance of the heavens is entirely changed, and the stars rise differently; there are two summers in the year, and two harvests having winter between them, while the Etesian winds are prevalent; and during our winter the breezes there are light and the seas navigable. In this country the nations and cities are numberless should one attempt to reckon them all up. It was opened up to our knowledge not only by the arms of Alexander the Great and of the kings who succeeded him, Seleucus and Antiochus, as well as by their admiral Patrokles who sailed round even into the Hyrcanian and Caspian seas, but also by certain Greek authors, who resided with Indian kings, such as Megasthenes, and Dionysius who was sent by Philadelphus, and have thus informed us of the power and resources of the Indian nations.

However, there is no room for a careful examination of their statements, they are so diverse and incredible. The companions of Alexander the Great have written that in that tract of India, which he subdued, there were 5000 towns, none less than Cos – that its nations were nine in number – that India was the third part of all the world, and that the multitude of its inhabitants was past reckoning. For this there was probably a good reason, since the Indians almost alone among the nations have never emigrated from their own borders. Their kings from Father Bacchus down to Alexander the Great are reckoned at 153 over a space of 6451 years and three months. The vast size of their rivers fills the mind with wonder. It is recorded that Alexander on no day had sailed on the Indus less than 600 stadia, and was unable to reach its mouths in less than five months and a few days and yet it appears that it is smaller than the Ganges. Seneca, who was our fellow-citizen and composed a treatise on India, has given the number of its rivers at 60, and that of its nations at 118. It would be as great a difficulty should we attempt to enumerate its mountains. The chains of Imavos, Hemodus, Paropanisus, and Caucasus are mutually connected, and from their base the whole country sinks down into a plain of immense extent and bears a great resemblance to Egypt. But that our account of the geography of these regions may be better understood, we shall tread in the steps of Alexander the Great, whose marches were measured by Diognetes and Baeton.

On the land and the people:

Book VII. c. 2. India and the regions of the Ethiopians are particularly abundant in wonders. In India the largest of animals are produced; their dogs, for instance, are much bigger than any others, and as for their trees, they are said to be of such vast height that it is impossible to shoot arrows over them. Such besides is the fertility of the soil, the geniality of the climate, and the abundance of water, that if we may believe what is said, troops of cavalry can find shelter under a single fig-tree. The reeds are here also of so prodigious a length that a section between two nodes can make a canoe, capable, in some instances, of holding three men….

Their philosophers, whom they call Gymnosophists, are accustomed to remain in one posture with their eyes immovably fixed on the sun from his rising till his going down, and to stand on the burning sands all day long now on one foot and then on the other…[115]

INDIAN ANIMALS

Alexander's fleet first sees whales at sea:

Book IX. C.2. The most numerous and the largest of these (aquatic) animals are to be found in the Indian Sea. Among them are *baloenoe* of 4 *jugera,* and the *pristis,* 200 cubits in length.[116] Here, too, are lobsters of 4 cubits and in the river Ganges eels 300 feet long.[117] But at sea it is about the time of the solstices when these monsters are most to be seen. For it is then that in these regions the whirlwinds sweep on amain, the rains descend, the hurricanes rush onward, hurled down from the mountain tops, while the sea upheaved from the very bottom rolls upon its surges the monsters that have been driven from their retreats in the depths below. At other times such vast shoals of tunnies are encountered that the fleet of Alexander the Great formed itself into line of battle to confront them, as it would have done when opposed to a hostile fleet, for except by charging them with long pikes, the danger could not otherwise be evaded. No shouts, no noises, no crashing blows availed to frighten them. Nothing but their utter discomfiture dismayed and confounded them…[118]

The sea turtle and other fish:

C. 12. The Indian Sea produces turtles of such vast size that the shell of a single animal suffices to roof over a habitable cottage.

C. 17. In the Ganges, a river of India, is found a fish called the *platanista;* it has the muzzle and the tail of the dolphin, and is of the length of 16 cubits.[119]

C. 35. Those fish called sea-mice, as well as the polypi and the muraenae, are in the habit of coming ashore. In the Indian rivers there is besides a certain kind of fish which does this and then leaps back, for they pass over into standing waters and streams. Most fishes are evidently led by instinct to do this that they may spawn in safety, since in such waters there are no animals to devour their young, and the waves are less violent. It is still more a wonder to find that they have a comprehension of causation and observe the recurrence of periods, when we reflect that the best time for catching fish is while the sun is passing though the sign of *Pisces*.

Varieties of birds:

Book X. 2 (2). Ethiopia and India, more especially, produce birds of diversified plumage, and such as quite surpass all description.

C. 30 (23). By the departure of the cranes which were in the habit of waging war with the pygmies, that race now enjoys a respite from their hostilities. The tracts over which they travel must be immense, when we consider that they come from such a distance as the Eastern Sea.

C. 41 (58). Above all, there are birds that imitate the human voice – parrots, for instance, which are even able to converse. This bird is sent us from India, where it is called the septagen. The body is all over green, except that around its neck it is marked with a ring of red. It salutes its masters, and pronounces such words as it hears spoken. It becomes very frolicsome under the effects of wine. Its head is as hard as its beak, and this is beaten with an iron rod if it does not learn to speak what it is being taught, for it feels no pain if struck elsewhere than on the head.

The Indian ass:

Book XI. C. 46 (106). Horned animals are in general cloven-footed, but no animal has at once a solid hoof and a pair of horns. The Indian ass alone

is armed with a single horn… and is the only instance of a solid-hoofed animal that is provided with a pastern-bone.

C. 10 (45). The Greeks had no knowledge from experience of the urns and bison, although the forests of India are filled with herds of wild oxen.

INDIAN PLANTS

Wool bearing trees and the ebony tree:

Book XII. 4 (8). In our account of the Seres we have mentioned their trees which bear wool, and have likewise noticed the immense size of the trees of India. One tree peculiar to that country – the ebony tree – has been extolled by Virgil, who teaches us that it grows nowhere else.[120] Herodotus, however, leads us to believe that it was rather a product of Ethiopia, for he informs us that the people of that country paid every third year to the kings of Persia by way of tribute one hundred planks of ebony wood, together with a certain amount of gold and ivory.

C. (9). There are two kinds of ebony; the better sort is scarce, and is remarkably free from knots. It is black and lustrous, and pleases the eye at once without the aid of art. The other sort is produced from a shrub like cytisus and is found in all parts of India.

Fig tree:

C. (11). The fig-tree of that country produces but a small fruit. Always propagating itself spontaneously it spreads out far and wide with its vast branches, the ends of which bend downward to the ground to such a degree that in the course of a year they take root again and young daughters grow around the mother-tree circlewise as in ornamental gardening. Within that enclosure, which is overshadowed and protected by the rampart of stems thrown out by the tree, shepherds are wont to spend the summer; the circuit of overarching boughs presenting a scene of great magnificence whether viewed from a distance or from under the leafy canopy. The higher branches of the tree shoot far up into the sky in multitudinous ramifications from the vast trunk of the parent tree, so that it very often overspreads a circuit of sixty paces, while its shade covers as much as a couple of stadia. The broad leaves have the shape of an Amazonian buckler, and hence the

fruit being so much covered by the leaves is stunted in its growth, small in quantity, and never bigger than a bean. The figs, however, being ripened by the rays of the sun piercing through the leaves, are exceedingly luscious and worthy of the marvellous character of the tree which produces them. These trees are found more particularly in the neighbourhood of the river Acesines (Chenab).

C. 6 (12). There is a tree still larger which yields a still more luscious fruit – that on which the Indian sages subsist. The leaf, which is three cubits long and two cubits broad, resembles the wings of birds. The fruit, which grows on the bark, is remarkable for the wondrous sweetness of its juice, and is so large that one would of itself suffice for four persons. The tree is called the *pala* and its fruit *ariena*.[121] It is found in greatest abundance in the country of the Sydraci, which formed the limit reached by Alexander's expedition. There is besides another tree which resembles this one, though the fruit which it bears is sweeter, and, when eaten, produces severe disorders of the bowels. Alexander published an order forbidding any one in his army touching this fruit.[122]

C. (13) The Macedonians have mentioned various kinds of trees (in India) but generally without giving their names. There is one which resembles the terebinth (turpentine tree) in every respect except the fruit, which is like the almond though it is of a smaller size, and remarkable for its extreme sweetness. It was found chiefly in Bactra, and some persons took it to be a variety of terebinth rather than a tree to which it bore a striking resemblance. As to the tree again from which they make a kind of linen cloth, in leaf it resembles the mulberry tree, while the calyx of the fruit is similar to the dog-rose. It is reared in cultivated grounds, and no other kind of plantation makes such a charming landscape around a country-seat.

The Indian pepper:

C. 7 (14). The olive-tree in India is sterile, with the exception however of the wild olive. The pepper plant grows everywhere (in India), and resembles our junipers in appearance, though some writers assert that they only grow on the slopes of Caucasus, which lie exposed to the sun.[123] The seeds differ from the juniper by their being enclosed in very small pods

such as we see in kidney beans. These pods make what is called long pepper, if, before they burst open, they are plucked and then dried in the sun. But when they are allowed to ripen, they gradually split open, and at maturity disclose the white pepper, which then by exposure to the heat of the sun changes its colour and becomes wrinkled. These products, however, are liable to a peculiar disease, for if the weather be bad they are attacked with a smutty kind of blight, which makes the seeds nothing but rotten empty husks, called *bregma,* a term which in the Indian language signifies *dead*. Of all the kinds of pepper this is the most pungent and the lightest, while the white kind is less pungent than either. The root of this tree is not, as some have supposed, the article called by some writers, *Zimpiberi* while others call it *Zingiberi* (ginger), although its taste is very similar… Long pepper is very easily adulterated with Alexandrian mustard. It sells at fifteen denarii the pound, the white kind at seven, and the black at four. It is surprising how it has become such a favourite article of consumption; for while other substances attract us, some by reason of their sweetness, and others because they are of an inviting appearance, pepper has nothing to recommend it either for fruit or berry, its pungency being the only quality for which it is esteemed; and yet for this it must be fetched from far away India…. Both pepper and ginger grow wild in their respective countries, and yet here we buy them by weight like gold and silver. Italy too now produces a kind of pepper-tree… but its 'pepper' has not that mature flavour which the Indian sort acquires by its exposure to the sun.

C. (15) There is, moreover, in India, a grain similar to pepper, but larger and more brittle, and this is called *caryophyllon*.[124] The same country produces also on a thorny shrub a grain resembling pepper which is remarkable for its pungency. The leaves of this shrub are small and packed closely together like those of the privet. Its branches, which are three cubits long, are of a pallid colour, while its root is wide-spreading and woody, and of the colour of boxwood. From this root, when boiled along with the seed in a copper vessel, is prepared the medicament called *lycion*.[125] The Indians send us this preparation in vessels made from the skins of camels or rhinoceroses. Some persons in Greece call the shrub itself the *Chironian pyxacanthus*, the berberry shrub, or box-thorn.

Medicinal herb:

C. 8 (16) *Macir* also is brought to us from India. It is the red bark of a large root called by the same name as the tree which grows from it. What the tree is like I have not been able to learn. A decoction of this bark with honey is used in medicine as a specific for dysentery.

Sugarcane fascinated all Greek writers:

C. (17) Arabia too produces sugar, but the Indian kind is more esteemed, it is a honey collected in reeds, white like gum, and brittle to the teeth.[126] The largest pieces are of the size of a filbert nut; it is only used in medicine.

Aromatic herbs and unguents:

C. 12 (25). There is a root and also a leaf which are both very highly prized by the Indians. The root is that of the *costus*; it is burning hot to the taste, and has an exquisite aromatic odour; the shrub is otherwise of no use.[127] In the island of Patale, at the very mouth of the Indus, two kinds of it are found – one black, the other white, and this is the better of the two. The price of this article is five denarii per pound.

C. 26 Of the leaf, which is that of the *nardus*, it is but proper we should write at greater length, seeing that it holds the first place among unguents. This shrub[128] has a root thick and heavy, but short, black and brittle notwithstanding that it is unctuous, and has a musty smell like that of the *cypirus*. It has a sharp, acrid taste, and its leaves are small and thickly set together. At the top the nard spreads out into ears, and hence it is celebrated as being doubly dowered – with spikes and ears and with leaves that are both of high value.

(Nard's) purity is tested by its lightness, the redness of its colour, the sweetness of its smell, and more particularly the taste, which parches the mouth, while at the same time the flavour is most delicious. The price of spikenard is 100 denarii per pound.

C. 28. The grape of the amomum[129] is in common use. It grows on a wild vine which is found in India, or, as others think, on a shrub produced on the mountains which rises to the height of a palm-tree. It is plucked along with

the root, and is gently pressed together by the hands, for it very quickly becomes brittle. That kind is most esteemed which has leaves closely resembling those of the pomegranate, being without wrinkles and of a red colour. The second quality is that which is distinguished by the paleness of its colour. An inferior kind has a grassy appearance, and the white is the worst of all. This is its colour when old. The price of the amomum grape is sixty denarii per pound, but when crumbled it sells at forty-nine only.

Cardamom:

C. (29) Similar to these (amomum and amomis), both in name and the nature of the shrub, is cardamomum, the seed of which is of an oblong shape.[130] It is gathered in the same way both in India and Arabia. There are four sorts of it. That which is most esteemed is very green in the colour, unctuous, with sharp angles which make it hard to break; the next quality is of a reddish white tint – the third is shorter and blacker, while the worst is mottled, friable, and has but a faint smell, which ought to be similar to costum when genuine. Cardamum grows also in Media. The price of the best kind is three denarii.

Indian import from Arabia:

C. 17 (38). In Arabia, too, the olive-tree distils a tear, with which the Indians prepare a medicament called by the Greeks *enhoemon*,[131] and said to be of singular efficacy in cicatrising wounds.

Pliny did not approve of imports of luxury goods:

C. 15 (41). At the very lowest computation, India, the Seres, and the Arabian peninsula drain from our empire yearly one hundred million of sesterces; so dearly we pay for our luxury and our women.

C.22 (48) Scented calamus, also, which grows in Arabia, is common to both India and Syria.[132]

Mangroves:

Book XIII, c. 25 (51). The officers of Alexander who navigated the Indian seas have left on record a description of a marine tree, the leaves of which are green while in the water, but which, as soon as they are taken out, are dried into salt. They have noticed also bulrushes of stone closely resembling the real, and found along the seashore. They found, besides, certain shrubs in the deep sea of the colour of an ox's horn, which sent out numerous branches and are red at the tips. These were brittle, and broke like glass when touched, but in the fire they turned red-hot like iron, though on cooling they resumed their natural colour. In the same region the tide covers the woods[133] which grow on the islands though the trees are of a greater height than the tallest planes and poplars. Their leaves, which never fall off, resemble those of the laurel, their flowers those of the violet both in colour and smell, and their berries those of the olive. These berries are of a pleasant fragrance, make their appearance in autumn, and fall from the trees in spring. The smaller trees are entirely covered by the sea. The tops of the tallest stand out of the water, and ships are fastened to them, but when the tide ebbs they are fastened to the roots. We learn from the same authorities that they saw out in the same sea other trees which always retained their leaves and produced a fruit like the lupine.

Coconut palm:

Book XIV. c. 16 (19). The fruit of the palm is employed for this purpose (making wine) by the Parthians as well as the Indians, and indeed throughout all the countries of the East.

Book XV. c.7 (7) The Indians are said to extract oils from the chestnut, sesamum, and rice, and the Ichthyophagi from fish.

Book XVIII, c. 10 (22) Sesame comes from India, where they extract an oil[134] from it. The grain is of a white colour.

C. 13. In India there is both a cultivated and a wild barley, from which they make excellent bread as well as a kind of pottage. But their favourite diet is rice, from which a *ptisan* is prepared like that which is elsewhere made from barley. The leaves of the rice-plant are fleshy, and similar to those of the leek but broader; the plant itself is a cubit in height, the blossom is purple, and the root is round like a pearl.

INDIAN MINERALS AND PRECIOUS STONES

Salt mountains:

Book XXXI. C. 7 (39) There are mountains also formed of native salt, as, for instance, Ormenus[135], in India, where it is cut out like blocks from a quarry and is continually reproduced, whence a greater revenue accrues to the sovereigns of the country than they derive from gold and pearls.

Indian coral and oysters:

Book XXXII. C. 2 (11) Among the people of India as high a value is set upon coral as in our part of the world is set upon Indian pearls… The berries of coral are no less appreciated by the men of India than are Indian pearls by women among us. Their soothsayers and prophets regard coral as the most sacred of amulets ensuring protection against all dangers, so highly do they value it both as an ornament and an object of devotion.

C. 6 (21) According to the historians of the expedition of Alexander, oysters were found in the Indian Sea a foot in diameter.

Indigo:

C. 13 (57). It is not long since indicum[136] began to be imported, its price being 17 denarii per pound.

Book XXXV. C. 6 (27) Indicum is tested by placing it on hot coals, when, if it be genuine, it gives out a fine purple flame, and while smoking, a scent as of rocks near the shore. The price of indicum is twenty sesterces per pound. If used as a medicine, indicum acts as a sedative for ague and other shivering fits and desiccated sores.

Mineral wealth of India:

Book XXXVII. C. 1 (9) The East, too, sends us crystals, there being none preferred to the Indian kind.

C. 2 (11). Amber is found in India, where it is preferable substitute for frankincense. Ctesias says that in India is a river, the Hypobarus, and that the meaning of its name is the bearer of all good things – that it flows from

the north into the eastern Ocean near a mountain covered with trees that produce amber (electron),[137] and that these trees are called *aphytacoroe,* a name signifying *luscious sweetness*.

C. 4. (15) At the present day, for the first time six varieties of the diamond (adamas) are recognised. The Indian diamond is not found embedded in gold, but in a substance akin to crystals, which it equals in transparency and resembles in having six angles and six highly polished equal sides, while it is turbinated to a point at either extremity, just as if two cones should, to our wonder, be conjoined at their bases. As for size, it is as large even as a hazel nut.[138]

C. 4 (16) Next in esteem with us (to diamonds) are the pearls of India and Arabia.

C. 5. (20). It is thought by many that beryls are of the same, or at all events of a like nature with emeralds. India produces them, and they are rarely found elsewhere…. The Indians take a marvellous pleasure in beryls that are distinguished by their great length, and say that these are the only precious stones which they prefer to wear without gold; and hence, after piercing them, they string them upon elephant bristles. It is agreed that those beryls which are of perfect quality should not be perforated, but should merely be clasped at their extremities with circlets of gold. They prefer therefore to cut them into the form of a cylinder rather than to set them as precious stones, since those that are of greatest length are most in fashion. Some are of opinion that beryls are naturally angular, and that piercing them adds to their splendour in consequence of the removal of the white substance within, while the reflection of the gold still further brightens their brilliancy, and their thickness no longer mars their transparency…

C. 6 (21) Opals are at once very like and very unlike beryls, and are inferior in value to emeralds alone. India, too, is the sole mother of these precious stones,[139] thus completing her glory as being the great producer of the most costly gems.

C. 6 (22). This stone (opal), on account of its extraordinary beauty, has been called by many authors *paderos* (lovely youth); such as make a distinct species of it say that it is the gem called by the people of India *sangenon.*

C. 6 (23). By sardonyx, as the name itself implies, was formerly meant a *sarda* with a whiteness in it, like the flesh under the human finger-nail, the white part being transparent like the rest of the stone;[140] and that this was the character of the Indian sardonyx is stated by Ismenias, Demostratus, Zenothemis, and Sotacus. The last two give the name of *blind* sardonyx to all the other stones of this class which are not transparent, and which have now monopolised the name… Zenothemis writes that these stones were not held in esteem by the Indians, and that some were so large that the hilts of swords were made of them. It is well known that in that country they are laid bare to view by the mountain streams, and that in our part of the world they were at the outset prized from the fact that they were almost the only ones among engraved precious stones that do not take away the wax with them from an impression. We have in consequence taught the Indians themselves by the force of our example to value these stones, and the lower classes more particularly pierce them and wear them round the neck; and this is now a proof that a sardonyx is of Indian origin.

c. 6 (24). Zenothemis says there are numerous varieties of the Indian *onyx*,[141] the fiery-coloured, the black, the cornel with white veins encircling them like an eye, and in some cases running across them obliquely. The real onyx, he points out, has numerous veins of varying colours, along with streaks of a milk-white hue, and as these colours harmoniously shade into each other they produce, by their combinations, a tint of a beauty which is inexpressibly charming.

C. 7 (29) To the same class of flame-coloured stones belongs that known as the *lychnis*,[142] so called because its lustre is enhanced by lamplight, and when so seen is particularly pleasing. It is found in the neighbourhood of Orthosia and all over Caria and the adjoining localities, but the most approved stones are those which come from India.

C. 7 (31) In India three varieties of the Sarda[143] are found: the red Sarda, the one called from its thickness *pionia,* and a third kind beneath which they place a ground of silver foil. The Indian stones are transparent, those of Arabia more opaque.

C. 8 (40) We shall now treat of precious stones of a purple colour or of shades of purple. Among these, Indian amethysts hold the foremost

place…. The Indian kind exhibits in absolute perfection the loveliest shade of purple. It is the greatest ambition of the dyer in purple to attain this hue, for it gleams with a tender radiance which does not dazzle one's eyes like the colours of the carbuncle. Another kind approaches the hyacinth in colour, and this hue the Indians call *socon* and the stone itself *socondion*.

C. 9 (42) Aethiopia produces hyacinths – also chrysoliths – transparent stones of a golden brilliancy. The stones of India are preferred to these… The best are those which, when placed beside gold, give it a whitish appearance like silver.

C. 9 (45) The same country produces also *Xuthon* (Xanthon, yellow), a gem worn by the common people there.

C. 9 (48) Similarly white is the stone called *Astrion*,[144] which closely resembles crystal, and is found in India on the shores of Patalene. In the centre of it there shines a star with a refulgence like that of the moon when full.

C. 10. The agates found in India possess like marvellous properties with those found elsewhere, besides great and marvellous properties peculiar to themselves, for they exhibit the appearance of rivers, groves, beasts of burden… and horse trappings.[145]

C. 10 (56) Corallis, which is product of India and Syene, resembles minium (vermilion) in appearance… Chelonia is the eye of the Indian tortoise.[146] This stone gets its name from 'a tortoise.' Pliny says it was used by magicians for divination.

C. 10 (60) Haematitis is a stone of a blood-red colour… There is another of the same kind called *Menui* by the Indians, and *Xanthos* by the Greeks – being of a whitish tawny colour.

C. 10 (61) *Indica* retains the name of the country which produces it. It is a stone of a reddish colour, but when rubbed it exudes a liquid of a purple hue. There is another stone of this name which is white and of a dusty appearance. *Ion* is an Indian stone of a violet tint, which, however, is seldom found to shine with a full rich lustre.

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CHAPTER — 5

ARRIAN

The Greek historian and philosopher Arrian (Flavius Arrianus) was born about AD 96. He served the Roman Emperor Hadrian as legatus (Governor) of Cappadocia from AD 181 to 187, and distinguished himself in a military expedition to the Alani. His principal work, the *Anabasis of Alexander*, describes Alexander's life from his accession to his death. The passages selected are self-explanatory and concern the invasion of India.[147] Arrian sources his information from the writings of Aristobulus of Cassandreia and Ptolemy, son of Lagus, who later became King of Egypt. As both men accompanied Alexander, the *Anabasis* may be considered as credible a contemporary account as possible.

THE ANABASIS OF ALEXANDER

BOOK IV, CHAPTER XXII

Alexander reaches the river Cabul, and receives the homage of Taxiles:

…Arriving at the city of Nicaea, he offered sacrifice to Athena and then advanced towards the Cophen, sending a herald forward to Taxiles and the other chiefs on this side the river Indus, to bid them come and meet him as each might find it convenient. Taxiles and the other chiefs accordingly did come to meet him, bringing the gifts which are reckoned of most value among the Indians. They said that they would also present to him the elephants which they had with them, twenty-five in number. There he divided his army, and sent Hephaestion and Perdiccas away into the land of Peucelaotis, towards the river Indus with the brigades of Gorgias, Clitus, and Meleager, half of the Companion cavalry, and all the cavalry of the Grecian mercenaries. He gave them instructions either to capture the places on their route by force, or to bring them over on terms of capitulation; and when they reached the river Indus, to make the necessary preparations for the passage of the army. With them Taxiles and the other chiefs also marched. When they reached the river Indus they carried out all Alexander's orders…

CHAPTER XXV

The Aspasians[148] *are routed despite superior numbers due to Alexander's superior military tactics; Alexander is wounded on the shoulder; Macedonians massacre inhabitants fleeing for safety:*

Ptolemy indeed says that all the men were captured, to a number exceeding 40,000, and that over 230,000 oxen were also taken, of which Alexander picked out the finest, because they seemed to him to excel both in beauty and size wishing to send them into Macedonia to till the soil.

Thence he marched towards the land of the Assacenians;[149] for he received news that these people had made preparations to fight him, having 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry, and 300 elephants.

CHAPTER XXVII

Alexander's strategic planning turns the tide in his favour at Massaga after four days of intense fighting during which he gets an arrow wound in his ankle; the survivors are massacred:

… The Indians, as long as the ruler of the place survived, defended themselves gallantly; but when he was struck and killed with a missile hurled from an engine, and as some of their number had fallen in the siege, which had gone on without any cessation, while most of them were wounded and unfit for service, they sent a herald to Alexander. He was glad to preserve the lives of brave men; so he came to terms with the Indian mercenaries on this condition, that they should be admitted into the ranks with the rest of his army and serve as his soldiers.

They therefore came out of the city with their arms and encamped by themselves upon a hill which was facing the camp of the Macedonians; but they resolved to arise by night and run away to their own abodes, because they were unwilling to take up arms against the other Indians. When Alexander received intelligence of this, he placed the whole of his army round the hill in the night, and intercepting them in the midst of their flight, cut them to pieces. He then took the city by storm, denuded as it was of defenders; and captured the mother and daughter of Assacenus…

Thence he dispatched Coenus to Bazira, entertaining an opinion that the inhabitants would surrender, when they heard of the capture of Massaga. He also dispatched Attalus, Alcetas, and Demetrius, the cavalry officer, to

another city, named Ora, with instructions to blockade it until he himself arrived. … The siege of Ora proved an easy matter to Alexander, for he no sooner attacked the walls than at the first assault he got possession of the city, and captured the elephants which had been left there.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Capture of Bazira—Advance to the Rock of Aornus:

When the men in Bazira heard this news, despairing of their own affairs, they abandoned the city about the middle of the night, and fled to the rock… For all the inhabitants deserted the cities and began to flee to the rock…called Aornus. For stupendous is this rock in this land, about which the current report is, that it was found impregnable even by Heracles, the son of Zeus.... The circuit of the rock is said to be about 200 stades (i.e. about twenty-three miles) and its height where it is lowest, eleven stades (i.e. about a mile and a quarter). There was only one ascent, which was artificial and difficult; on the summit of the rock there was abundance of pure water, a spring issuing from the ground, from which the water flowed; and there was also timber, and sufficient good arable land for 1,000 men to till. When Alexander heard this, he was seized with a vehement desire to capture this mountain also, especially on account of the legend which was current about Heracles... (*the rock is captured after a siege and the occupants massacred*).

BOOK V, CHAPTER I

Alexander at Nysa:

Alexander spares Nysa because it was founded by the Greek god Dionysus:

In this country, lying between the rivers Cophen and Indus, which was traversed by Alexander, the city of Nysa is said to be situated…. When Alexander came to Nysa the citizens sent out to him their president, whose name was Acuphis, accompanied by thirty of their most distinguished men as envoys, to entreat Alexander to leave their city free for the sake of the god. The envoys entered Alexander’s tent… Acuphis began thus to speak

“The Nysaeans beseech thee, 0 king, out of respect for Dionysus, to allow them to remain free and independent; for when Dionysus had subjugated the nation of the Indians, and was returning to the Grecian sea, he founded this city from the soldiers who had become unfit for military service, and were under his inspiration as Bacchanals, so that it might be a monument both of his wandering and of his victory to men of after times... From that time we inhabit Nysa, a free city, and we ourselves are independent, conducting our government with constitutional order. And let this be to thee a proof that our city owes its foundation to Dionysus; for ivy, which does not grow in the rest of the country of India, grows among us.”

CHAPTER II

Alexander at Nysa:

All this was very pleasant to Alexander to hear; for he wished that the legend about the wandering of Dionysus should be believed, as well as that Nysa owed its foundation to that deity, since he had himself reached the place where Dionysus came, and had even advanced beyond the limits of the latter’s march. He also thought that the Macedonians would not decline still to share his labours if he advanced further, from a desire to surpass the achievement of Dionysus. He therefore granted the inhabitants of Nysa the privilege of remaining free and independent; and when he heard about their laws, and that the Government was in the hands of the aristocracy, he commended these things. … He [appointed] Acuphis…Governor of the land of Nysaea.

CHAPTER III

Incredulity of Eratosthenes - Passage of the Indus:

When Alexander arrived at the river Indus, he found a bridge made over it by Hephaestion, and two thirty-oared galleys, besides many smaller crafts. He moreover found that 200 talents of silver, 3,000 oxen, above 10,000 sheep for sacrificial victims, and thirty elephants had arrived as gifts from Taxiles the Indian; 700 Indian horsemen also arrived from Taxiles as a reinforcement, and that prince sent word that he would surrender to him the

city of Taxila, the largest town between the river Indus and Hydaspes. Alexander there offered sacrifice to the gods to whom he was in the habit of sacrificing, and celebrated a gymnastic and horse contest near the river.

CHAPTER VIII

March from the Indus to the Hydaspes:

When Alexander had crossed to the other side of the river Indus, he again offered sacrifice there, according to his custom. Then starting from the Indus, he arrived at Taxila, a large and prosperous city, in fact the largest of those situated between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes. He was received in a friendly manner by Taxiles, the governor of the city, and by the Indians of that place; and he added to their territory as much of the adjacent country as they asked for. Thither also came to him envoys from Abisares, king of the mountaineer Indians, the embassy including the brother of Abisares as well as the other most notable men. Other envoys also came from Doxares, the chief of the province, bringing gifts with them. Here again at Taxila Alexander offered the sacrifices which were customary for him to offer, and celebrated a gymnastic and equestrian contest. Having appointed Philip, son of Machatas, viceroy of the Indians of that district, he left a garrison in Taxila, as well as the soldiers who were invalided by sickness, and then marched towards the river Hydaspes. For he was informed that Porus, with the whole of his army, was on the other side of river, having determined either to prevent him from making the passage, or to attack him while crossing... Alexander took the forces which he had when he arrived at Taxila, and the 5,000 Indians under the command of Taxiles and the chiefs of that district, and marched towards the same river.

CHAPTER IX

Porus obstructs Alexander's passage:

Alexander encamped on the bank of the Hydaspes, and Porus was seen with all his army and his large troops of elephants lining the opposite bank. He remained to guard the passage at the place where he saw Alexander had encamped; and sent guards to all the other parts of the river which were

more easily fordable, placing officers over each detachment, being resolved to obstruct the passage of the Macedonians. When Alexander saw this, he thought it advisable to move his army in various directions, to distract the attention of Porus, and render him uncertain what to do… Porus was not allowed to keep at rest, or to bring his preparations together from all sides to any one point if he selected this as suitable for the defence of the passage…

CHAPTER XI

Alexander's stratagem to get across:

There was in the bank of the Hydaspes, a projecting point, where the river makes a remarkable bend. It was densely covered by a grove of all sorts of trees; and over against it in the river was a woody island without a foot-track on account of its being uninhabited. Perceiving that this island was right in front of the projecting point, and that both the spots were woody and adapted to conceal his attempt to cross the river, he resolved to convey his army over at this place…. He gave Craterus orders not to cross the river before Porus moved off with his forces against them, or before he ascertained that Porus was in flight and that they were victorious. "If however," said he, 'Porus should take only a part of his army and march against me, and leave the other part with the elephants in his camp, in that case do thou also remain in thy present position. But if he leads all his elephants with him against me, and a part of the rest of his army is left behind in the camp, then do thou cross the river with all speed. For it is the elephants alone," said he, "which render it impossible for the horses to land on the other bank. The rest of the army can easily cross."

CHAPTER XI

Passage of the Hydaspes:

[Alexander] …made a secret march keeping far away from the bank of the river, in order not to be seen marching towards the island and headland, from which he had determined to cross… In the night a furious storm of rain occurred, on account of which his preparations and attempt to cross

were still less observed, since the claps of thunder and the storm drowned with their din the clatter of the weapons and the noise which arose from the orders given by the officers…. At the approach of day light, both the wind and the rain calmed down; and the rest of the army crossed over in the direction of the island… They went so secretly that they were not observed by the sentinels posted by Porus, before they had already got beyond the island and were only a little way from the other bank.

CHAPTER XV

Arrangement of Porus:

…. Porus…preferred to march against Alexander himself with all his army, and to come into a decisive conflict with the strongest division of the Macedonians, commanded by the king in person. But nevertheless he left a few of the elephants together with a small army there at the camp to frighten the cavalry under Craterus from the bank of the river. He then took all his cavalry to the number of 4,000 men, all his chariots to the number of 300 with 200 of his elephants, and all the infantry available to the number of 30,000, and marched against Alexander. When he found a place where he saw there was no clay, but that on account of the sand the ground was all level and hard, and thus fit for the advance and retreat of horses, he there drew up his army…

CHAPTER XVIII

Losses of the Combatants - Porus Surrenders:

… Of the Indians little short of 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry were killed in this battle. All their chariots were broken to pieces; and two sons of Porus were slain, as were also Spitaces, the governor of the Indians of that district, the managers of the elephants and of the chariots and all the cavalry officers and generals of Porus' army. All the elephants which were not killed there were captured. Of Alexander's forces, about 80 of the 6,000 foot-soldiers who were engaged in the first attack were killed; 10 of the horse-archers, who were also the first to engage in the action; about 20 of the Companion cavalry, and about 200 of the other horsemen fell. When

Porus, who exhibited great talent in the battle, performing the deeds not only of a general but also of a valiant soldier, observed the slaughter of his cavalry,…he did not depart as Darius the Great King did,…but as long as any body of Indians remained compact in the battle, he kept up the struggle. But at last, having received a wound on the right shoulder, which part of his body alone was unprotected during the battle, he wheeled round… Alexander, having seen that he was a great man and valiant in the battle, was very desirous of saving his life. He accordingly sent first to him Taxiles the Indian;… he kept on sending others in succession; and last of all Meroes…

CHAPTER XIX

Alliance with Porus - Death of Bucephalus:

When Alexander heard that Meroes was bringing Porus to him, he rode in front of the line with a few of the Companions to meet Porus; and stopping his horse, he admired his handsome figure and his stature, which reached somewhat above five cubits. He was also surprised that he did not seem to be cowed in spirit, but advanced to meet him as one brave man would meet another brave man, after having gallantly struggled in defence of his own kingdom against another king. Then indeed Alexander was the first to speak, bidding him say what treatment he would like to receive. The story goes that Porus replied "Treat me, O Alexander, in a kingly way!" Alexander, being pleased at the expression, said: "For my own sake, 0 Porus, thou shall be thus treated; but for thy own sake do thou demand what is pleasing to thee!" But Porus said that everything was included in that. Alexander, being still more pleased at this remark, not only granted him the rule over his own Indians, but also added another country to that which he had before, of larger extent than the former. Thus he treated the brave man in a kingly way, and from that time found him faithful in all things.[150]

CHAPTER XXV

The Army Refuses to Advance - Alexander's speech to the officers:

It was reported that the country beyond the river Hyphasis was fertile, and that the men were good agriculturists, and gallant in war; and that they conducted their own political affairs in a regular and constitutional manner. For the multitude was ruled by the aristocracy, who governed in no respect contrary to the rules of moderation. It was stated that the men of that district possessed a much greater number of elephants than the other Indians, and that they were men of very great stature, and excelled in valour. These reports excited in Alexander an ardent desire to advance farther; but the spirit of the Macedonians now began to flag, when they saw the king raising one labour after another, and incurring one danger after another. Conferences were held throughout the camp… [in which the soldiers] resolutely declared that they would not follow Alexander any farther, even if he should lead the way. When he heard of this, before the disorder and pusillanimity of the soldiers should advance to a greater degree, he called a council of the officers of the brigades and addressed them as follows. "O Macedonians and Grecian allies, seeing that you no longer follow me into dangerous enterprises with a resolution equal to that which formerly animated you, I have collected you together into the same spot, so that I may be persuaded by you to return. If indeed the labours which you have already undergone up to our present position seem to you worthy of disapprobation, and if you did not approve of my leading you into them, there can be no advantages in my speaking any further. But if, as the result of these labours, you hold possession of Ionia, the Hellespont, both the Phrygias, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Phoenicia, Egypt together with Grecian Libya, as well as part of Arabia, Hollow Syria, Syria between the rivers, Babylon, the nation of the Susians, Persia, Media, besides all the nations which the Persians and the Medes ruled, and many of those which they did not rule, the land beyond the Caspian Gates, the country beyond the Caucasus, the Tanias, as well as the land beyond that river, Bactria, Hyrcania, and the Hyrcanian Sea; if we have also subdued the Scythians as far as the desert; if, in addition to these, the river Indus flows through our territory, as do also the Hydaspes, the Acesines, and the Hydraotes, why do ye shrink from adding the Hyphasis[151] also, and the nations beyond this river, to your empire of Macedonia? Do ye fear that your advance will be stopped in the future by

any other barbarians? Of whom some submit to us of their own accord, and others are captured in the act of fleeing, while others, succeeding in their efforts to escape, hand over to us their deserted land, which we add to that of our allies, or to that of those who have voluntarily submitted to us.

CHAPTER XXVI

Alexander's speech (continued):

"I, for my part, think, that to a brave man there is no end to labours except the labours themselves, provided they lead to glorious achievements… But, if we now return, many warlike nations are left unconquered beyond the Hyphasis as far as the Eastern Sea, and many besides between these and Hyrcania in the direction of the north wind, and not far from these the Scythian races. Wherefore, if we go back, there is reason to fear that the races which are not held in subjection, not being firm in their allegiance, may be excited to revolt by those who are not yet subdued. Then our many labours will prove to have been in vain; or it will be necessary for us to incur over again fresh labours and dangers, as at the beginning…"

CHAPTER XXVII

The answer of Coenus:

When Alexander had uttered these remarks, and others in the same strain, a long silence ensued, for the auditors neither had the audacity to speak in opposition to the king without constraint, nor did they wish to acquiesce in his proposal. Hereupon, he repeatedly urged any one, who wished it, to speak, if he entertained different views from those which he had himself expressed…. at last, Coenus, son of Polemocrates, plucked up courage and spoke as follows:- '0 king, inasmuch as thou dost not wish to rule Macedonians by compulsion, but sayest thou wilt lead them by persuasion, or yielding to their persuasion wilt not use violence towards them, I am going to make a speech, not on my own behalf and that of my colleagues here present, who are held in greater honour than the other soldiers… but I am going to speak on behalf of the bulk of the army. On behalf of this army I am not going to say what may be gratifying to the men, but what I

consider to be both advantageous to thee at present, and safest for the future. I feel it incumbent upon me not to conceal what I think the best course to pursue, both on account of my age, the honour paid to me by the rest of the army at thy behest, and the boldness which I have without any hesitation displayed up to the present time in incurring dangers and undergoing labours. The more numerous and great the exploits have been, which have been achieved by thee as our commander, and by those who started from home with thee, the more advantageous does it seem to me that some end should be put to our labours and dangers. For thou thyself seest how many Macedonians and Greeks started with thee, and how few of us have been left. Of our number thou didst well in sending back home the Thessalians at once from Bactra, because thou didst perceive that they were no longer eager to undergo labours. Of the other Greeks, some have been settled as colonists in the cities which thou hast founded; where they remain, not indeed all of them of their own free will. The Macedonian soldiers and the other Greeks who still continued to share our labours and dangers, have either perished in the battles, become unfit for war on account of their wounds, or been left behind in the different parts of Asia. The majority, however, have perished from disease, so that few are left out of many; and these few are no longer equally vigorous in body; while in spirit they are much more exhausted... Do not lead us now against our will; for thou wilt no longer find us the same men in regard to dangers, since free-will will be wanting to us in the contests. But, rather, if it seems good to thee, return of thy own accord to thy own land, see thy mother, regulate the affairs of the Greeks, and carry to the home of thy fathers these victories, so many and great... Self-control in the midst of success is the noblest of all virtues, 0 king! For thou hast nothing to fear from enemies, while thou art commanding and leading such an army as this, but the visitations of the deity are unexpected, and consequently men can take no precautions against them."[152]

CHAPTER — 6

ARRIAN - INDIKA

Besides the *Anabasis of Alexander*, written in the Attic dialect, Arrian wrote a work on India in the Ionic dialect. Scholars believe he wished his work to supersede the older and less accurate account by Ktesias of Knidos, which was written in Ionic. The *Indika* comprises three parts:- a general description of India based mainly on accounts by Megasthenes and Eratosthenes (chaps. i.—xvii.); an account of Nearchus' voyage from the Indus to the Pasitigris based entirely on the latters' own narrative (chaps. xviii.—xlii); and a collection of proofs to show that the southern parts of the world are uninhabitable on account of the great heat (chap. xliii to the end). Our selections[153] are based upon what would be of interest to the contemporary reader.

General description of India:

II. Now the countries which lie to the east of the Indus I take to be India Proper, and the people who inhabit them to be Indians. The northern boundaries of India so defined are formed by Mount Taurus, though the range does not retain that name in these parts. Taurus begins from the sea which washes the coasts of Pamphylia, Lycia, and Cilicia, and stretches away towards the Eastern Sea, intersecting the whole continent of Asia. The range bears different names in the different countries which it traverses. In one place it is called Parapamisos, in another Emodos, and in a third Imaos, and it has perhaps other names besides. The Macedonians, again, who served with Alexander called it Caucasus, - this being another Caucasus and distinct from the Scythian (also Skythian) so that the story went that Alexander penetrated to the regions beyond Caucasus.

On the west the boundaries of India are marked by the river Indus all the way to the great ocean into which it pours its waters, which it does by two mouths. These mouths are not close to each other, like the five mouths of the Ister (Danube), but diverge like those of the Nile, by which the Egyptian delta is formed. The Indus in like manner makes an Indian delta, which is

not inferior in area to the Egyptian, and is called in the Indian tongue Pattala.

On the south-west, again, and on the south, India is bounded by the great ocean just mentioned, which also forms its boundary on the east. The parts toward the south about Pattala and the river Indus were seen by Alexander and many of the Greeks, but in an eastern direction Alexander did not penetrate beyond the river Hyphasis, though a few authors have described the country as far as the river Ganges and the parts near its mouths and the city of Palimbothra, which is the greatest in India, and situated near the Ganges.

Arrian discusses the implausible dimensions of India given by Greek writers, the confusion about whether her length is from north to south and breadth from east to west, or vice versa, and the great rivers:

III. … But, whatever be its dimensions, the rivers of India are certainly the largest to be found in all Asia. The mightiest are the Ganges and the Indus, from which the country receives its name. Both are greater than the Egyptian Nile and the Scythian Ister even if their streams were united into one.

Indians do not invade other nations:

V. [Megasthenes] asserts that there are eight-and-fifty Indian rivers which are all of them navigable. But even Megasthenes so far as appears, did not travel over much of India, though no doubt he saw more of it than those who came with Alexander the son of Philip, for, as he tells us, he resided at the court of Sandracottus, the greatest king in India, and also at the court of Porus, who was still greater than he. This same Megasthenes then informs us that the Indians neither invade other men, nor do other men invade the Indians for Sesostris the Egyptian, after having overrun the greater part of Asia, and advanced with his army as far as Europe, returned home; and Idanthyrsos the Skythian issuing from Skythia, subdued many nations of Asia, and carried his victorious arms even to the borders of Egypt; and Semiramis, again, the Assyrian queen, took in hand an expedition against India, but died before she could execute her design; and thus Alexander was the only conqueror who actually invaded the country.

Indian monsoon, river creatures, physical features:

VI. … Rain falls in India during the summer, especially on the mountains Parapamisos and Emodos and the range of Imaos, and the rivers which issue from these are large and muddy. Rain during the same season falls also on the plains of India, so that much of the country is submerged: and indeed the army of Alexander was obliged at the time of midsummer to retreat in haste from the Acesines, because its waters overflowed the adjacent plain… the Indian rivers, like the Nile in Ethiopia and Egypt, breed crocodiles, while some of them have fish and monstrous creatures such as are found in the Nile, with the exception only of the hippopotamus, though Onesikritus asserts that they breed this animal also. With regard to the inhabitants, there is no great difference in type of figure between the Indians and the Ethiopians, though the Indians, no doubt, who live in the south-west bear a somewhat closer resemblance to the Ethiopians, being of black complexion and black-haired, though they are not so snub-nosed nor have the hair so curly; while the Indians who live further to the north are in person like the Egyptians.

On pearl mining:

VIII. Megasthenes informs us that the oyster which yields this pearl is there fished for with nets, and that in these same parts the oysters live in the sea in shoals like bee-swarms: for oysters, like bees, have a king or a queen, and if any one is lucky enough to catch the king he readily encloses in the net all the rest of the shoal, but if the king makes his escape there is no chance that the others can be caught. The fishermen allow the fleshy parts of such as they catch to rot away, and keep the bone, which forms the ornament: for the pearl in India is worth thrice its weight in refined gold, gold being a product of the Indian mines.

Alexander only conqueror of India; Indians do not conquer out of sense of justice:

IX. …From the time of Dionysus to Sandracottus the Indians counted 153 kings and a period of 6042 years, but among these a republic was thrice established * * * * and another to 300 years, and another to 120 years. The Indians also tell us that Dionysus was earlier than Heracles by fifteen

generations, and that except him no one made a hostile invasion of India, even Cyrus the son of Cambyses, although he undertook an expedition against the Scythians, and otherwise showed himself the most enterprising monarch in all Asia; but that Alexander indeed came and overthrew in war all whom he attacked, and would even have conquered the whole world had his army been willing to follow him. On the other hand, a sense of justice, they say, prevented any Indian king from attempting conquest beyond the limits of India.

Indians remember the dead in deeds; cities of India, especially Pataliputra (Patna):

X. It is further said that the Indians do not rear monuments to the dead, but consider the virtues which men have displayed in life, and the songs in which their praises are celebrated, sufficient to preserve their memory after death. But of their cities it is said that the number is so great that it cannot be stated with precision, but that such cities as are situated on the banks of rivers or on the sea-coast are built of wood, for were they built of brick they would not last long – so destructive are the rains, and also the rivers when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains; those cities, however, which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud. The greatest city in India is that which is called Palimbothra, in the dominions of the Prasians, where the streams of the Erannoboas and the Ganges unite – the Ganges being the greatest of all rivers, and the Erannoboas being perhaps the third largest of Indian rivers, though greater than the greatest rivers elsewhere; but it is smaller than the Ganges where it falls into it. Megasthenes says further of this city that the inhabited part of it stretched on either side to an extreme length of eighty stadia, and that its breadth was fifteen stadia, and that a ditch encompassed it all round, which was six plethra in breadth and thirty cubits in depth, and that the wall was crowned with five hundred and seventy towers and had four-and-sixty gates. The same writer tells us further this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave. The Lakedaimonians, however, hold the Helots as slaves, and these Helots do servile labour; but the Indians do not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own.[154]

Tigers, parrots, apes, snakes:

XV. But the tiger the Indians regard as a much more powerful animal than the elephant. Nearchus tells us that he had seen the skin of a tiger, though the tiger itself he had not seen. The Indians, however, informed him that the tiger equals in size the largest horse, but that for swiftness and strength no other animal can be compared with it: for that the tiger, when it encounters the elephant, leaps up upon the head of the elephant and strangles it with ease; but that those animals which we ourselves see and call tiger are but jackals with spotted skins and larger than other jackals. …

But about parrots Nearchus writes as if they were a new curiosity, and tells us that they are indigenous to India, and what-like they are, and that they speak with a human voice; but since I have myself seen many parrots, and know others who are acquainted with the bird, I will say nothing about it as if it were still unfamiliar. Nor will I say aught of the apes, either touching their size, or the beauty which distinguishes them in India, or the mode in which they are hunted, for I should only be stating what is well known, except perhaps the fact that they are beautiful.

Regarding snakes, too, Nearchus tells us that they are caught in the country, being spotted, and nimble in their movements, and that one which Peitho the son of Antigenes caught measured about sixteen cubits, though the Indians allege that the largest snakes are much larger. But no cure of the bite of the Indian snake has been found out by any of the Greek physicians, though the Indians, it is certain, can cure those who have been bitten. And Nearchus adds this, that Alexander had all the most skilful of the Indians in the healing art collected around him, and had caused proclamation to be made throughout the camp that if any one were bitten he should repair to the royal tent; but these very same men were able to cure other diseases and pains also. With many bodily pains, however, the Indians are not afflicted, because in their country the seasons are genial. In the case of an attack of severe pain they consult the sophists, and these seemed to cure whatever diseases could be cured not without divine help.

Cotton clothing, jewellery, dyes, footwear, and war weapons:

XVI. The dress worn by the Indians is made of cotton, as Nearchus tells us, cotton produced from those trees of which mention has already been

made. But this cotton is either of a brighter white colour than any cotton found elsewhere, or the darkness of the Indian complexion makes their apparel look so much the whiter. They wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee halfway down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head. The Indians wear also earrings of ivory, but only such of them do this as are very wealthy, for all Indians do not wear them. Their beards, Nearchus tells us, they dye of one hue and another, according to taste. Some dye their white beards to make them look as white as possible, but others dye them blue; while some again prefer a red tint, some a purple, and others a rank green. Such Indians, he also says, as are thought anything of, use parasols as a screen from the heat. They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness, to make the wearer seem so much the taller.

I proceed now to describe the mode in which the Indians equip themselves for war, premising that it is not to be regarded as the only one in vogue. The foot-soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot - neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but all wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands, to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called *saunia*, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot-soldiers. But they do not put saddles on their horses, nor do they curb them with bits like the bits in use among the Greeks or the Celts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp: if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory. Within the horse's mouth is put an iron prong like a skewer, to which the reins are attached. When the rider, then, pulls the

reins, the prong controls the horse, and the pricks which are attached to this prong goad the mouth, so that it cannot but obey the reins.

Importance of elephants for social status, absence of dowry in marriage:

XVII. The Indians are in person slender and tall, and of much lighter weight than other men. The animals used by the common sort for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy use elephants, - for it is the elephant which in India carries royalty. The conveyance which ranks next in honour is the chariot and four; the camel ranks third; while to be drawn by a single horse is considered no distinction at all. But Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favours for an elephant, but it is rather regarded as a high compliment to the sex that their charms should be deemed worth an elephant. They marry without either giving or taking dowries, but the women, as soon as they are marriageable, are brought forward by their fathers and exposed in public, to be selected by the victor in wrestling or boxing or running, or by some one who excels in any other manly exercise. The people of India live upon grain, and are tillers of the soil; but we must except the hillmen, who eat the flesh of beasts of chase.

It is sufficient for me to have set forth these facts regarding the Indians, which, as the best known, both Nearchus and Megasthenes, two men of approved character, have recorded.

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CHAPTER — 7

PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRAEI

The circumnavigation, or *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*,[155] is the best account of the trade from the Red Sea and coast of Africa to the East Indies, when Egypt was a province of the Roman empire. The Erythraean Sea included the whole ocean from the coast of Africa to the utmost eastern boundary then known, and was so called because the Greeks called the Red Sea straits as Erythra; it included the Persian Gulf. Its anonymous author was a Greek merchant of the first century AD, settled at Berenike, a seaport in the southern extremity of Egypt, from where he made commercial voyages to the seaports of Eastern Africa as far as Azania, to Arabia as far as Kane, and via the south-west monsoon to the western shores of India. He penned his carefully acquired knowledge about the navigation and commerce of these coastlines for the benefit of other merchants. The accuracy and utility of the information makes it a valuable source about the marts of ancient India [Translated from the text as given in the *Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Muller: Paris, 1855].

II. ARTICLES OF COMMERCE MENTIONED IN THE *PERIPLUS*

Animal Products:

1. Butter, or the Indian preparation therefrom called *ghi*, a product of Ariake (41); exported from Barugaza (Gulf of Khambhat) to the Barbarine markets beyond the Straits (14).

2. Chinese hides or furs. Exported from Barbarikon, a mart on the Indus (39).

6. Coral. (Sans. *pravala,* Hindi *munga*.) Imported into Kane (28), Barbarikon on the Indus (39), Barugaza (49), and Naoura, Tundis, Mouziris, and Nelkunda (56).

7. Coloured lac. Exported to Adouli from Ariake (6). The Sanskrit word is *laksha*, which is probably a later form of *raksha*, connected, as Lassen thinks, with *raga*, from the root *ranj*, to dye. The vulgar form is *lakkha*.

Gum-lac is a substance produced on the leaves and branches of certain trees by an insect, both as a covering for its egg and food for its young. It yields a fine red dye.[156]

8. Pearl. (Sans. *mukta,* Hindi, *moti)* Exported in considerable quantity and of superior quality from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56).

9. Silk thread. From the country of the Thinai: imported into Barugaza and the marts of Dimurike (64). Exported from Barugaza (49), and also from Barbarikon on the Indus (39).

III. PLANTS AND THEIR PRODUCTS

1. The aloe (Sans. *agaru*). Exported from Kane (28). The sort referred to is probably the bitter cathartic, not the aromatic sort supposed by some to be the sandalwood. It grows abundantly in Sokotra, and it was no doubt exported thence to Kane.

4. Bdella, Bdellium, produced on the sea-coast of Gedrosia (37); exported from Barbarikon on the Indus (39); brought from the interior of India to Barugaza (48) for foreign export (49). Bdella[157] is the gum of the *Balsamodendron Mukul,* a tree growing in Sind, Kathiavad and the Disa district.

10. Indigo (Sans. *nili*). Exported from Skythic Barbarikon (39). It appears pretty certain that the culture of the indigo plants and the preparation of the drug have been practiced in India from a very remote epoch. It has been questioned, indeed, whether the Indicum mentioned by Pliny (xxxv.6) was indigo, but, as it would seem, without any good reason. He states that it was brought from India, and that when diluted it produced an admirable mixture of blue and purple colours… The dye was introduced into Rome only a little before Pliny's time.

12. Karpasus (Sans. *karpasa;* Heb. *karpas), Gossypium arboreum,* fine muslin – a product of Ariake (41).

13. (Sans. *kuta*, Heb. *kiddah* and *keziah*). Exported from Tabai (12); a coarse kind exported from Malao and Moundou (8, 9); a vast quantity exported from Mossulon and Opone (10, 13). "This spice," says Vincent, "is mentioned frequently in the *Periplus,* and with various additions, intended to specify the different sorts, properties, or appearances of the commodity. It is a species of cinnamon, and manifestly the same as what we

call cinnamon at this day; but different from that of the Greeks and Romans, which was not a bark, nor rolled up into pipes, like ours. Theirs was the tender shoot of the same plant, and of much higher value."

15. Kostus (Sans. *kushta*, Mar. *choka*, Guj. *katha* and *pushkara mula*). Exported from Barbarikon, a mart on the Indus (39), and from Barugaza, which procured it from Kabul through Proklais, &c. This was considered the best of aromatic roots, as nard or spikenard was the best of aromatic plants. Pliny (xii.25) describes this root as hot to the taste and of consummate fragrance, noting that it was found at the head of Patalene, where the Indus bifurcates to form the delta, and that it was of two sorts, black and white, black being of an inferior quality. Lassen states that two kinds are found in India – one in Multan, and the other in Kabul and Kasmir.

20. Lycium. Exported from Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39), and from Barugaza (49). Lycium is a thorny plant, so called from being found in Lykia principally. Its juice was used for dyeing yellow, and a liquor drawn from it was used as medicine. It was held in great esteem by the ancients. Pliny (xxiv. 77) says that a superior kind of Lycium produced in India was made from a thorn called also *Pyxacanthus* (box-thorn) *Chironia.* It is known in India as *Ruzot*, an extract of the *Berberis lyceum* and B. *aristata,* both grown on the Himalayas.

22. Macer. Exported from Malao and Moundou (8, 9). According to Pliny, Dioskorides, and others, it is an Indian bark – perhaps a kind of cassia. The bark is red and the root large. The bark was used as a medicine in dysenteries (Pliny xii. 8).

23. Malabathrum, Betel, (Sans. *tamalapattra*, leaf of the *Laurus Cassia*), obtained by the Thinai from the Sesatai and exported to India (65);[158] conveyed down the Ganges to Gange near its mouth (63); conveyed from the interior of India to Mouziris and Nelkunda for export (56)… Malabathrum was not only a masticatory, but also an unguent or perfume… From Ptolemy (VII. ii. 16) we learn that the best Malabathrum was produced in Kirrhadia – that is, Rangpur. Dioskorides speaks of it as a masticatory, and was aware of the confusion caused by mistaking the nard for the betel.

24. (Sans. *sarkara*, Prakrit *sakara,* Arab, *sukkar,* Latin *saccharum*) – Honey from canes, called Sugar. Exported from Barugaza to the marts of Barbaria (14). The first Western writer who mentions this article was Theophrastos, who continued the labours of Aristotle in natural history. He called it a sort of honey extracted from reeds. Strabo states, on the authority of Nearkhos, that reeds in India yield honey without bees. Aelian (*Hist. Anim.)* speaks of a kind of honey pressed from reeds which grew among the Prasii. Seneca (Epist.84) speaks of sugar as a kind of honey found in India on the leaves of reeds, which had either been dropped on them from the sky as dew, or had exuded from the reeds themselves. This was a prevalent error in ancient times, e.g. Dioskorides says that sugar is a sort of concreted honey found upon canes in India and Arabia Felix, and Pliny that it is collected from canes like a gum. He describes it as white and brittle between the teeth, of the size of a hazel-nut at most, and used in medicine only. So also Lucan, alluding to the Indians near the Ganges, says that they quaff sweet juices from tender reeds. Sugar, however, as is well known, must be extracted by art from the plant. It has been conjectured that the sugar described by Pliny and Dioskorides was sugar candy obtained from China.

29. (Sans. *nalada*, '*kaskas*,' Heb. *nerd*) Nard, Spikenard.[159] Gangetic spikenard brought down the Ganges to Gange, near its mouth (63), and forwarded thence to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). Spikenard produced in the regions of the Upper Indus and in Indo-Skythia forwarded through Ozene (Ujjain) to Barugaza and Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (49, 39).

The *Nardos* is a plant called (from its root being shaped like an ear of corn)… Latin *Spica nardi*, whence 'spikenard.' It belongs to the species *Valeriana*.

31. Muslin. Seric muslin sent from the Thinai to Barugaza and Dimurike (64). Coarse cottons produced in great quantity in Ariake, carried down from Ozene to Barugaza (48); large supplies sent thither from Tagara also (51); Indian muslins exported from the markets of Dimurike to Egypt (56). Muslins of every description, Seric and dyed of a mallow colour, exported from Barugaza to Egypt (49); Indian muslin taken to the island of Dioskorides (31); wide Indian muslin called *monakhe*, *I.E.* of the best and finest sort; and another sort…ie. coarse cotton unfit for spinning, and used

for stuffing beds, cushions, &c., exported from Barugaza to the Barbarine markets (14), and to Arabia, whence it was exported to Adouli (6).

35. (Sansk. *pippali,)* long pepper. Kottonarik pepper exported in large quantities from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56); long pepper from Barugaza (49). *Kottonara* was the name of the district, and *Kottonarikon* the name of the pepper for which the district was famous. Dr. Buchanan identifies Kottonara with Kadatta-Nadu, a district in the Calicut country celebrated for its pepper. Dr. Burnell, however, identifies it with Kolatta-Nadu, the district about Tellicherry, which, he says, is the pepper district.

41. The finest Bengal muslins exported from the Ganges (63); other muslins in Taprobane (61);… muslins of all sorts and mallow-tinted sent from Ozene to Barugaza (48), exported thence to Arabia for the supply of the market at Adouli (6).

IV. METALS AND METALLIC ARTICLES

4. Kaltis. A gold coin current in the district of the Lower Ganges (63); Benfey thinks the word is connected with the Sanskrit *kalita*, *I.E. numeratum*.

8. …Indian iron and sword-blades exported to Adouli from Arabia (Ariake?)… The Arabian poets celebrate swords made of Indian steel. … Indian iron is mentioned in the Pandects as an article of commerce.

V. STONES

1. Gems (carbuncles?) found in Taprobane (63); exported in every variety from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56).

2. Diamonds. (Sans. *vajra*, *piraka*). Exported from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56).

3. Gold-stone, yellow crystal, chrysolith? Exported from Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39). It is not a settled point what stone is meant. Lassen says that the Sanskrit word *kalyana* means *gold*, and would therefore identify it with the chrysolith or gold-stone…..

5. Onyx (*akika* – agate). Sent in vast quantities from Ozene and Paithana to Barugaza (48, 51), and thence exported to Egypt (49).

6. Fluor-spath. Sent from Ozene to Barugaza, and exported to Egypt (49). Porcelain made at Diospolis exported from Egypt to Adouli (6).

The reading of the MS….is to be understood *vitrum murrhinum*, a sort of china or porcelain made in imitation of cups or vases of *murrha*, a precious fossil-stone resembling, if not identical with, *fluor-spath*, such as is found in Derbyshire. Vessels of this stone were exported from India, and also, as we learn from Pliny, from Karmania, to the Roman market, where they fetched extravagant prices.[160]

8. The sapphire. Exported from Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39). "The ancients distinguished two sorts of dark blue or purple, one of which was spotted with gold."[161]

9. Hyacinth or Jacinth. Exported from Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). According to Salmasius this is the Ruby. In Solinus xxx. it would seem to be the Amethyst (Sans. *pushkaraja*).

10. Glass of a coarse kind. Exported from Egypt to Barugaza (49), to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). Vessels of glass exported from Egypt to Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39). Crystal of many sorts exported from Egypt to Adouli, Aualities, Mossulon (6,7,10); from Mouza to Azania (17).

11. Chrysolite. Exported from Egypt to Barbarikon in Indo-Skythia (39), to Barugaza (43), to Mouziris and Nelkunda (56). Some take this to be the topaz (Hind. *piroja)*.

ANONYMI [ARRIANI UT FERTUR] PERIPLUS MARIS ERYTHRAEI

41. To the gulf of Barake succeeds that of Barugaza and the mainland of Ariake, a district which forms the frontier of the kingdom of Mombaros and of all India. The interior part of it which borders on Skythia is called Aberia, and its sea-board Surastrene.[162] It is a region which produces abundantly corn and rice and the oil of sesamum, butter, muslins and the coarser fabrics which are manufactured from Indian cotton. It has also numerous herds of cattle. The natives are men of large stature and coloured black. The metropolis of the district is Minnagar, from which cotton cloth is exported in great quantity to Barugaza. In this part of the country there are preserved even to this very day memorials of the expedition of Alexander, old temples, foundations of camps, and large wells. The extent of this coast,

reckoned from Barbarikon to the promontory called Papike,[163] near Astakapra, which is opposite Barugaza, is 3,000 stadia.

42. After Papike there is another gulf, exposed to the violence of the waves and running up to the north. Near its mouth is an island called Baiones, and at its very head it receives a vast river called the Mais. Those bound for Barugaza sail up this gulf (which has a breadth of about 300 stadia), leaving the island on the left till it is scarcely visible in the horizon, when they shape their course east for the mouth of the river that leads to Barugaza. This is called the Namnadios.[164]

43. The passage into the gulf of Barugaza is narrow and difficult to access to those approaching it from the sea, for they are carried either to the right or to the left, the left being the better passage of the two. On the right, at the very entrance of the gulf, lies a narrow stripe of shoal, rough and beset with rocks. It is called Herone, and lies in front of Astakapra, where it is difficult to anchor, from the strength of the current and because the cables are cut through by the sharp rocks at the bottom. But even if the passage into the gulf is secured the mouth of the Barugaza river is not easy to hit, since the coast is low and there are no certain marks to be seen until you are close upon them. Neither, if it is discovered, it is easy to enter, from the presence of shoals at the mouth of the river.

44. For this reason native fishermen appointed by Government are stationed with well-manned long boats called *trappaga* and *kotumba* at the entrance of the river, whence they go out as far as Surastrene to meet ships, and pilot them up to Barugaza…

45. India has everywhere a great abundance of rivers, and her seas ebb and flow with tides of extraordinary strength, which increase with the moon, both when new and when full, and for three days after each, but fall off in the intermediate space. About Barugaza they are more violent than elsewhere; so that all of a sudden you see the depths laid bare, and portions of the land turned into sea, and the sea, where ships were sailing but just before, turned without warning into dry land…

46. This is the reason why ships frequenting this emporium are exposed, both in coming and going, to great risk, if handled by those who are unacquainted with the navigation of the gulf or visit it for the first time,

since the impetuosity of the tide when it becomes full, having nothing to stem or slacken it, is such that anchors cannot hold against it…

48. In the same region eastward is a city called Ozene, formerly the capital wherein the king resided. From it there is brought down to Barugaza every commodity for the supply of the country and for export to our own markets – onyx-stones, porcelain, fine muslins, mallow-coloured muslins, and no small quantity of ordinary cottons. At the same time there is brought down to it from the upper country by way of Proklais, for transmission to the coast, Kattybournine, Patropapigic, and Kabalitic spikenard,[165] and another kind which reaches it by way of the adjacent province of Skythia; also kostus and bdellium.

49. The imports of Barugaza are –

- Brass or copper and Tin and Lead.
- Coral and Gold-stone *or* Yellow-stone.
- Cloth, plain and mixed, of all sorts.
- Variegated sashes half a yard wide.
- Storax.
- Sweet clover, melilot.
- White glass.
- Gum Sandarach.
- (Stibium) Tincture for the eyes,
- Gold and Silver specie, yielding a profit when exchanged for native money.
- Perfumes or unguents, neither costly nor in great quantity.

In those times, moreover, there were imported as presents to the king, costly silver vases, instruments of music, handsome young women for concubinage, superior wine, apparel, plain but costly, and the choicest unguents. The exports from this part of the country are-

- Spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory.
- Onyx-stones and porcelain.
- Ruzot, Box-thorn.
- Cotton of all sorts.
- Silk.
- Mallow-coloured cottons.
- Silk thread.

• Long pepper and other articles supplied from the neighbouring ports.

The proper season to set sail for Barugaza from Egypt is the month of July, or Epiphi.

50. From Barugaza the coast immediately adjoining stretches from the north directly to the south, and the country is therefore called Dakhinabades (Deccan), because Dakhan in the language of the natives signifies *south*. Of this country that part which lies inland towards the east comprises a great space of desert country, and large mountains abounding with all kinds of wild animals, leopards, tigers, elephants, huge snakes, hyenas, and baboons of many different sorts, and is inhabited right across to the Ganges by many and extremely populous nations.

51. Among the marts in this South Country there are two of more particular importance – Paithana, which lies south from Barugaza, a distance of twenty days, and Tagara, ten days east of Paithana,[166] the greatest city in the country. Their commodities are carried down on wagons to Barugaza along roads of extreme difficulty, - that is, from Paithana a great quantity of onyx-stone, and from Tagara ordinary cottons in abundance, many sorts of muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production brought into it from the parts along the coast. The length of the entire voyage as far as Limurike (Damirike, Tamil country) is 700 stadia, and to reach Aigialos you must sail very many stadia further.

52. The local marts which occur in order *along the coast* after Barugaza are Akabaron, Souppara, Kalliena, a city which was raised to the rank of a regular mart in the times of the elder Saraganes (Satakarni dynasty), but after Sandanes became its master its trade was put under the severest restrictions; for if Greek vessels, even by accident, enter its ports, a guard is put on board and they are taken to Barugaza.

53. After Kalliena other local marts occur…

54. To the kingdom under the sway of Keprobotras[167] Tundis is subject, a village of great note situate near the sea. Mouziris,[168] which pertains to the same realm, is a city at the height of prosperity, frequented as it is by ships from Ariake and Greek ships from Egypt. It lies near a river at a distance from Tundis of 500 stadia, whether this is measured from river to river or by the length of the sea voyage, and it is 20 stadia distant from the mouth of

its own river. The distance of Nelkunda[169] from Mouziris is also nearly 500 stadia, whether measured from river to river or by the sea voyage, but it belongs to a different kingdom, that of Pandion.[170] It likewise is situate near a river and at about a distance from the sea of 120 stadia.

55. At the very mouth of this river lies another village, Bakare, to which the ships dispatched from Nelkunda[171] come down *empty* and ride at anchor off shore while taking in cargo: for the river, it may be noted, has sunken reefs and shallows which make its navigation difficult. The sign by which those who come hither by sea know they are nearing land is their meeting with snakes, which are here of a black colour, not so long as those already mentioned, like serpents about the head, and with eyes the colour of blood.

56. The ships which frequent these ports are of a large size, on account of the great amount and bulkiness of the pepper and betel of which their lading consists. The imports here are principally –

- Great quantities of specie.
- Gold-stone, Chrysolite.
- A small assortment of plain cloth.
- Flowered robes.
- Stibium, a pigment for the eyes, coral.
- White glass, copper or brass.
- Tin, lead.
- Wine but not much, but about as much as at Barugaza.
- Sandarach (sindurd).
- Arsenic (Orpiment), yellow sulphuret of arsenic.
- Corn, only for the use of the ship's company, as the merchants do not sell it.

The following commodities are brought to it for export:

- Pepper in great quantity, produced in only one of these marts, and called the pepper of Kottonara.
- Pearls in great quantity and of superior quality.
- Ivory
- Fine silks.
- Spikenard from the Ganges.
- Betel – all brought from countries further east.
- Transparent or precious stones of all sorts.

• Diamonds.
• Jacinths.
• Tortoise-shell from the Golden Island, and another sort which is taken in the islands which lie off the coast of Limurike.

The proper season to set sail from Egypt for this part of India is about the month of July – that is, Epiphi.

57. The whole round of the voyage from Kane and Eduaimon Arabia, which we have just described, used to be performed in small vessels which kept close to shore and followed its windings, but Hippalos was the pilot who first, by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the direct course across the ocean; whence as, at the season when our own Etesians are blowing, a periodical wind from the ocean likewise blows in the Indian Sea, this wind, which is the south-west, is, it seems, called in these seas Hippalos [after the name of the pilot who first discovered the passage by means of it]. From the time of this discovery to the present day, merchants who sail for India either from Kane, or, as others do, from Aromata, if Limurike be their destination, must often change their tack, but if they are bound for Barugaza and Skythia, they are not retarded for more than three days, after which, committing themselves to the monsoon which blows right in the direction of their course, they stand far out to sea, leaving all the gulfs we have mentioned in the distance.

58. After Bakare occurs the mountain called Pyrrhos (Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia[172] (where king Pandion owns the pearl-fisheries), and a city of the name of Kolkhoi (Gulf of Mannar). In this tract the first place met with is called Balita, which has a good harbour and a village on its shore. Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women; since it is related that the goddess (Kumari) once on a time resided at the place and bathed. From Komarei (towards the south) the country extends as far as Kolkhoi, where the fishing for pearls is carried on. Condemned criminals are employed in this service. King Pandion is the owner of the fishery. To Kolkhoi succeeds another coast lying along a gulf having a district in the interior bearing the name of Argalou. In this single place are obtained the

pearls collected near the island of Epiodoros. From it are exported the muslins called *ebargareitides*.

60. Among the marts and anchorages along this shore to which merchants from Limurike and the north resort, the most conspicuous are Kamara and Podouke (Puducherry) and Sopatma,[173] which occur in the order in which we have named them. In these marts are found those native vessels for coasting voyages which trade as far as Limurike, and another kind called *sangara*, made by fastening together large vessels formed each of a single timber, and also others called *kolandiophonta*, which are of great bulk and employed for voyages to Khruse and the Ganges. These marts import all the commodities which reach Limurike for commercial purposes, absorbing likewise nearly every species of goods brought from Egypt, and most descriptions of all the goods exported from Limurike and disposed of on this coast of India.

61. Near the region which succeeds, where the course of the voyage now bends to the east, there lies out in the open sea stretching towards the west the island now called Palaisimoundou, but by the ancients Taprobane (Sri Lanka).

62. (*Returning to the coast,*) not far from the three marts we have mentioned lies Masalia (Masulipatam), the seaboard of a country extending far inland. Here immense quantities of fine muslins are manufactured. From Masalia the course of the voyage lies eastward across a neighbouring bay to Desarene, which has the breed of elephants called Bosare. Leaving Desarene the course is northerly, passing a variety of barbarous tribes, among which are the Kirrhadai (Kiratas), savages whose noses are flattened to the face, and another tribe, that of the Bargusoi (of Nicobar Islands), as well as the Hippioprosopoi or Makroprosopoi (horse-faced or long-faced men), who are reported to be cannibals.

63. After passing these the course turns again to the east, and if you sail with the ocean to your right and the coast far to your left, you reach the Ganges and the extremity of the continent towards the east called Khruse (the Golden Khersonese). The river of this region called the Ganges is the largest in India; it has an annual increase and decrease like the Nile, and there is on it a mart called after it, Gange, through which passes a considerable traffic consisting of betel, the Gangetic spikenard, pearl, and

the finest of all muslins – those called the Gangetic. In this locality also there is said to be a gold mine and a gold coin called *Kaltis*. Near this river there is an island of the ocean called Khruse (Golden), which lies directly under the rising sun and at the extremity of the world towards the east. It produces the finest tortoise-shell that is found throughout the whole of the Erythraean Sea.

64. Beyond this region, immediately under the north, where the sea terminates outwards, there lies somewhere in Thina[174] a very great city, - not on the coast, but in the interior of the country, called Thina, - from which silk, whether in the raw state or spun into thread and woven into cloth, is brought by land to Barugaza through Baktria, or by the Ganges to Limurike. To penetrate into Thina is not an easy undertaking, and but few merchants come from it, and that rarely. Its situation is under the Lesser Bear, and it is said to be conterminous with the remotest end of Pontos, and that part of the Kaspian Sea which adjoins the Maiotic Lake, along with which it issues by one and the same mouth into the ocean.

66. All the regions beyond this are unexplored, being difficult of access by reason of the extreme rigour of the climate and the severe frosts, or perhaps because such is the will of the divine power.

India's Trade with the Roman World: A Loan Contract on Papyrus[175]

It is evident from the *Periplus* and other works that India played a pivotal role in international trade, especially with the Roman empire and South-east Asia. The discovery of a papyrus recording a loan contract by Roman merchants at the port of Muziris on the Malabar Coast provides valuable quantified data regarding the early maritime 'Indo-Roman' trade. We reproduce this brief extract in full:

RECTO, COLUMN 2

… of your other agents and managers. And

I will weigh and give to your cameleer another twenty talents for loading up for the road inland to Koptos, and

I will convey [sc. the goods] inland through the desert under guard and under security to the public warehouse for receiving revenues at Koptos, and

I will place [them] under your ownership and seal, or of your agents or whoever of them is present, until loading [them] abroad at the river, and

I will load [them] abroad at the required time on the river on a boat that is sound, and

I will convey [them] downstream to the warehouse that receives the duty of one-fourth at Alexandria and I will similarly place [them] under your ownership and seal or of your agents, assuming all expenditures for the future from now to the payment of one-fourth – the charges for the conveyance through the desert and the charges of the boatmen and for my part of the other expenses.

With regards to their being – if, on the occurrence of the date of repayment specified in the loan agreements at Muziris, I do not then rightfully pay off the aforementioned loan in my name – there then being to you or your agents or managers the choice and full power, at your discretion, to carry out an execution without due notification or summons.

You will possess and own the aforementioned security and pay the duty of one-fourth, and the remaining three-fourth you will transfer to where you wish and sell, re-hypothecate, cede to another party, as you wish,

And you will take measures for the items pledged as security in whatever way you wish, sell them for your own account at the then prevailing market price, and deduct and include in the reckoning whatever expenses occur on account of the aforementioned loan, with complete faith for such expenditures being extended to you and your agents or managers and there being no legal action against us [in this regard] in any way. With respect to [your] investment, any shortfall or overage [sc. as a result of the disposal of the security] is for my account, the debtor and mortgager….

VERSO, COLUMN 2

The abbreviation d.=drachman, m=Minas, and t.=talents (of weight when followed by m., of money when followed by d.)

1–3 Gangetic nard, 60 containers, whose value (sc. for the one-fourth customs duty payable at Alexandria), likewise, is being reckoned at 4500 silver drachmas per container… 45t

4–10 ivory, sound condition, weighing 78t. 54 3/4 m. whose value (sc. for the one-fourth customs duty), likewise, is being reckoned on a weight of …. 78t 43m. or, converted on the weight scale used by the one-fourth (customs

duty) of 95 lbs. to the talent, =7478 lbs., of which the amount subject to duty (of one-fourth of Alexandria), converting lbs. per talent, is a weigh of [7291 lbs.] in accordance with the customary reckoning for merchants, or… 76t. 45 m. at 100 d. per m. ….. 76t. 4500 d.

11–15 the remainder, representing the number in tusks removed by the Arabarchs, (which number is) over and above the number subject to duty (that will be available) for collection of the one-fourth (customs duty), which tusks are also subject to the collection of the one-fourth (customs duty…..) 11 ¾ m. at the same rate of 100 silver d. per m. 1175 d. for a total of ….. 76t. 5675 d.

16–21 lengths of fabrics, 54 weighing…. 13 t 9 ¾ m. of which, likewise, the value of the one-fourth (customs duty) is being reckoned on a weight of 12 t. 47m. which, as above, yields for the parcel on the weight scale used by the one-fourth (custom duty), (a weight of) 1214 lbs. but, in accordance, with the customary reckoning for merchants, a weight (for customs' purchase) of 12 t. 27 m. at 70 silver d. per m. …… 8t. 4290 d.

22–25 the remainder that was removed (sc. by the Arabarchs), which as above, represents as amount over and above (what will be available) for collection of the one-fourth (customs duty) (to the amount of) 22¾ m. at the same rate of 70 silver d. per m. 1592 d. 3 ob. total for the lengths of fabric 8 t. 5882 d. 3 ob.

26 total for the value of the ivory 76 t. 5675 d.

27–29 grand total for the 6 parcels of the cargo exported on the ship *Hermapollen* in silver 1154 t. 2852 d.[176]

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CHAPTER — 8

AELIAN

Claudius Aelianus flourished in the mid-second century AD, settled in Rome and taught rhetoric in the reign of Emperor Hadrian. He admired Greek literature and oratory and spoke Greek like a native Athenian. He authored two books, of which "*On the Peculiarities of Animals*" gained recognition as a standard work on Zoology. It deals with a large number of birds and animals of India. He also wrote *A Collection of Miscellaneous History;* a considerable portion relating to India has been translated by McCrindle.[177]

On the prowess of Indian dogs – ability to fight lions:

Book IV. c. xix. Indian dogs must also be reckoned as wild beasts, being unmatched for prowess and courage, and being of the largest size to be anywhere found. They regard with contempt all other animals. But with the lion the Indian dog sets himself to fight; he sustains his onset, barks back when he roars, and bites him when he bites. The dog is in the end beaten, but not till he has sorely harassed his antagonist and mangled him. And yet it sometimes happens that the lion is vanquished by the Indian dog and killed in the chase. In point of fact, if the dog once clutches him he holds on like grim death. Even if one should approach and with a knife cut off the leg of the dog, the pain will not reduce him to let go his grip. Rather than let go he suffers the limb to be severed, and his jaws relax not till life is extinct. He then lies prostrate, forced only by death to abandon the fray.

Capturing and training elephants:

C. xxiv. The Indians cannot easily capture a full-grown elephant, for they will neither attempt this, nor are elephants of such an age permitted to be caught. But the hunters repair to the swamps adjoining a river, and there they catch the young ones. For the elephant loves grounds that are moist and soft, and enjoys being in the water, and prefers to spend his time in haunts of this nature, so that one may say he is a creature of the marsh. Now, as they are caught when of tender age and docile, the Indians bring

them up delicately, supplying them with the food they relish most, grooming them carefully and talking to them in soothing accents, for the elephants understand the native tongue. They rear them, in short, like children, bestowing on them great care and attention, and subjecting them to a long course of training.

Peacocks:

C. xxi. Describes the peacock, ending with this remark: 'Alexander, the Macedonian, on seeing these birds in India, was struck with astonishment, and so charmed with their beauty that he threatened the severest penalties against any one who should kill a peacock.'

The gentle elephant of Porus:

C. xxxvii. When Porus the Indian King was wounded in the battle in which he engaged with Alexander, the elephant on which he rode, though suffering itself from many wounds, did nevertheless with gentleness and caution draw out with its trunk the darts with which the body of Porus was pierced, and ceased not to do this until it observed that its master from the excessive loss of blood was becoming weak and ready to faint. Accordingly it lowered him slowly and gently, and stood still with its knees bent in such a way as would prevent the body of Porus in descending to be thrown with violence on the ground.

Bane of snakes and antidotes to snake bites:

Book XII. c. xxxii. The products of India are many and varied, and while some attest her happy and amazing fertility, others are such as to be neither envied nor commended nor desired… I intend to show how the country produces the bane of snakes. It breeds great numbers of them of different kinds, which it would be an endless task to specify. These snakes are harmful both to men and to the lower animals. But the same country produces plants which serve as antidotes to their bite, and of these the natives have so much knowledge and skill that they can apply the remedy suitable for the wound inflicted by any kind of snake. And they make all possible haste to assist each other when bitten, endeavouring to arrest the virulent and rapid spread of the poison through the body, as the country

supplies in ready abundance the means requisite for this purpose. But a snake, if it kills a man, cannot, as the Indians assert,…creep into its underground home, the earth refusing to receive it, and casting it out from her household, banishing it so to speak, from her bosom. So it goes about at large a wanderer and a vagrant, and drags on a miserable existence in the open air, summer and winter alike, while moreover its mate goes not near it, and its young ones disown their sire. Such a penalty for the killing of a man has been inflicted by Nature even on the irrational animals, by the providence of God, as I have related, and for him who hath understanding has the story been told.

Ganga and its creatures:

C. xli. The Ganges, which is an Indian river on springing from its sources, while as yet it has no tributary streams but only its own waters, has a depth of twenty fathoms, and a breadth of eighty stadia; but when in its progress other rivers have joined it and augmented its volume of waters, its depth reaches to sixty fathoms, and its breadth spreads out to four hundred stadia… It breeds fishes of monstrous size, and from the fat of these an unguent is prepared. Turtles also are found in it with a shell not smaller than a cask which can hold as much as twenty amphorae (about 180 gallons). It breeds also two kinds of crocodiles, and of these one is quite harmless, while the other devours all sorts of flesh and is unsparingly cruel. They have an excrescence on their snout like that of the horned serpent. The natives employ their services in inflicting the supreme penalty on malefactors, for they throw to them those who have been found guilty of the most heinous offences, and so they do not require the services of an executioner.

Splendour of Indian kings:

C. xviii. In the Indian royal palace[178] where the greatest of all the kings of the country resides, besides much else which is calculated to excite admiration,… there are other wonders besides, which I cannot undertake to describe in this treatise. In the parks tame peacocks are kept, and pheasants which have been domesticated; and among cultivated plants there are some to which the king’s servants attend with special care, for there are shady

groves and pasture-grounds planted with trees, and branches of trees which the art of the woodsman has deftly interwoven. And these very trees, from the unusual benignity of the climate, are ever in bloom, and, untouched by age, never shed their leaves; and while some are native to the soil, others are with circumspect care brought from other parts, and with their beauty enhance the charms of the landscape. The olive is not of the number, this being a tree which is neither indigenous to India, nor thrives when transported thither. Birds and other animals that wander at freedom and have never been tamed resort of themselves to India and there build their nests and form their lairs. Parrots are native of the country, and keep hovering about the king and wheeling round him, and vast though their number be, no Indian ever eats a parrot. The reason of all this is that they are believed to be sacred and that the Brachmans honour them highly above all other birds. They assign a specious enough reason for their doing so – namely, that the parrot alone, from the admirable conformation of its vocal organs, can imitate human speech. Within the palace grounds there are also artificial ponds of great beauty in which they keep fish of enormous size but quite tame. No one has permission to fish for these except the king's sons while yet in their boyhood. These youngsters amuse themselves without the least risk of being drowned while fishing in the unruffled sheet of water and learning how to sail their boats.

Trained elephants pay respects to the king; serve as trained guards:

C. xxii. An elephant trained for the purpose is the first to make an obeisance to the king of the Indians when he leaves the palace to administer justice, and never forgets this duty, or refuses to perform it. Close by the animal stands its keeper, who gives it a reminder of the lesson it has been taught by a stroke of the goad, and by accents of the native speech which elephants through a mysterious endowment of nature peculiar to themselves are capable of understanding. They are also stirred by the war-spirit as if showing that they keep this lesson in mind. Four-and-twenty elephants are constantly kept as guards of the king's person, and they relieve each other in turn just like other guards. They are trained likewise not to fall asleep when on guard, for they are tutored even to do this by the skill of the Indians.

Horses and elephants and gifts to the king:

C. xxv. Horses and elephants being animals of great use in arms and warfare are held in the highest esteem by the Indians. In their king's service they fetch bundles of hay, which they deposit in the stalls, and provender also, which they bring home fresh and green and undamaged. When the king finds their freight in this condition, he expresses his satisfaction, but if not, he punishes most severely the men in charge of the elephants and horses. Even very small animals are not beneath his regard, but he even accepts them when brought to him as presents; for the Indians do not look down with contempt at any animal whatever, whether it be tame or even wild. For instance, subjects that are of rank offer the king such presents as cranes and geese, hens and ducks, turtle-doves and attagen,[179] partridge and pindals,[180] and others that are smaller than the above-mentioned, such as bokalides and fly-catchers, and what are called kestrels. They show these below the feathers to prove the extent of their fatness. They give also animals which they have caught, stags and antelopes, and gazelles and oryxes and unicorn asses (of which I have made previous mention), and also different kinds of fish, for they bring even these as presents.

Indian sugarcane held the Greeks in thrall:

Book XV. c. vii. In India, and more especially in the country of the Prasians,[181] liquid honey falls like rain upon the herbage and the leaves of marsh-reeds, and supplies sheep and oxen with an admirable kind of nutriment, the exceeding sweetness of which the animals highly relish. Now the herdsmen drive them to those spots where this delicious dew falls and lies, and the cattle in return supply the herdsmen with a delicious repast, for they yield a very sweet milk which does not require honey to be mixed with it as is done in Greece.

Pearl fishing:

C. viii. The Indian pearl-oyster… is caught in the following manner. There is a city which a man of royal extraction called Soras[182] governed at the time when Eukratides governed the Baktrians,[183] and the name of that city

is Perimuda. It is inhabited by a race of fish-eaters who are said to go off with nets and catch the kind of oysters mentioned, in a great bay by which a vast extent of the coast is indented. It is said that the pearl grows upon a shell like that of a large mussel, and that the oysters swim in great shoals, and have leaders, just as bees in their hives have their queen-bees. I learn further that the leader is bigger and more beautifully coloured than the others, and that in consequence the divers have a keen struggle in the depths which of them shall catch him, since when he is taken they catch also the entire shoal, now left, so to speak, forlorn and leaderless, so that it stirs not, and, like a flock of sheep that has lost its shepherd, no longer moves forward against any incipient danger. As long, however, as the leader escapes and skilfully evades capture, he guides their movements and upholds discipline. Such as are caught are put into tubs to decay, and when the flesh has rotted and run off nothing is left but the round pebble. The best sort of pearl is the Indian and that of the Red Sea.

Wild animals gifted to kings:

C. xiv. The Indian bring to their king tigers made tame, domesticated panthers, and oryxes with four horns. Of oxen there are two kinds – one fleet of foot, and the other extremely wild, and from [the tails of] these oxen (the yak) they make fly-flaps. The hair on their body is entirely black, but that of the tail is of the purest white. They bring also pigeons of a pale yellow plumage which they aver cannot be tamed or even cured of their ferocity; and birds which they are pleased to call *kerkoronoi*,[184] as well as dogs of that noble breed of which we have already spoken; and apes, some of which are white, and others again black. Those apes that are red-coloured they do not bring into towns, as they have a mania for women, and, if they assault them, are put to death from the abhorrence roused by such a lascivious outrage.

Worship of snakes encountered by Alexander:

C. xxi. When Alexander was assaulting some of the cities in India and capturing others, he found in many of them, besides other animals, a snake, which the Indians, regarding as sacred, kept in a cave and worshipped with much devotion. The Indians accordingly with every kind of entreaty

implored Alexander to let no one molest the animal, and he consented to this. Now when the army was marching past the cave, the snake heard the sound that arose (being very sharp both of hearing and sight), and hissed so loud and emitted such gusts of rage that every one was terrified and quite confounded. It was said to be seventy cubits long, and yet the whole of it was not seen, but only its head that projected from the cave. Its eyes, moreover, are reported to have equalled the size of the large, round Macedonian shield.

Oxen races:

C. xxiv. The Indians make much ado also about the oxen that run fast; and both the king himself and many of the greatest nobles take contending views of their swiftness, and make bets in gold and silver, and think it no disgrace to stake their money on these animals. They yoke them in chariots, and incur hazard on the chance of victory. The horses that are yoked to the car run in the middle with an ox on each side, and one of these wheels sharp round the turning-post and must run thirty stadia. The oxen run at pace equal to that of the horses, and you could not decide which was the fleeter, the ox or the horse. And if the king has laid a wager on his own oxen with any one, he becomes so excited over the contest that he follows in his chariot to instigate the driver to speed faster. The driver again pricks the horses with the goad till the blood streams, but he keeps his hand off the oxen, for they run without needing the goad. And to such a pitch does the emulation in the match between the oxen rise, that not only do the rich and the owners of the oxen lay heavy bets upon them, but even the spectators, just as Idomeneus the Cretan and the Locrian Ajax are represented in Homer betting against each other. There are in India oxen of another kind, and these look like very big goats. These are yoked together, and run very fast, being not inferior in speed to the horses of the Getae.

Myriad birds:

Book XVI.c.ii. They are also peacocks in India, the largest of their kind anywhere found, and wood-pigeons with pale-green feathers, which one ignorant of ornithology on seeing for the first time would take to be parrots and not pigeons. They have bills and legs of the same colour as Greek

partridges. There are in India cocks also of the largest size, with crests not red-coloured like those of our cocks at least, but many-hued like a coronal of flowers. Their rump feathers are neither curved nor curled, but broad, and they trail them as peacocks do their tails when they do not lift and erect them. The plumage of these Indian cocks (monal pheasants) is of a golden and a gleaming azure colour like the smaragdus stone.

Taming the panther (not lion) for hunting:

C. xxvi. I have no reason whatever to doubt that lions of the largest size are found in India, and what convinces me is that this country is such an excellent mother of other animals. But of all the beasts that one can encounter these are the most savage and ferocious. The skins of these lions look black – the bristly hair of their mane stands erect, and their very aspect strikes the soul with terror and dismay. If they can be captured before they are full-grown and not otherwise, they can be led by the leash, and with the huntsmen and their hounds take part in hunting young deer and stags, and boars and buffaloes and wild asses, for, as I am told, they have a very keen scent.[185]

Care of royal elephants:

XII. 8. The elephant when feeding at large ordinarily drinks water, but when undergoing the fatigues of war is allowed wine,—not that sort, however, which comes from the grape, but another which is prepared from rice. The attendants even go in advance of their elephants and gather them flowers; for they are very fond of sweet perfumes, and they are accordingly taken out to the meadows, there to be trained under the influence of the sweetest fragrance. The animal selects the flowers according to their smell, and throws them as they are gathered into a basket which is held out by the trainer. This being filled, and harvest-work, so to speak, completed, he then bathes, and enjoys his bath with all the zest of a consummate voluptuary. On returning from bathing he is impatient to have his flowers, and if there is delay in bringing them he begins roaring, and will not taste a morsel of food till all the flowers he gathered are placed before him. This done, he takes the flowers out of the basket with his trunk and scatters them over the edge of his manger, and makes by this device their fine scent be, as it were, a

relish to his food. He strews also a good quantity of them as litter over his stall, for he loves to have his sleep made sweet and pleasant. The Indian elephants were nine cubits in height and five in breadth. The largest elephants in all the land were those called the Praisian, and next to these the Taxilan.

Taming elephants with music:

XI. 44. In India an elephant if caught when full-grown is difficult to tame, and longing for freedom thirsts for blood. Should it be bound in chains, this exasperates it still more, and it will not submit to a master. The Indians, however, coax it with food, and seek to pacify it with various things for which it has a liking, their aim being to fill its stomach and to soothe its temper. But it is still angry with them, and takes no notice of them. To what device do they then resort? They sing to it their native melodies, and soothe it with the music of an instrument in common use which has four strings and is called a skindapsos. The creature now pricks up its ears, yields to the soothing strain, and its anger subsides. Then, though there is an occasional outburst of its suppressed passion, it gradually turns its eye to its food. It is then freed from its bonds, but does not seek to escape, being enthralled with the music. It even takes food eagerly, and, like a luxurious guest riveted to the festive board, has no wish to go, from its love of the music.

Character of Indians:

L. 4. The Indians neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities.

FRAGMENTS

FRAG. IV. AELIAN, *DE NAT. ANIM.*, BOOK XVII, 29

When the King of the Indians goes on a campaign, one hundred thousand war-elephants go on before him, while three thousand more, that are of superior size and strength, march, I am told, behind him, these being trained

to demolish the walls of the enemy. This they effect by rushing against them at the King's signal, and throwing them down by the overwhelming force with which they press their breasts against them. Ktesias reports this from hearsay, but adds that with his own eyes he had seen elephants tear up palm trees, roots and all, with like furious violence; and this they do whenever they are instigated to the act by their drivers.

FRAG. XXIII. AELIAN, IV, 46

Among the Indians are found certain insects about the size of beetles and of a colour so red that at first sight one might mistake them for cinnabar. Their legs are of extraordinary length and soft to the touch. They grow upon the trees which produce amber, and subsist upon their fruit. The Indians collect them for the sake of the purple dye, which they yield when crushed. This dye is used for tinting with purple not only their outer and their under-garments, but also any other substance where a purple hue is required. Robes tinted with this purple are sent to the Persian king, for the Indian purple is thought by the Persians to be marvellously beautiful and far superior to their own. This we learn from Ktesias, who says well, for this dye is in fact deeper and more brilliant than the renowned Lydian purple.

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CHAPTER — 9

Philostratus : Life of Apollonius

Apollonius, a Greek mystic reputed as "the wise man of Tyana," was maligned in the early centuries AD as an anti-Christ. There are no authentic contemporary records about his career, though he is credited with performing miracles later attributed to Christ, such as raising the dead, healing the sick, and rising bodily to heaven. His asceticism and disapproval of animal sacrifice suggest he followed Pythagoras; his philosophical quest for truth and the welfare of the people set him against famous tyrants. He was accused of atrocities ranging from sexual license (though he was celibate), corruption (though he renounced his family fortune), dining on the flesh of infants (a charge dropped when he appeared before the emperor).

Our knowledge of this sage derives from the account written by Philostratus around 220 AD, at the behest of Empress Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus (ruled 193 – 211 AD). Apollonius was born in the early Christian era and died at an advanced age during the brief reign of Emperor Nerva (96 – 98 AD). Emperor Hadrian had a collection of some of his letters; Philostratus accessed some letters from a collection then extant. Some letters were ancient forgeries and hence need careful evaluation. A few of Apollonius' writings have survived, notably a treatise on sacrifice and a biography of Pythagoras, but most of Philostratus' sources no longer survive.

Lucian, satirist and essayist of second century Hellenism, was the only writer to mention Apollonius before Philostratus; he was a critic. One Moeragenes reportedly wrote four books on the sage, which have not survived, but Christian writer Origen suggests these were derogatory, inspired by philosopher Euphrates, who detested Apollonius. Philostratus lists one credible source about Apollonius' doings in the Cilician city of Aegae, Maximus of Aegae, in-charge of the Roman emperor's Greek correspondence (*ab epistulis graecis*). But the authenticity of Damis, the source Philostratus most relies upon, is challenged by modern scholars.

In 215, Julia Domna accompanied her son, Emperor Caracalla, through Cappadocia, where he halted at Tyana to honour the memory of Apollonius,

and commissioned a temple in his honour, an event recorded by the historian Cassius Dio. The latter also mentioned Apollonius' vision of the murder of Emperor Domitian in Rome while it was actually happening, though he was then at Ephesus. Apollonius was eulogised as superior to Christ during the Diocletianic persecution of Christians. Hierocles, governor of Bithynia, penned *The Lover of Truth,* using Philostratus' biography to establish that Apollonius of Tyana was Christ's equal. We know of this work from the response of Eusebius of Caesarea.

The root cause of conflict between the Romans and Christians was the power to perform miracles. Hierocles accused Christians of calling their Saviour a god on the basis of sundry miracles, when Apollonius had greater achievements to his credit. By the end of the fourth century, Apollonius emerged as a key figure in the conflict between Christians and non-Christians. St Augustine insisted the sage could not be ranked above Jesus Christ, but placed him above Zeus. Byzantine Christianity finally included him in the figurative decoration of churches, from where he passed into Arab mythology as Balinas, master of talismans.

Philostratus hailed from a prominent literary family of the island of Lemnos, bearing the Roman family name of Flavius. In *Lives of the Sophists*, he recorded the Greek literary renaissance under Roman rule, including biographies of important sophists and orators of the second and early third centuries. Scholars suggest caution in assessing *Life of Apollonius*. Possibly Vespasian, Apollonius, Dio Chrysostom and Euphrates did meet in Egypt and discuss the nature of the ideal ruler, a favourite subject of philosophers; but there is no independent evidence for the existence of Damis and his memoirs.

Charles Blunt translated Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius* in 1680, but could not publish the whole text due to an uproar that it threatened Christianity. In 1809 Rev. Edward Berwick published the first complete translation and revived the old dispute. Historian Edward Gibbon remarked: 'Apollonius of Tyana was born about the same time as Jesus Christ. His life (i.e., Apollonius') is related in so fabulous a manner by his fanatic disciples, that we are at a loss to discover whether he was a sage, or an imposter.' In 1832, German theologian Ferdinand Christian Baur said Philostratus' biography of Apollonius was anti-Christian propaganda. Philostratus received serious attention only in the early twentieth century, with the Loeb

translation by F.C. Conybeare and the Oxford translation by J.S. Phillimore, both in 1912. The present selections, confined to Apollonius' travels to India and his interest in Indian philosophy, are based on the translation by C.P. Jones (Penguin, 1970).

BOOK I

On Apollonius as a great philosopher:

2. The practices of Apollonius were very like this, and he studied wisdom in a more inspired way than Pythagoras; he also despised tyrannies. Yet, although he lived in times which were neither ancient nor modern, people do not know him for the genuine wisdom which he practiced as a philosopher and an honourable man…

I have therefore decided to do something about this widespread misconception and give an accurate account of Apollonius, observing the chronology of his words and acts and the special character of the wisdom that brought him close to being thought possessed and inspired. I have gathered my materials partly from the many cities that were devoted to him, partly from the shrines which he set right when their rules had fallen into neglect, partly from what others have said about him and partly from his own letters. For he corresponded with kings, sophists, philosophers, Eleans, Delphians, Indians, Egyptians. He wrote about the gods, about customs, morals and laws; and when wrong was done, he tried to put it right.

3. But my more detailed information I have gathered from a quite cultivated man called Damis who once lived in ancient Nineveh. This man became a disciple of Apollonius and has left an account of his master's journeys, on which he claims to have accompanied him, and also an account of his sayings, speeches and predictions. The notebooks containing the memoirs of Damis were unknown until a member of his family brought them to the attention of the empress Julia. Since I (Philostratus) was a member of her salon (for she admired and encouraged every branch of rhetoric), she set me to transcribe these discourses of Damis. I was to pay particular attention to their style, for the man from Nineveh had a clear one, but rather artless. I have also read the book of Maximus of Aegae, which contains all that Apollonius did there, and the will written by Apollonius

himself, which gives an idea of how inspired he was in his philosophy. But it is best to ignore the four books which Moeragenes composed about Apollonius, because of the great ignorance of their subject that they display. So much for the way I gathered my material from different sources and the care I took to assemble it.

4. Apollonius came from Tyana, a Greek city in the country of Cappadocia. His father had the same name as himself, and the family was an old one that went back to the founders of the city. Its wealth was exceptional there, even though it is a rich country. When his mother was still carrying him, she had a vision of an Egyptian spirit, Proteus, whom Homer describes changing into different shapes. She was not frightened at all, but asked him who her child would be. He replied: 'Me.' 'Who are you?' she asked, and he said, 'Proteus, the Egyptian god.' …

Apollonius attracted to the philosophy of Pythagoras:

7. …When he reached fourteen his father took him to Tarsus to learn from Euthydemus of Phoenicia. This man was a good rhetor as well as Apollonius's teacher, and Apollonius became devoted to him, though finding Tarsus corrupt in its ways and inimical to philosophy... So with his father's permission he found a new teacher in Aegae nearby, where there was peace that encouraged a love of wisdom, and interests more suitable for young men… There he had, as fellow-pupils, followers of Plato, Chrysippus and the Colonnade,[186] and he also heard the doctrines of Epicurus, not thinking even these unworthy of his attention: but those of Pythagoras he grasped by some mysterious intelligence… When he reached fifteen he aspired to the life of a Pythagorean, to which some higher power gave him wings to climb.

[He] persuaded his father to give him a suburban estate with pleasant gardens and fountains in it. 'You live your own way,' he said, 'and I will live Pythagoras's way.' …He avoided the meat of animals as something impure that dulled the intelligence, and ate fruit and vegetables, saying that everything was pure which the earth produced of its own accord. Wine, he said, was a pure drink, since it came from a plant that had done such good to men, but it disturbed the balance of the mind by darkening the ether in the soul. After purging his stomach in this way he took to going barefoot

(that was ‘dressing’ to him) and wore clothes of linen, refusing those that were made from animals. He also grew his hair long, and lived in the sanctuary (temple).

Apollonius decides to be celibate for life:

13. … Now though Pythagoras was praised for his statement that a man should not have intercourse with any woman except his wife, Apollonius said that the commandment of Pythagoras applied to others, but he himself was not going to marry or have any sex at all…

Apollonius practices silence for five years:

14. Euxenus once asked Apollonius why he did not become a writer since his thoughts were so noble and his diction admirably forceful. ‘Because I have not yet kept silence,’ he answered. From then on he considered himself bound to silence, and held his tongue while his eyes and mind read and stored away many things in his memory… He says that this way of life, which he practiced for five whole years, was extremely difficult, because he could not speak when he had much to say, was forced not to listen when he heard much to make him angry, and often when he was inclined to correct somebody he used to say to himself, “Be still, my soul, and tongue too,” and when people’s conversation offended him he had to put off refuting them for the time being.

Apollonius decides to visit India:

18. After this he pondered making a greater journey, and decided on the country of India and the wise men there called Brahmans and Hyrcanians…

19. And so he arrived in ancient Nineveh, where there is an idol of barbarian type in the shape of Ino the daughter of Inachus, with little horns projecting from her temples and just breaking through. As Apollonius was staying there and showing more knowledge about the idol than the priests and the prophets, Damis of Nineveh came to hear him...[and] said, ‘Let us go, Apollonius, you following God and I following you, for you might find me very useful. I may not know anything else, but I have been to Babylon; and, having made the journey recently, I know all the cities on the way and the villages, in which there are many attractions, and moreover I know

every one of the barbarian languages. The Armenians have one, the Medes and Persians another, the Cadusians another, and I understand them all.' 'But I, my friend,' replied Apollonius, 'know them all, and have learned none'. The man from Nineveh was amazed, but Apollonius said, 'Do not be surprised if I know all that men say: I know all that men conceal too.'

20. …I will not neglect these two points: the courage that Apollonius showed in travelling among barbarian tribes given to robbery and not yet subject to Rome, and the wisdom that enabled him even to attain understanding of the voices of animals, in the Arabian way. He even learnt this as he was travelling among those Arabs, who of all their nation are the most knowledgeable and skilful in this science. For it is common to all Arabs to listen to the prophecies of birds instead of oracles, and they understand dumb animals by eating the hearts of snakes, or (as some say) the livers.

BOOK II

On Apollonius' stay in India:

19. …they were apparently told by the Indians that the king visited the river in the right season and sacrificed to it black bulls and horses – black being more highly regarded by the Indians than white, I suppose, because of their own colour. After this sacrifice he would throw into the river a golden measure, which resembled those used for measuring grain. The Indians had no notion why the king did this; but the party inferred that this measure was thrown in to ensure either plentiful harvest, which farmers 'measure' out, or else a 'measured' flow, so that the river should not come down in spate and swamp the land.

Apollonius arrives in Taxila:

20. Taxila is apparently similar to Nineveh in size, symmetrically fortified like a Greek city, and is the capital of the king who ruled Porus' domain at the time.[187] They say they saw a temple in front of the walls a little less than a hundred feet in length and made of stone covered with stucco.[188] Inside it there was a shrine comparatively small for such a large, many-

columned temple, but worth admiring. On every wall there are fixed bronze panels illustrating the deeds of Alexander and Porus. On them, in orichalc, silver, gold and bronze, there are drawn elephants, horses, soldiers, helmets and shields, with spears, javelins and swords all in iron. A famous picture, for example one by Zeuxis, Polygnotus or Euphranor, is praised because the artists liked effects of shadow, vividness, and contrasts of emphasis; and the same effects are apparently to be observed in these pictures where the materials are blended like colours. The purpose of the pictures also pleased them. Porus had dedicated them after the death of the Macedonian, but even so the Macedonian is shown as the victor, winning the wounded Porus over and giving him India after he had conquered it. Porus is also said to have mourned Alexander at his death and grieved for him as a good and noble king; and while Alexander lived he is said never to have spoken as a king, though Alexander allowed him, or to have given orders to Indians; but like a viceroy he was entirely moderate and did everything to please his friend.

On the King Porus:

21. My account forbids me to omit the records of this Porus. When the Macedonian was about to cross, some were advising Porus to make allies of those across the Hyphasis and the Ganges, saying that Alexander would not dare to confront an entirely united India. Porus replied: ‘If my kingdom is such that it cannot be saved without allies, it would be better not to be king.’ When the news came that Darius had been captured, he called him ‘the Great King, but no man’. When the groom had prepared the elephant on which he was to fight, and said to him, ‘This will carry you, king’, he replied, ‘No, I will carry it, if I prove a man worthy of myself’. Advice was given to him to sacrifice to the river and pray that it should not bear the rafts of the Macedonians or allow Alexander to sail, but he said, ‘It is not for men in arms to curse.’ And after the battle, when he had shown Alexander how godlike he was and of more than mortal nature, one of his relatives said to him, ‘Porus, if you had done obeisance when Alexander crossed, you would not have suffered defeat in battle, or lost so many Indians, or received a wound yourself.’ He replied: ‘I had heard of Alexander’s nobility, and I foresaw that, if I made obeisance, he would think me a slave, but if war, a king. I preferred to be admired rather than

pitied, and I was not disappointed. I proved myself the man Alexander saw me to be, and so in one day I lost and gained everything.' This is the character the Indian is reputed to have had. He is also said to have been outstanding among Indians for his handsomeness and height, which was greater than that of any man since those at Troy; and he was very young when he fought Alexander.

King of Taxila sends for Apollonius; sees double-storey houses in India:

23. As Apollonius was giving this discourse, messengers arrived from the king with an interpreter, announcing that he would have Apollonius as his guest for three days, since it was not lawful for strangers to stay in the city longer; and they led the way to the palace. I have mentioned what the walls of the city were like; the party says that it was a tangle of narrow streets, like Athens, and the houses were so built that from the outside they appeared to be of only one storey, but when you went inside they proved to be subterranean, with the same plan below ground as above.

A shrine to the Sun God:

24. They say there was also a shrine of the Sun, with Ajax the elephant pasturing in it, and statues of Alexander in gold and others of Porus which were of dark bronze.[189] The walls of the shrine were of red stone that had a golden sheen, giving off a light like the sun's rays. The image itself was of mother-of pearl, made in the symbolic shape that all barbarians use for their holy objects.

The royal palace at Taxila:

25. In the palace they apparently saw no elaborate rooms, no bodyguard or watchmen, but just as in the houses of the upper class there were a few slaves and three or four people awaiting an audience with the king. They say they admired this simplicity more than the splendour of Babylon, and even more so when they went inside, since it seems that the men's quarters and the colonnades and the whole forecourt were plain.[190]

Apollonius discourses on philosophy with the king:

26. Apollonius concluded that the Indian was a philosopher and, with the interpreter beside him, he said, ‘I am glad, king, to see that you are a philosopher.’

‘I am very glad,’ he replied, ‘that you think me so.’

‘Is this the custom with you,’ said Apollonius, ‘or did you introduce this moderation into your kingdom?’

‘Our customs are modest, and I observe them even more modestly,’ he replied, ‘I have more than any man, but need little, for all my friends’ possessions I consider mine.’

‘Your wealth is enviable,’ said Apollonius, ‘if you value your gold and silver less than your friends, from whom you derive many advantages.’

‘Why,’ he said, ‘I give my enemies a share of my riches too. There are always barbarians hostile to my country, who make incursions across my borders, so I win them over with this money and they guard my country. They both avoid raiding my possessions and keep out their barbarian neighbours, who are unmanageable.’

Apollonius asked him if Porus too had paid them money. ‘Porus,’ he said, ‘loved war: I love peace.’

Apollonius was quite won over by these remarks, and was so struck by him that once, when he was rebuking Euphrates for not acting like a Philosopher, he said, ‘But let us at least respect the Indian Phraotes’ (since that was his name). …

Apollonius also asked him (the king) about his diet and he said, ‘Of wine I drink as much as I sacrifice to the Sun. What I catch in the hunt others eat: the exercise is enough for me. My food is vegetables, the centre of date-palms and their fruit[191] and everything that grows beside the river. I also eat many things that grow on trees: they are harvested by these hands of mine.’ Apollonius was delighted when he heard this, and kept glancing at Damis.

The victory gates of Alexander:

42. When they had left Taxila and gone two days’ journey, they came to the plain in which Alexander is said to have fought Porus, and apparently they saw gates there which did not enclose anything but were built as a trophy. On top of them there was dedicated a statue of Alexander riding an eight-horse chariot, the way he stood when he conquered the viceroys of

Darius at Issus. In fact there are said to be two sets of gates, not far from one another, one being Porus and the other Alexander, represented as they met after the battle, I suppose, since one of them appears in a gesture of greeting, and the other in a gesture of submission.

43. When they had passed the Hydraotes and passed several tribes, they came to the Hyphasis. About four miles past this they found altars with this inscription:

'To my father Ammon, my brother Hercules, Athene of Forethought, Olympian Zeus, the Cabiri of Samothrace, the Sun of India, and Apollo of Delphi.'

They say there was also a bronze tablet dedicated there with the legend, 'Alexander stopped here.' We must conclude that the altars were set up by Alexander to commemorate the limits of his empire, while I suppose the tablet was dedicated by the Indians across the Hyphasis to celebrate the fact that Alexander advanced no further.

BOOK III

Apollonius arrives to discourse with the Wise Men of India:

11. They were about to put up in the nearby village, which is less than a few hundred yards from the Wise Men's hill, when they saw, it appears, a young man running towards them. He was a particularly dark Indian, but with a bright crescent-shaped mark on his forehead.

Apollonius is received by Greek-speaking Indians:

12. He ran up to Apollonius and greeted him in Greek, which was not in itself surprising since everybody in the village talked Greek. But his saying 'Hello' to each of them by name amazed all of them except Apollonius; he felt assured of his mission, because he looked at Damis and said, 'We really have come to wise men, since they seem to have foreknowledge.' Immediately he asked the Indian what he had to do, being eager to meet them. The Indian said, 'These men you must leave here, but you must yourself come immediately because the Masters invite you.'

13. The word 'Masters' in itself seemed Pythagorean to Apollonius, and he followed gladly.

On the Indian Brahmins:

15. The Wise Men's nature and their way of life on the hill are described by Apollonius himself, since in one of his addresses to the Egyptians he says, 'I saw the Indian Brahmans living on the earth and not on it. Walled without walls, and with no possessions except the whole world's.' This is his rather philosophical account: Damis says that they sleep on the earth, but the earth makes a bed for them of any kind of grass they choose. He also says he saw them levitating as much as three feet from the ground, not for ostentation, since that kind of vanity is foreign to them, but because all the rites they perform to the Sun they do above the earth like him, considering this practice appropriate for the god. The fire which they draw from the sun's ray is of normal appearance, but they do not light it on an altar or keep it in a lantern; instead it is like the rays which come from the sun and are reflected by water, and apparently it is seen above the ground flickering in mid-air. They pray to the Sun on behalf of the seasons of which it is the guardian, so that they may come at the right time for the land and India may prosper; by night they pray to the sunbeam, asking it not to be at enmity with the night but remain in the form it was created by them. That is the meaning of Apollonius' saying, 'The Brahmans are on the earth and not on the earth.' But 'walled without walls' refers to the climate in which they live, since although they appear to camp in the open air, they bring shade to cover themselves, they are not wetted when it rains, and have sunshine whenever they want.

Apollonius' saying, 'with no possessions except the whole world's' is interpreted by Damis in this way. Just as springs of water break from the earth for the worshippers of Bacchus when the god makes them and the earth quake, so they appear for the benefit of those Indians when the Indians are giving or being given a dinner. It was therefore an appropriate description of people who make no preparations in advance but obtain everything they want on the spot, when Apollonius said that they 'possess what they do not possess.'

They wear their hair long as the Spartans once did and the Thurians of Tarentum and the Melians and all the peoples that are recorded as having Spartan ways, and they tie it with a white ribbon; their feet are bare, and their style of clothing is similar to a cloak over one shoulder. The material

for their clothing is wool that grows wild from the earth, white like Pamphylian wool but softer, and it exudes fat like oil. They consider this the stuff of holy garments, and if anybody except these Indians tries to pick this wool, it stays fast in the earth. The ring and the rod, both of which they carry, have a power which is capable of anything, and both are magical and highly regarded.

The meeting with Iarchas and the Wise Men:

16. As Apollonius approached, the other Wise Men went up to him and greeted him with embraces, but Iarchas remained seated on a high chair; it was of dark copper ornamented with golden figures, while the chairs of the others were of undecorated copper and less high, since they sat at Iarchas's feet. On seeing Apollonius, Iarchas greeted him in Greek and asked for the Indian's letter. When Apollonius showed amazement at his clairvoyance, Iarchas added that there was one letter missing in the document, a D that the writer had left out. This proved to be true; and when he had read the letter, he said, 'Apollonius, what is your opinion of us?

'Why,' said Apollonius, 'it is shown by my taking a journey because of you which no one of the people I come from has ever taken.'

'What knowledge do you think we have that you lack?

'It is my opinion that your ways are wiser and much more godly. But if I were to find among you nothing that I do not know, I would also have learned that there is nothing further for me to learn.'

So the Indian replied, 'Other people ask newcomers where they come from and what their mission is, but for us it is the first proof of our wisdom that we are not ignorant about our visitors. You may begin by testing this.' Whereupon he recounted Apollonius' ancestry on his father's and his mother's side, all his experiences in Aegae, how Damis joined him, all the things that they had discussed on the journey or had learned from the discussions of others. All this the Indian recited clearly and without pausing just as if he had shared the journey with them. Apollonius was amazed and asked him how he knew all this, and he replied, 'You, our visitor, have a share of this wisdom, but not yet all of it.'

'Will you let me learn it all, then?' Apollonius asked.

‘Willingly,’ Iarchas replied; ‘that is more philosophical than grudging and concealing what is important. Besides, Apollonius, I see that you are well endowed with memory, which is the god we honour most.’

‘What?’ said Apollonius, ‘Have you already discerned my nature?’

‘Apollonius,’ he replied, ‘we discern every kind of soul, and have countless clues to discover them. But it is nearly noon, and we must prepare the gods’ due rites; so we must attend to them, and later let us discuss whatever you like, and I invite you to attend all our ceremonies.’

‘Well,’ said Apollonius, ‘I would certainly be doing a wrong to the Caucasus and the Indus, which I passed coming here to see you, if I did not steep myself in all your rites.’

The sacred rites:

17. ‘Steep yourself,’ Iarchas said, ‘and let us go.’ So they went to a spring of water, which Damis says he saw later and was reminded of Dirce in Boeotia. First they undressed, then they anointed their heads with an ointment like amber, which had such a warming effect on the Indians that their bodies steamed and they ran with sweat as if washing themselves with fire. Then, after diving into the water and washing, they proceeded to the temple garlanded and full of song. There they stood around in a circle and with Iarchas as their leader struck the ground with the ends of their staves; and the ground, flexing like a wave, shot them three feet into the air. They then sang a song like the Paean by Sophocles which they sing to Asclepius at Athens.

On knowledge and self-knowledge:

18. When Apollonius had sat down, Iarchas said, ‘Ask me whatever you like, since you have come among men who know everything.’ So Apollonius asked if they knew themselves, expecting them to be like the Greeks in thinking it difficult to know oneself. But to Apollonius’ surprise Iarchas corrected him and said, ‘We know everything because we begin by knowing ourselves. None of us would approach our kind of philosophy without knowing himself first.’ Apollonius remembered what he had heard from Phraotes, how the man who intends to be a philosopher tests himself before making the attempt: so he accepted this statement, having the same

belief about himself. He proceeded to ask what they thought they were, and Iarchas replied, ‘Gods.’

‘Why?’ asked Apollonius.

‘Because we are good men.’

Apollonius thought that this saying showed such enlightenment that later he used it before Domitian in his speech of self-defence.

The transmigration of souls:

19. So he resumed the questioning, and said, ‘What is your belief about the soul?’

‘It is what Pythagoras taught you Greeks,’ said Iarchas, ‘and we taught the Egyptians.

Apollonius replied, ‘Would you say, then, that you were some Trojan or Achaean or someone before you entered this body, as Pythagoras declared himself to be Euphorbus?

‘Troy was destroyed,’ said the Indian, ‘by the Achaeans that sailed there then, and you Greeks have been destroyed by the tales about it. You think the only heroes are those that attacked Troy, and so you neglect a larger number of more godlike men produced by your own country, by Egypt, and by India. But since you asked me about my former body, tell me whom you think most outstanding of those that attacked or defended Troy’.

‘Achilles the son of Peleus and Thetis, since Homer sings of him as a very handsome man and greater than all the other Greeks, and mentions great deeds of his. He also has a high opinion of men like Ajax and Nireus, whom he mentions as second to Achilles in beauty and nobility.’

‘Compare my ancestor,’ Iarchas replied, ‘with Achilles, Apollonius, or rather my ancestral body, since that is what Pythagoras considered Euphorbus.

Legend of the expulsion of Ethiopians from India and reincarnation:

20. You see, there was a time when the Ethiopians lived here and were an Indian tribe. As yet Ethiopia did not exist, but Egypt had its boundary at Maroe and the Cataracts, and the same country contained the source of the Nile and ended at its mouth. As long as the Ethiopians lived here as subjects of King Ganges, the earth fed them plentifully and the gods protected them.

But they killed their king, and were considered unclean by the other Indians. The earth, too, no longer let them stay; it destroyed the seed that they put in it before it came to the sheath, it aborted women's conception, and gave poor fodder to the cattle, and wherever they founded a city, the earth caved in and gave way beneath. Moreover, the ghost of Ganges drove them on as they progressed, causing terror among the mob, and gave them no peace until they had sacrificed to the earth the murderers and those that had stained their hands with blood. This Ganges was fifteen feet tall, beautiful as no other man ever was, and was the son of the river Ganges. His father had flooded India, but he diverted it into the Red Sea[192] and reconciled it with the land: for this reason the earth produced plenty for him while he lived, and took vengeance when he died. Now Homer makes Achilles come to Troy for Helen, and says that he had captured twelve cities by sea and eleven by land, and that he flew into a fury when the king took a woman away from him, showing himself harsh and savage. Let us compare the Indian with this. He founded sixty cities, the most esteemed in the country; and there is nobody who thinks sacking cities is more glorious than building them. He also repulsed the Scythians from above the Caucasus when they made an attack once on this land; and to prove your courage defending the liberty of your own land is far better than bringing slavery on a city, especially when it is because of a woman who probably did not mind being carried off. He made an alliance with the ruler of the land that Phraotes now rules; and when the man, in sheer lawlessness and lust, took away his wife, he did not break his treaty, saying he had sworn so solemnly that he could not harm him even when wronged.

21. 'I could tell you more about him, except that I am reluctant to start praising myself, since you see, I am that man. I proved this when I was four. This Ganges once drove seven swords of adamant into the earth so that no danger could come near this land, and the gods ordered us to go where the swords were planted and sacrifice, but they did not reveal the place where they were. Still just a child, I led the prophets to a ditch and told them to dig, saying that the swords were deposited there.

Cures for the sick:

38. In the middle of this conversation, the Wise Men were interrupted by the messenger bringing some Indians who needed cures.

39. Besides that, there came a man of about thirty, who was lame; he had been an expert lion-hunter but had been attacked by a lion and had dislocated his hip, and so was lame in one leg. But the Wise Man massaged his hip and thus restored the man to an upright walk. Someone else who had gone blind went away with his sight fully restored, and another man with a paralysed arm left strong again. A woman, too, who had had seven miscarriages was cured through the prayers of her husband as follows. The Wise Man told the husband, when his wife was in labour, to bring a live hare under his cloak to the place where she was, walk around her, and immediately release the hare: for she would lose her womb as well as the foetus if the hare was not immediately driven out.

Apollonius takes leave of the Brahmins:

50. So much for the conversations between Apollonius and the Wise Men. He had stayed there for four months and absorbed all their doctrines, both avowed and secret. When he decided to leave, they persuaded him to send the guide and the camels to Phraotes with a letter, while they themselves gave him another guide and camels, and sent him on his way, congratulating themselves as well as him. They embraced Apollonius, saying that ordinary people would regard him as a god, in life as well as in death; and then they went back to their place of meditation, though looking back at him and showing their unwillingness to let him go. Apollonius kept the Ganges on his right and Hyphasis on his left, and after ten days' journey from the sacred hill reached the sea… and there they found small trading-stations had been set up, with ferry-boats like the ones in Erythra moored there. The Red Sea is apparently very blue, and is named, as I mentioned, after Erythras, who gave his name to that stretch of sea.[193]

Apollonius bids adieu:

51. When Apollonius had arrived there, he sent the camel back to Iarchas with this letter.

'Apollonius greets Iarchas and the other Wise Men.

‘I come to you by land, and you have shown me the sea; but you also shared your native wisdom with me, and showed me a path through heaven. I will recall all this to the Greeks, and enjoy your conversations as if you were present, unless I have had only a useless, tantalising taste of them. Good-bye, good philosophers.’

The return journey by sea and its marvels:

52. So he boarded a ship, and sailed on a gentle, favouring breeze, wondering at the estuary of the Hyphasis and how dangerous it is where it meets the sea: as I mentioned, it finally runs into rocky, narrow places and over precipices, and after these it pours into the sea through one mouth, proving dangerous to sailors who cling too close to shore.

BOOK IV

Apollonius teaches the ideal of civic patriotism:

8. [Apollonius]… gave the Smyrnaeans a disquisition on security in the conduct of cities, because he saw that they were quarrelling with one another and had no agreed policy. He told them that to behave rightly a city needed unity with faction. This seemed implausible and confusing, so that Apollonius, aware that most of them could not follow his meaning, said, ‘Black and white can never be the same, and sweet and bitter can never mix properly, but unity joined with faction will keep a city from harm. You must understand what I mean in this way. The kind of faction that induces sword-fights and stoning should be avoided by a city, since what it needs is child-welfare, law, and citizens to whom speech and action can be entrusted. But there is a kind of mutual competition for the common good, in which one man seeks to give better advice than another, or to hold office better than another, or go on an embassy, or erect finer buildings than when another man was commissioner: and this, I think, is beneficial strife, faction between citizens for the public good. The idea that every man should have different pursuits and contribute them to the public benefit was long ago considered foolish by the Spartans: they practiced the arts of war, and war was their whole passion and their only interest. But in my opinion it is best that everybody does what he knows and what he can. If one man has a high

reputation for persuasiveness, another for wisdom, another for using his wealth for the public good, another for his virtue, another for his implacable severity towards wrongdoing, another for his incorruptibility, the city will be firmly grounded, or rather exalted.'

BOOK VI

Apollonius goes to meet the Naked Philosophers of Egypt:

6. They set out from there at sunrise, and before noon reached the Naked Philosopher's place of meditation. These Naked Philosophers apparently live on a hill of moderate height a little distance from the bank of the Nile. In wisdom the Indians surpass them to a greater degree than they themselves surpass the Egyptians. They go naked except for garments like those of sunbathers at Athens. There are a few trees in their enclosure and a rather small grove where they gather to discuss community affairs. Their sanctuaries are not built in one place, like the Indian's, but in different places on the hill, and are highly regarded, so the Egyptians say. They worship the Nile particularly, because they consider it to be earth and water. For themselves they do not need huts or houses, and live out under the open sky, but they have built a shelter, sufficient to house their visitors, in the form of a fairly small colonnade about the length of the ones at Elis in which the athletes wait for the announcement at noon.

Damis discovers a mean trick by Euphrates:

7. At this point Damis recounts a trick of Euphrates[194] which should be regarded not merely as silly but disgraceful by the standards of philosophy. He had heard Apollonius many times express a wish to compare Indian and Egyptian wisdom. He therefore sent Thrasybulus of Naucratis to the Naked Philosophers to slander Apollonius. Thrasybulus said that he had come to converse with them and that the man from Tyana was coming too. This promised no small trouble for them, he said, because Apollonius was wiser than the sages of India, whom he extolled in every conversation, and had devised endless tests for the Naked Philosophers; he himself was not inferior to the sun or sky or the earth, because he could move and transport them to any new place he wanted.

8. When the man from Naucratis had hatched his plot, he left, while the Naked Philosophers believed him entirely. When Apollonius arrived, they did not refuse an interview but pretended that they were attending to important affairs which were occupying them; they would, however, come to talk with him if they had time and were informed what he wanted and what his aim was in coming. Their messenger also invited the party to stay in the colonnade, to which Apollonius replied, 'You do not need to mention shelter, because the climate here is such that nobody needs a covering.[195] However, I am not surprised that these people do not yet know what I want and why I have come: the Indians, on the other hand, did not ask me that'.

Damis sets things right:

9. Apollonius lay under one of the trees, and answered any question his disciples put to him, while Damis took Timasion aside and asked him privately, 'You have met these Naked Philosophers, I suppose my friend: what are the subjects of their knowledge?'

'There are many important subjects,' he replied.

'Still, it is not wise of them, sir,' said Damis, 'to act like this with us. Refusing to converse with a man like this one about philosophy and putting on airs with him are things I can only describe as insolence, my friend.'

'Insolence?' said Timasion. 'That is something I have never seen in them, though I have been here twice before. They have always been courteous and kind to visitors. Why, not long ago, two months back perhaps, there was a Thrasybulus staying here, a man without any distinction in philosophy, and yet they greeted him warmly, because he called himself a follower of Euphrates.'

'What did you say, young man?' asked Damis. 'Did you see Thrasybulus of Naucratis in the community here?'

'Not only that,' said the boy, 'but I took him in my own boat when he was returning from here.'

'I see it all, for heaven's sake,' said Damis, with a shout of indignation; 'there has been a trick, it seems.'

Timasion replied, 'When I asked the master's name yesterday, he did not let me into the secret; so tell me who it is, if you are not sworn to silence. I might be able to help you in finding what you are looking for.' When he

was told by Damis that it was the man from Tyana, he said, ‘You were right. When Thrasybulus was sailing down the Nile with me, I asked him why he had come up here, and he described a dishonorable trick of his. He was claiming he had made the Naked Philosophers full of suspicion about Apollonius so that he would be disregarded when he arrived. Why he is an enemy of his I don’t know, but to resort to slander seems to me womanish and ignorant. I could find out their attitude by talking to them, because they are friends of mine.’

Timasion came back at evening, and said nothing to Apollonius, except that he had talked to them, but reported to Damis privately that they would be coming the next day, filled with Thrasybulus’s stories.

The Naked Philosophers invite Apollonius:

10. The next day Apollonius was absorbed in contemplation of something, after worshipping the sun in his usual way, when Nilus, the youngest of the Naked Philosophers, ran up to him and said, ‘We are coming to you.’

‘That is reasonable,’ said Apollonius, ‘since I came to you here all the way from the sea,’ and with these words followed Nilus. He and the philosophers met by the colonnade, and after he had greeted them and received a greeting in return, he said, ‘Where shall we talk?’

‘Here,’ said Thespesion pointing to the grove. This Thespesion was the senior among the Naked Philosophers, and he walked at their head while they followed him at a dignified and leisurely pace, like Judges of the Hellenes behind the chief Judge. Then they sat down anywhere, abandoning their order, and all looked at Thespesion as the chairman of the discussion. He began in this way:

‘I am told that you have visited Delphi and Olympia, Apollonius, since that is what was reported here by Stratocles of Pharos, who said he had met you there. I believe also that Delphi greets its visitors with pipes, songs and lyre-music, and treats them to comedy and tragedy, and only after all this provides the naked competition: Olympia, however, avoids such preliminaries as unbecoming and improper there, and entertains its visitors to the sight of naked athletes according to the arrangements made by Hercules. That is how you must consider our life compared with the philosophy of the Indians. They beguile you with a variety of enchantments,

as if they were inviting you to Delphi, but we are naked, as if we were at Olympia. Here the earth does not provide bedding or produce milk or wine as it does to followers of Bacchus, and the air does not hold us suspended. We make the earth itself our bed, and live off its material products, so that it may supply them willingly and not be tortured against its will. However, to show that we have the power to work miracles,' he spoke to a certain tree, an elm which was third in the row from the one under which they were conversing, and said to it, 'Speak to the wise Apollonius.' The tree spoke to him as it was told, and its voice was articulate and feminine.

He made these remarks about the Indians in the belief that he would convert Apollonius from his regard for them because Apollonius told everybody about the words and the deeds of the Indians. Thespesion added that it was enough for a wise man to keep himself undefiled by the flesh of living things, by the desire that enters through the eyes, and by jealousy which visits hands and hearts to teach them evil, and that truth did not need miracles and magic arts.

'Look at Apollo of Delphi,' he said. 'He dwells in the middle of Greece to dispense oracles. As you know yourself, anybody needing the god's advice asks a brief question, and Apollo tells all he knows without any miracles. It would be easy for him to shake all of Parnassus, to change the waters of Castalia and make them wine, or to stop the Cephisus from being a river. But Apollo reveals the simple truth without any such flourish. We should not think that he even wants to receive the gold or the dedications that we think so fine, or that he prides himself on his temple, nor would he even if it were to be made twice the size it now is. This god once lived in a humble cottage; a little hut was made for him to which the bees contributed wax and the birds their feathers. Thrift is the teacher of wisdom, as it is of truth, and if you follow it you will be considered entirely wise, and will forget the stories you heard from the Indians. "Do this" or "don't do this", "I know" or "I don't know", "this but not that" do not need pomp or storms, or rather brainstorms.

'You have seen in descriptions or pictures the Hercules of Prodicus. Hercules is a youth and has not yet chosen a way of life, and Vice and Virtue both take hold of him and try to draw him to their side. Vice is adorned in gold, ornaments, purple robes; her face is made up, her hair coiffured, and her eyes pencilled; and she has golden shoes, since she is

shown flaunting these too. Virtue, however, looks like a woman used to work, with a frowning expression, with wrinkles instead of cosmetics, with bare feet and squalid clothing, and in fact she would appear naked except that she observes the feminine proprieties. Well, Apollonius, think of yourself standing between the wisdom of India and Egypt. You can hear the Indian kind saying it will strew flowers for you when you go to sleep, give you milk to drink, for heaven's sake, and honey to eat: you will have nectar and wines whenever you like; it will wheel in tripods and golden thrones for you when you drink, and you will have no work; everything will come of its own accord. But you can hear Egyptian philosophy saying that it's your duty to sleep on the bare ground, to be seen working naked, like us, not to think anything welcome or pleasant unless it is the fruit of your labour, not to boast or to be fond of vanity, and even to avoid visions that lift you from the earth. If you were to choose like Hercules, showing an iron will and not disregarding the truth or shunning a humble life according to nature, you will be able to say that you have captured many lions and exterminated many hydras, Geryons and Nessuses, and all the creatures that fell before Hercules. If you choose the life of those parasites, however, you will be indulging your eyes and ears, you will be thought no better than anyone else, and you will turn out to have fallen before a Naked Philosopher of Egypt.'

Apollonius explains his philosophy of the soul:

11. When he had spoken, the company turned towards Apollonius. His followers knew that he would answer, but Thespesion's party wondered what he could say. Apollonius praised Thespesion for his fluency and power, and said, 'Do you have anything to add?'

'Of course not,' he said, 'I have finished.'

'Does any of the other Egyptians?' asked Apollonius.

'You heard them all,' replied Thespesion, 'when you heard me.'

Apollonius then was silent for a little while, with his attention concentrated on what Thespesion had said; and then he began, 'Your account, Wise Men of Egypt, of Hercules's choice, which according to Prodicus he made as a young man, was wise and true to the spirit of philosophy, but it has nothing to do with me. I have not come here to take your advice about a way of life, since I long ago chose the one that seemed

right to me. I am also older than all of you except Thespesion, so that, I, your visitor, would have been better suited to advise you about choosing a philosophy, except that I find you have already chosen one.

'However, old as I am, and far advanced in wisdom, I will not hesitate to let you inspect my choice, and will show you how right I was to choose my path, since I have never observed a better one. I saw a sign of greatness in Pythagoras. His mysterious philosophy not only enabled him to know his own true self but also his past identity; he approached altars in purity, he kept his stomach undefiled by the flesh of living things, and his body uncontaminated by all clothes made from dead creatures; he was the first man to hold his tongue by inventing "the ox on the tongue" as a rule of silence.[196] The rest of his philosophy was oracular and true. I therefore ran to embrace his doctrines. I did not choose one philosophy out of two, as you advise, Thespesion. Philosophy set the whole variety of her doctrines before me, adorning each with its own special charms, and then told me to look at them and choose wisely. All of them had a venerable, divine beauty, and some were such as to make other men dazzled with amazement. I, however, looked steadily at them all, as they themselves encouraged me to do, by trying to win me over and by promising all the things they would give me. This one said that without any toil I would taste a great feast of pleasures (Epicureanism); that one, that I would toil, and then rest (Stoicism); another, that she would mix delights with toil (Peripateticism), and on every side I could see pleasures, all restraints on gluttony abandoned, hands grasping for wealth, the eyes unblinkered; love, desire and all such experiences were permitted. Another philosophy boasted that she would restrain me from such things (Cynicism): She was rude, quarrelsome, and contemptuous of everything. But I saw a mysterious kind of philosophy, which once won the devotion of Pythagoras. She was not standing in the crowd, but apart from them and in silence. Seeing that I resisted the others, but did not yet know her own gifts, she said, "Young man, I have no pleasures, and am full of labour. A man who joins my society must choose to put aside all food that consists of living flesh: he must forget wine, and not cloud the vessel of wisdom that stands in the hearts of those that drink no wine. No cloak or wool shorn from a living creature shall warm him, and I give him shoes of bark and the ground he stands on as a bed. If I see him

yield to sex, I have abysses to which justice, the servant of wisdom, takes him and pushes him down. So harsh am I to those that choose my way that I have bits to curb their tongues. But let me tell you what the reward is if you endure all this. You will of course be self-controlled and just: you will need to envy no one: you will terrify tyrants rather than be in their power: you will please the gods more with humble sacrifices than those who spill the blood of bulls for them, and being pure you will receive from me the gift of foreknowledge, and I will so fill your eyes with radiance that you will recognise gods, know heroes, and unmask insubstantial ghosts when they hide in mortal form."

"This is the way of life I have chosen, Egyptian philosophers. I chose it honestly and by Pythagoras's example, and I neither deceived myself nor was deceived, because I have become what a philosopher should become, and I have been given all that my philosophy said it would give me if I did. My philosophy has been concerned with the being and the origins of the art: and I have observed that it belongs to men who are expert in divine science and have the truest conception of the soul, because it is the soul, subject neither to death nor to birth, that is the source of being.'

Nilus asks about Apollonius' talks with the Indian philosophers:

12. Damis says that when he heard this, he breathed again, since Apollonius' words had such an effect on the Egyptians that Thespesion could be clearly seen blushing, black though he was. The others too showed amazement at Apollonius' conviction and eloquence, and the youngest of the Egyptians, who was named Nilus, apparently jumped up in admiration, and going over to Apollonius gave him his hand and asked him to tell about the conversation he had had with the Indians.

Apollonius replied, 'I would have no objection to telling you anything, because I can see you are willing to listen and are friendly to every kind of philosophy, but I would not care to burden Thespesion with talk of the Indians, or anybody else who considers their wisdom nonsense.'

Thespesion then said, 'Suppose you were a merchant or a captain bringing some cargo to us from there. Would you expect to dispose of it without submitting it to examination, just because it was from India, and not allow it to be tested or seen?'

‘If anybody wanted,’ replied Apollonius, ‘I would let them inspect it. But suppose somebody came down to the shore when my boat had just put in, and denounced my cargo, accusing it of coming from a land that produced nothing good; and suppose he attacked me for trading in debased goods, and persuaded everyone else to believe him. Do you imagine that someone who had sailed into such a harbour would let out his anchor or cable at all? Wouldn’t he rather hoist his sails and put out again to the open sea, and trust his goods to the breeze rather than to undiscriminating and unfriendly people?’

‘Well, said Nilus, ‘I grasp the cables and beg you, captain, to give me some of the cargo you have. I would be willing to come on your ship as a deck-hand and look after the cargo.’

Apollonius answers the false charges against himself:

13. Thespesion, wanting to cut this talk short, said, ‘I am glad, Apollonius, that what you have heard annoys you. You will be all the readier to pardon us for being annoyed at the way you criticised our philosophy when you had not yet come to test it.’

For a moment, Apollonius was taken aback by these words, not yet having heard the story about Thrasybulus and Euphrates. Then, seeing what had happened, as he usually did, he said, ‘No, Thespesion, the Indians would have reacted differently. They would not have listened to Euphrates when he put this story about, because they have the gift of foreknowledge. My quarrel with Euphrates was not about any personal matter. I tried to wean him from moneymaking and from being satisfied with profit wherever it came from. But it seems that my advice was inappropriate and beyond his power. He thinks it was condemnation, and never stops devising some new plot against me.

‘You believed him when he slandered my character, but you must remember that he slandered you rather than me. It seems to me that a man who is destined to incur slander will run into no small danger and be hated when he has done no harm: but those who listen to slander will be proved to esteem falsehood and to put as high a value on it as on truth; second, they will be convicted of silliness and gullibility.”

14. Nilus, full of eagerness to listen to Apollonius, said, ‘Well, it is you that should begin the conversation by telling us about your journey to the country of the Indians and your conversations there. They must have been on exalted subjects.’

‘For my part,’ said Thespesion, ‘I am keen to hear about the wisdom of Phraotes, since I am told you have brought from India precious extracts from his conversation.’ Apollonius therefore began with their experiences in Babylon, and described their whole story, while the Egyptians were delighted to listen, and hung on his words. When noon came, they ended their conversation, since this is a time which the Naked Philosophers as well devote to religion.

BOOK VII

Apollonius, arrested by Domitian, philosophises on ways of dealing with tyrants:

30. The clerk then left, while Apollonius lay down on his bed and said, ‘I need sleep, Damis. I have had a bad night trying to recall something I once heard from Phraotes.’

‘But you ought to stay awake, rather’, said Damis, ‘and prepare yourself for the appointment, since it is so important.’

‘How could I prepare myself,’ asked Apollonius, ‘when I don’t yet know what he is going to ask?’

‘Are you going to improvise, then,’ asked Damis, ‘when your life is at stake?’

‘Yes, Damis,’ he replied, ‘just as I improvise in life itself. But I want to tell you the remark of Phraotes which I recalled, because you will consider it useful in the circumstances too. Phraotes advises that we should not hit the lions which people make pets of, because they bear resentment if they are hit, and we should not spoil them because that makes them capricious. Instead, we should mix caresses with threats, and so educate them to ways of obedience. He was not of course referring to lions, since our conversations were not about raising pets, but giving me a rein to use with tyrants, which he thought would prevent me from leaving the proper path.’

‘That saying,’ replied Damis, ‘is a very appropriate description of a tyrant’s character, but there is also in Aesop the lion in the cave, which Aesop says was only pretending to be ill, and caught the animals that came to visit it. But the vixen said, “what am I to make of this creature? Nobody comes away from him: there is no trace of anybody coming out.”

Apollonius replied, ‘For myself, I would have thought the vixen more clever if she had gone inside without being caught, and had left the cave making her own traces.’

BOOK VIII

Apollonius mocks at his accusers in a rigged trial:

7 (iv). ‘However, I do not want to stray into a discussion of folly, so I will ask my accuser what subject I should begin with. There is no need to ask: it was my clothing that he devoted the beginning of his speech to, and, for that matter, what I eat and do not eat. Defend yourself on this charge, divine Pythagoras, since we are on trial for customs that you began and I follow.

‘… As for the Indians and Egyptians, the Egyptians criticise the Indians in every way, and speak ill of their beliefs about material objects: but they have such a high opinion of the Indians’ doctrine about the creator of the universe that they teach it to others, although it is Indian.

‘This doctrine recognises god as the creator of the universe in its origin and in its essence. What inspired him to this act was goodness; and since the ideas are related to one another, I affirm the Indians’ doctrine and believe that men who are good have some share in godhead. The order formed by god’s creation must be understood to be everything in heaven and sea and earth, in all of which all men have an equal share, except if chance forbids them…

‘What kind of defence is appropriate? I did not sacrifice, I do not; I do not touch blood, even if it is on the altar, since that was the doctrine of the Naked Philosophers of Egypt and the Wise Men of India, from whom Pythagoras and his sect derived the seeds of their philosophy.’

Apollonius has a vision of the murder of Domitian as it actually happens:

(25) The time had come in which the gods were deposing Domitian from his supremacy over mankind. He had just executed Clemens, a man of consular rank, to whom he had given his sister's hand, and had issued an order about two or three days after the murder that she was to join her husband.[197] So Stephanus, a freed man of hers, who was foretold by the shape of the portent, was led by consideration for the murdered man, or for all Domitian's victims, to make a plot against the tyrant equal to that of the most freedom-loving of the Athenians.

…Stephanus, attacking him when he was off his balance, drew the knife from the concealment of his arm and drove it through Domitian's thigh; the blow was not so accurate as to be immediately fatal, but accurate enough to be fatal later. The emperor, who had always been of strong physique, and was then about forty-four, grappled with Stephanus after the blow, knocked him down, and pinned him, and then gouged his eyes and beat his face with the stem of a golden cup which had been lying there for use in ritual; at the same time he called on Athena for help.

26. All this happened in Rome, but was seen by Apollonius in Ephesus. He was holding a discussion in the woods of the park about noon, the very time when the events in the palace took place. First he dropped his voice, as if afraid; then his exposition lost some of its usual clarity, as happens when a man is distracted by something in the middle of his arguments; then he fell silent, as people do when they have lost the thread. He stared hard at the ground, stepped three or four paces forward, and shouted, 'Strike the tyrant! Strike him!' it was not as if he was observing some reflection of truth through a mirror, but as if he was seeing the real thing and seeming to take part in the action.

The tyrant was slaughtered today. Why do I say today? Just now, I tell you, just now, about the moment when I fell silent in my talk.' Those in Ephesus thought this was madness, and although they wanted him to be right, were afraid of the risks if they listened. 'I am not surprised,' said Apollonius, 'that you do not believe what I say yet, when not even all of Rome knows about it. But look, Rome is finding out now; the rumour is spreading; now ten thousand believe it, now twice as many are leaping in joy, now twice as many as that, now four times as many, now all the cities there. This messenger will get here too; and you may postpone celebrating

with a sacrifice to the time when the news arrives, but I am going to thank the gods for what I have seen.'

27. The story had still gained credence when messengers came with the good tidings and confirmed Apollonius' wisdom. The assassination of the tyrant, the day on which it had come (18 September, AD 96), the noon hour, the assassins whom Apollonius had urged on, proved to correspond in every detail with what the gods had revealed to him during his discourse.

Thirty days later a letter came from Nerva that he now held power in Rome, thanks to the advice of the gods and of Apollonius, but he would retain it more easily if Apollonius came to advise him.

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CHAPTER — 10

Fragmentary References on India

Diodorus Siculus

Greek historian Diodorus Siculus (the Sicilian) was born at Agyrium in Sicily, and lived in the second half of the first century BC. He claimed to have travelled in Egypt between 60 and 57 BC and mentioned events occurring in 21 BC. He wrote in Rome during the days of Julius Caesar and Emperor Augustus, spending nearly thirty years writing *Bibliotheca Historica* (Historical Library), which comprised forty books, of which only books I to V and XI to XX are intact. The rest survive in fragments preserved in later works. The extant books contain Alexander's India campaign, a general description of India, and some incidental notices on India. The extracts are based on the English translation of McCrindle.[198]

BIBLIOTHECA HISTORICA
BOOK XVII, CHAPTER LXXXIV

Alexander at Massaga - treachery towards Indian mercenaries and valour of Indian women:

When the capitulation on those terms had been ratified by oaths, the Queen [of Massaga], to show her admiration of Alexander's magnanimity, sent out to him most valuable presents, with an intimation that she would fulfil all the stipulations. Then the mercenaries at once, in accordance with the terms of the agreement, evacuated the city, and after retiring to a distance of eighty stadia, pitched their camp unmolested without thought of what was to happen. But Alexander, who was actuated by an implacable enmity against the mercenaries, and had kept his troops under arms ready for action, pursued the barbarians, and falling suddenly upon them, made a great slaughter of their ranks. The barbarians at first loudly protested that they were attacked in violation of sworn obligations, and invoked the gods whom he had desecrated by taking false oaths in their name. But Alexander with loud voice retorted that his covenant merely bound him to let them

depart from the city, and was by no means a league of perpetual amity between them and the Macedonians. The mercenaries, undismayed by the greatness of their danger, drew their ranks together in the form of a ring, within which they placed the women and children to guard them on all sides against their assailants. As they were now desperate, and by their audacity and feats of valour made the conflict in which they closed hot work for the enemy, while the Macedonians held it a point of honour not to be outdone in courage by a horde of barbarians, great was the astonishment and alarm which the peril of the crisis created. For as the combatants were locked together fighting hand to hand, death and wounds were dealt round in every variety of form. Thus the Macedonians, when once their long spikes had shattered the shields of the barbarians, pierced their vitals with the steel points of these weapons, and on the other hand the mercenaries never hurled their javelins without deadly effect against the near mark presented by the dense ranks of the enemy. When many were thus wounded and not a few killed, the women, taking the arms of the fallen, fought side by side with the men for the imminence of the danger and the great interests at stake forced them to do violence to their nature, and to take an active part in the defence. Accordingly some of them who had supplied themselves with arms, did their best to cover their husbands with their shields, while others who were without arms did much to impede the enemy by flinging themselves upon them and catching hold of their shields. The defenders, however, after fighting desperately along with their wives, were at last overpowered by superior numbers, and met a glorious death which they would have disdained to exchange for a life with dishonour. Alexander spared the unwarlike and unarmed multitude, as well as the women that still survived, but took them away under charge of the cavalry.

BOOK II

General abundance and wealth of India:

II. 36. The inhabitants, in like manner, having abundant means of subsistence, are of unusual height and bulk of body. They are also found to be well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water. And while the soil bears on its surface

all kinds of fruits which are known to cultivation, it has also under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war.

Climate and double-cropping:

In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river-streams, and much pulse of superior quality, and rice also, and what is called *bosporum*, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most are native to the country. The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible fruits fit for the subsistence of animals, about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food. For, since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year - one in the winter season, when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and bosporum, as well as sesamum and millet - the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive they are always sure of the other crop. The fruits, moreover, of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man. The fact is, almost all the plains in the country have a moisture which is alike genial, whether it is derived from the rivers, or from the rains of the summer season, which are wont to fall every year at a stated period with surprising regularity; while the great heat which prevails ripens the roots which grow in the marshes, and especially those of the tall reeds.

Respect to farmers and nature during war:

But, further, there are usages observed by the Indians which contribute to prevent the occurrence of famine among them; for whereas among other nations it is usual, in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by

whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees.

Equality and no slavery:

39. Of several remarkable customs existing among the Indians, there is one prescribed by their ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable: for the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave, but that, enjoying freedom, they shall respect the principle of equality in all persons: for those, they thought, who have learned neither to domineer over nor to cringe to others will attain the life best adapted for all vicissitudes of lot: since it is silly to make laws on the basis of equality of all persons and yet to establish inequalities in social intercourse.

Fair treatment of foreigners:

42. Among the Indians officers are appointed even for foreigners, whose duty is to see that no foreigner is wronged. Should any of them lose his health, they send physicians to attend him, and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned, with the greatest care, and come down sharply on those who take unfair advantage of them.

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EXTRACTS ON THE BRAHMANS

Bardesanes of Babylon

Scholars differ whether Bardesanes, who wrote about the Indian Gymnosophists and whom Porphyry called the Babylonian, was the same as Bardesanes of Edessa (a city in Mesopotamia), who was born in AD 154 and wrote in Syriac against Marcion and other heretics. Bardesanes the

Babylonian acquired his knowledge of India from members of an embassy probably sent to Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Elagabalus. While Bardesanes' work is lost, an extract was preserved by Porphyry (AD 233-306) in the Fourth Book of his treatise *On Abstinence from Animal Food*. Two extracts from his work were preserved by Johannes Stobaeus (probably around the early sixth century), who compiled a valuable series of extracts from Greek authors.

PHYSICA, I. 56. GAISFORD'S EDITION

On judging one's whole life:

They (the Indian envoys) told me further that there was a large natural cave in a very high mountain almost in the middle of the country,[199] wherein there is to be seen a statue of ten, say, or twelve cubits high, standing upright with its hands folded crosswise - and the right-half of its face was that of a man, and the left that of a woman; and in like manner the right hand and right foot, and in short the whole right side was male and the left female, so that the spectator was struck with wonder at the combination, as he saw how the two dissimilar sides coalesced in an indissoluble union in a single body.[200] In this statue was engraved, it is said, on the right breast the sun, and on the left the moon, while on the two arms was artistically engraved a host of angels (*devas*) and whatever the world contains, that is to say, the sky and mountains and a sea, and a river and ocean, together with plants and animals - in fact, everything. The Indians allege that the deity had given this statue to his son when he founded the world as a visible representation thereof. And I inquired, adds Bardisanes, of what material this statue was made, when Sandanes assured me, and the others confirmed his words, that no man could tell what the material was, for it was neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor stone, nor indeed any known substance, but that though not wood it most resembled a very hard wood, quite free from rot.[201] And they told how one of their kings had tried to pluck out one of the hairs about the neck, and how blood flowed out, whereat the king was so struck down with terror that, even with all the prayers of the Brachmans, he hardly recovered his senses. They said that on its head was the image of

a god, seated as on a throne, and that in the great heats the statue ran all over with sweat, so copiously discharged that it would have moistened the ground at the base, did not the Brachmans use their fans to stop the flux.[202] Farther on in the cave, a long way behind the statue, all, the Indians say, was dark, and those who wish, go in advance with lighted torches till they come to a door from which water issues and forms a lake around the far end of the cave. Through this door those must pass who desire to prove themselves. Those who have lived unstained with vice pass through without impediment, the door opening wide to them, and find within a large fountain of water clear as crystal and of sweetest taste - the source of the stream spoken of. The guilty, however, struggle hard to push in through that door, but fail in the attempt, for it closes against them. They are thus compelled to confess their offences against others, and to entreat the rest to pray for them. They also fast for a considerable time.

Sandanes further stated that himself and his companions found the Brachmans on an appointed day assembled together in this place, that some of them spent their life there, but that others come in the summer and autumn when fruit is plentiful both to see the statue and meet their friends, as well as to prove themselves whether they could pass through the door. At the same lime, it is said, they examine the sculptures on the statue and try to discover their meaning, for it is not easy to attend to the whole representation, the objects being numerous, while some of the plants and animals are not to be found in any part of the country. Such then is the account which the Indians give to the ordeal by water.

Pseudo-Kallisthenes

Aristotle's nephew, Kallisthenes, accompanied Alexander to Asia, but offended the king by reproaching him for introducing the dress and manners of the Persian Court into his own. At Baktra, he was accused of instigating the conspiracy of the Court Pages and executed. The Romance History was falsely ascribed to him. C. Muller, editor of *Geographi Graeci Minores* and other classical texts, published in 1846, along with the *Anabasis* and *Indika* of Arrian, the Romance History of Alexander the Great under the title *Pseudo-Kallisthenes.* In the midst of conversations between Alexander and the Brahmans is abruptly inserted a small treatise *About the Nations of*

India and the Brachmans, which does not belong to the *History of Alexander,* but to the *Lausiac Histories* of Palladius, who wrote about 420 AD. Muller subjoined the Latin version of this work prepared by St. Ambrose. The English translation is from the Greek text.

Book III. vii. We then, prompted by our regard for you, in addition to what we have already related, will further give you a description of the life of the Brachmans, whose country I have neither visited, nor met with any of its people; for they live far remote, dwelling near the Ganges, the river of India and Serica…

Now, for what I have been able to learn about the Brachmans I am indebted to a certain Theban scholar, who willingly left his home to travel abroad, but had unwillingly to endure captivity. This person, so he told me, was unfitted by nature to succeed in the legal profession, and regarding it with indifference, resolved to explore the land of the Indians….

ix. The traveller stated that the Brachman nation was not an order like that of the monks, which one could enter if he chose – but a society, admission into which was allotted from above by the decrees of God. They live in a state of nature near the river, and go about naked. They have no quadrupeds, no tillage, no iron, no house, no fire, no bread, no wine, no implement of labour, nothing tending to pleasure. The air they breathe is at once bracing and temperate, and altogether most delightful. They reverence the Deity, and are not so scant of wit as to be unable to discern aright the principles of divine Providence. They pray without ceasing, and, while so engaged, instead of looking towards the East, they direct their eyes steadfastly towards heaven without averting their gaze to the East. They subsist on such fruits as chance offers, and on wild lupines that grow spontaneously. They drink water as they roam about the woods, and they take their repose on the leaves of trees. In their country *persunon* (elecampane?) grows abundantly and acantha wood, and the soil elsewhere yields fruits for the sustenance of man. And the men dwell by the shores of the ocean on yonder side of the river Ganges, for this river discharges its waters into the ocean – but their women live on the other side of the Ganges towards the interior of India. The men cross over to their wives in the months of July and August. These months are colder with them than the

other months, because at that season the sun is elevated in our direction and over the North; and it is said that the temperature is more exhilarating and adapted to excite the sexual desires. After spending forty days with their wives they recross the river. When the wife has borne two children, her husband does not again cross over nor go near his wife. When, therefore, they have given sons as their substitutes, they abstain for the rest of their lives from intercourse with their wives. But if it happens that a wife proves barren, her husband crosses over to her for five years and cohabits with her. And if she does not then bear a child, he no longer goes near her. The race accordingly does not multiply much, both because of the hardships to which life is exposed in these regions, and also the strict control of the impulse to procreation. Such is the body politic of the Brahmans.

KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES

Kosmas Indikopleustes was an Alexandrian monk who wrote *Christian Topography* to refute the Ptolemaic system which held that the earth and the heavens are spherical. Despite this absurdity, his work is valued for important notices on history and geography. He wrote around the mid-sixth century AD, when Greek learning and culture was being eclipsed by rising mediaeval ignorance. Kosmas was a merchant in his youth, and thus visited regions far from his birthplace: Alexandria, sailed upon the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. He traversed much of Ethiopia (the vast region southward from Egypt to the Equator). The title Indikopleustes (Indian navigator) suggests he made a voyage to India. Some scholars doubt this, yet his description of Ceylon and the Malabar coast and the nature of commerce on the eastern seas is so accurate that it seems to have been penned by a personal observer.

ON CERTAIN INDIAN ANIMALS

FROM KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES *DE MUNDO*, XI

Rhinoceros:

1. This animal is called the rhinoceros from having horns growing upon its nose. When it walks about the horns shake, but when it looks enraged it

tightens them, and they become firm and unshaken so that they are able to tear up even trees by the roots, such especially as stand right in their way. The eyes are placed as low down as the jaws. It is altogether a most terrible animal, and is especially hostile to the elephant. Its feet and its skin closely resemble those of the elephant. Its skin, which is dry and hard, is four fingers thick – and from this instead of from iron some make ploughshares wherewith they plough their lands.

Taurelaphos or ox-deer:

2. This is an animal found in India and in Ethiopia. But those in India are tame and gentle, and are there used for carrying pepper and other stuffs packed in bags; these being slung over the back one on each side.

Agriobous or wild ox:

4. This is an animal of great size and belongs to India, and from it is got what is called the *toupha*, wherewith the captains of armies decorate their horses and their standards when taking the field. They say of it that if its tail be caught by a tree it no longer stoops, but remains standing through its unwillingness to lose even a single hair. On seeing this the people of the neighbourhood approach and cut off the tail, and then the creature flies off when docked entirely of its tail.

Moskhos or Musk-deer:

5. The moschus is a small animal (about three feet long), and is called in the native dialect *Kastouri.* The hunters pierce it with arrows, and having tied up the blood collected at the navel, cut this away, for this is the part which has the pleasant fragrance known to us under the name of musk.[203] The rest of the carcass is then thrown away.

Piperi-Pepper:

8. … the pepper tree. Each separate plant clings for support to some tall tree which does not yield fruit, being very weak and slender like the delicate tendrils of the vine. Each cluster is enveloped within a couple of leaves. It is perfectly green like the colour of rue.

Argellia or coconut tree:

9. There is another tree of this sort called *argellia*, that is – the tall nut-trees of India. It differs in no respect from the date-palm except in being taller and thicker and having larger leaves. It produces no other fruit than two or three flower-spathes, each having as many nuts. The taste is extremely sweet and pleasant, being like that of the kernels of green nuts. The nut is at first full of a deliciously sweet water which the Indians therefore drink instead of wine. This very sweet beverage is called *rhongkhosoura*. If the fruit is gathered at maturity, then so long as it keeps its quality, the water in the course of time hardens upon the shell, while the water in the centre retains its fluidity till it finally disappears. If however it be kept too long without being opened, the concretion on the shell becomes rancid and unfit for human food.

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CHAPTER — 11

Buddhism in China : A General Outline

Sea voyages and commercial ties between China and India can be traced back to as early as the seventh century BC when Indian merchants began trading in rubies, pearls, and sugar, and established colonies in Pegu, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra and Borneo and trading settlements in southern China and the Malayan peninsula. In the first century BC, Kushans of the Yue-chi (also Yuezhi) tribe in Bactria began to arrive in India, and their rule saw the ingress of Indian sages into China. The earliest reference to India in Chinese works dates from the second century BC and speaks of *Yan-tu* or *Yin-tu*, meaning Hindu, and *Shin-tu* meaning Sindhu.[204]

Under King Asoka these nascent contacts easily yielded to a lively religious traffic that persisted for several centuries thereafter, by both land and sea. The Chinese have meticulously recorded the details of this long engagement, but even in India, historical traces are visible in the record of a Chinese embassy to Kanchi (*Houang-tche*) and the unearthing of a Chinese coin of approximately the same period from Chandravalli in Mysore. Chinese annals of the third to the fifth centuries AD reveal that the Hindu kingdoms of Indo-China and the archipelago maintained regular ties with south India and China. They often sent presents of *vaidurya* (cat's eye), sandalwood, and pearls, quintessential south Indian products, to the Chinese court.

Sea traffic was brisk during the seventh and eighth centuries with the mariner's compass and improvement in ship-building. The *Sramanas* who forged cultural ties between India and China availed of the route that merchants on both sides ploughed through the sea. I-ching (also I-tsing or Yi Jing) made the first voyage by a Chinese pilgrim. Fa-hien (also Faxian) did not visit the south Indian mainland, but boarded ship from Tamluk to Ceylon (Sri Lanka); his tale about the Deccan and the 'pigeon monastery' is sheer fantasy. He came to India via the more ancient overland route through Central Asia, which became popular in the second century BC.

Buddhism truly arrived in China in the third century BC, under the zealous efforts of King Asoka. This was a period of great turmoil as China was constantly troubled by the Tartar tribe, Yuchi (compelling monarch Che

Hwangti to build the Great Wall in 250 BC), and the Huns. In one conflict with the Huns, the Chinese general Hou Kiuping saw a golden statue of Buddha, which matched reports from Chinese envoy Chang-Kian (who was abducted by the Yuchi but managed to escape after ten years) about the worship of Buddha in Thian (India). The image was brought before the emperor in 121 AD, and is reputed to be the origin of Buddha statues subsequently made in China.

Emperor Wu-ti and his successor Chaou-ti routed the Huns in 60 BC. A branch of the Yuchi (Great Yuchi) established themselves in Kashmir and Kabul. Their chief, Khieu-tsiu-ki (died 35 BC) was succeeded by his son, Yen-kao-ching (Hima Kadphises). In the reign of his successor Kanishka (15 BC-45 AD), according to the *Rajatarangini* (History of Kashmir), Vasumitra organized an assembly in Tamasavana Vihara at the confluence of the Sutlej and Beas, for the last authentic revision of Buddhist scriptures, according to Northern authorities.

Emperor Ming Ti (62 AD) of the Eastern Han dynasty, in his fourth regnal year, had a vision of a golden image, 19 feet high, with a glistening halo, entering his palace. The Literati (scholar-bureaucrats of imperial China, followers of Confucius) interpreted this as a reference to the Buddha. Another version (*Loyang Temples, iv.4*) states: "The golden spirit, speaking to the emperor, said, 'Buddha bids you send to the west countries to search for him, with a view to obtain books and images.'" Ming Ti deputed a mission to the land of the Great Yuchi and to central India. His men returned after eleven years with the Indian Kasyapa Matanga, who translated the *Sutra of 42 Sections* and died at Loyang. Soon after his arrival came Tsu-fah-lan, who assisted him. They had jointly brought five Buddhist texts from India, including the *Sutra of 42 Sections*, the *Dasabhumi Sutra*, and the *Lalitavistara*. These were translated by Imperial order, around 76 AD. As the books and images entered Loyang on a white horse, the Temple of the White Horse was founded.[205]

Buddhism gradually spread through China. The Parthian monk An-shi-kau was listed in the annals in 150 AD as an excellent translator. About 170 AD, Chi-tsin, a Yuchi priest, translated the *Nirvana Sutra*. The Wu prince Sun-k'iuen, soon after an embassy from Marcus Aurelius Antonius, received an Indian monk who translated some Buddhist texts. About 250

AD, Chi-Meng, residing at Kao Tch'ang (Tourfan) translated the Seng-ki-liuh (*Rules of the Priesthood*), which he procured at Kusumpura or Pataliputra. In 260 AD, Shaman Fa-hou (Dharmaraksha) in the reign of the Western Tsin travelled widely in India, acquired proficiency in 36 dialects, and returned to the Imperial court with several Buddhist and Brahman works. Residing at Loyang, he oversaw the translation of 165 texts between 265–308 AD. These included the second version of the *Lalitavistara*, a corrected copy of the *Nirvana Sutra*, and the *Suvarna Prabhasa Sutra*.

Around 300 AD, a foreign priest named Chi-kung-ming translated the *Wei-ma* (*Vimalakirti Sutra*?) and the *Fa-hwa* (*Saddharma Pundarika*). Soon after, the prince of the Chau kingdom, influenced by an Indian monk Bouddhasimha (Fo-to-ching), permitted his subjects to take Buddhist monastic vows. Previously, Indian natives could build temples in the large cities; now Chinese were allowed to become Shamans. At Loyang (Honan-fu) alone, 42 pagodas were built by 350 AD.

Fa-hian lived in this era. He noticed the imperfect rules of discipline observed by the monks of Changan and the fact that translations of Buddhist books so far received in China were largely incorrect. Emperor Yao-hing (397-415 AD) sent an army to Koutche (a kingdom westward of Lake Lob) to bring a learned Indian priest, Kumarajiva, to help arrange correct versions of the principal books available in the country; over 800 monks were deputed to assist him. The Emperor personally attended the conference and Prince Yao-wang and Count Yao-seng helped transcribe the sheets of the new translations.

Simultaneously, Fa-hian undertook a dangerous journey to India to secure correct copies of the holy texts as early monks like Matanga and Tsu-fah-lan had brought vastly disparate scriptures. Internal evidence suggests the *Sutra of 42 Sections* is an ancient text, while the *Dasabhumi Sutra* of the Mahayana School is a much later creation. Yet both books were accorded the same status, thus causing confusion. Fa-hian went to obtain books of a uniform character, that is, those belonging to the Rules of Discipline and the Hinayana school. Five years after his return, the Tsin dynasty was deposed (420 AD) by the fearsome Tartar tribe, the Northern Wei. The Southern Sung dynasty ruled in the southern provinces and he published the *Fo-koue-ki* under their name.

Buddhism underwent several vissicitudes in China, being persecuted during the early period of the Sung and Wei dynasties. Making images and building temples were forbidden, books and images destroyed, many priests executed, and the worship of foreign divinities made a capital offence. There was some relief in 451 AD, as a result of which one Buddhist temple was permitted in each city, and 40 or 50 citizens allowed to become priests. But in 458 AD, a Buddhist priest was implicated in a conspiracy; a royal proclamation thereafter authorised imperial officers to scrutinise the conduct of monks and execute those found guilty.

Buddhism's rapid ascent annoyed the Literati and disciples of Lao-tseu (also Lao Tse, Laotze). In 467 AD, the Wei prince commissioned a 50-foot image of Buddha, using five tons of brass and 6 cwt. of gold; later he renounced the throne and became a monk. Ming Ti, sixth Sung emperor, built a grand Buddhist temple and was chastised by his Literati. In the early sixth century there were over 3000 Indians and 13,000 Buddhist temples in China. The Wei prince and the first emperor of the Liang dynasty (502-550 AD) in the South thrice took Buddhist vows and expounded the *Sutras* to courtiers. In his twenty-sixth regnal year, he entered the T'ung-Tae monastery in Nanking, enraging the Literati.

The Wei Queen deputed Sung-Yun to India to collect Buddhist scriptures; he went with Hwui-Seng and returned with 175 volumes. By now Buddhism had come under the influence of magical arts, and in 515 AD several monks were executed for such practices. But when the King of Siam wrote to Wu-ti offering a 14-foot long hair of the Buddha, he promptly dispatched priests to collect it! Even earlier, around 460 AD, five monks from Ceylon came to China via Tibet, bringing many images, some with alleged miraculous properties.

Yuan Chwang (Hiuen Tsang, Xuanzang) left for India in 629 AD. Returning after sixteen years, he met Emperor Tae-Tsung at Loyang to explain his departure from the country without Imperial permission. Impressed by his account, the Emperor pardoned him and asked him to write a history of the western countries; Chinese artists made maps to illustrate the book, *Si Yu Ki*, which divided India into five parts, hence the reference to *Five Indies* or *Gotenjiku Zu*. Yuan Chwang lived nineteen years after this work and devoted himself to translating texts brought back from India. He completed 740 works in 1335 books. China at this time had 3716

monasteries. At Yuan Chwang's request, the Emperor permitted five new monks to be ordained in each monastery, swelling their ranks by nearly 18,000. Around this time the Nestorian Christians arrived and were permitted to build a church in Changan.

The Confucianists made a comeback in the early eight century and forced 12,000 nuns and monks to return to secular life. Casting images, writing sacred books, and building temples were banned. But Su Tsung (760 AD) and his successor Tae-Tsung (763 AD) were avid believers. Emperor Hien-tsung (819 AD) deputed mandarins to escort Buddha's bone relic to the capital, a fact resented by a minister who was banished to Canton. In 845 AD, another wave of persecution hit Buddhism, but Emperor Wu-Tsung reinstated the faith.

Emperor I-tsung (860 AD) learnt Sanskrit and the Indian mode of chanting, invited monks to his private apartments, and often visited monasteries to the dismay of the Literati. Another relic of Buddha found its way to the Palace and was personally received by the ruler. Soon foreign priests were flocking to China from Korea and Japan to procure books and escort priests to prestigious monasteries in their own countries. Monks from India and neighbouring lands arrived with books and images at Honan-fu, which alone had 1367 Buddhist temples. The tenth century saw renewed persecution of Buddhism.

Kublai Khan (She Tsu), the first Mongol emperor (1280 AD), was a devout Buddhist. He converted Confucian temples to monasteries and persecuted Taoism. Near the end of his reign, a priest from Tibet arrived, and regretting he could not personally dialogue with him, the Emperor directed Kalutanasi, a Mongolian, to learn Tibetan. A year later, the complete translation of Buddhist *Sutras* and *Sastras* from Tibetan and Sanskrit into Mongolian (in Uighur character) was presented to Kublai in 1294 AD, the year of his death.

In 965 AD, Buddhist monk Tai-yuen brought back relics and Sanskrit copies of Buddhist texts on palm leaves, totalling forty volumes. The following year, 157 Chinese priests took the Emperor's permission to visit India to procure more books; but disappeared from history. In the Yuen dynasty, monk Tau-wu, inspired by the story of Fa-Hian, travelled to Kipin (Cophene, Kabul), learned the original language of Buddhist books and

reached India; he returned by sea to Canton. This is the last recorded pilgrimage to India.

Much of the cultural intercourse was at the initiative of the Chinese; hence, the source materials of this story are found in Chinese only. They preserved the names of Indian monks and scholars who took Indian civilisation to their land, as also the Chinese monks who went to India by land and sea in search of the Law. Many perished en route, and when the Chinese government made no efforts to trace them, I-tsing decided to honour their memory and eventually collected brief biographies of nearly 60 monks (a few remained unnamed) who visited India while he was there. They were mostly Chinese, a few Koreans and one from Sogdiana (Khirgiz). They journeyed in the reign of the Great T'ang dynasty, and received patronage and honour from Indian rulers, princes and Buddhist scholars in India. Most were from poor backgrounds, but a few were from aristocratic families with imperial posts.[206]

I-tsing himself suffered privation on the journey: "Many days I have passed without food, even without a drop of water. I was always worried and no spirit was left in me… If, however, a monk happened to reach India after such perilous journey, he would find no Chinese monastery there. There was no fixed place to settle down. We had to move from place to place like a blade of grass swept by wind. I wish to fulfill my desire so that the future generations may know all about the facts. I had heard with my own ears and seen with my own eyes the difficulties the monks had undergone previously."

Once Buddhism arrived in China, there arose the problem of correctly translating the *Sutras* and conveying their complex meanings in Chinese. The sacred texts had to be made available to the people to propagate the philosophy of the new faith. Translation and commentary of Buddhist texts thus emerged as a major occupation of Chinese Buddhism and the capital city of Loyang its most important centre. Important bilingual scholars here included the Parthian monk An Shih-kao, the Indo-Scythian Dharmaraksa and Lokaksema, and Kumarajiva of Kucha. They joined hands with Chinese monk-scholars and translated nearly 1153 Buddhist texts. Chinese monk-scholars like Tao-an, Chih-ch'ien, and Hui-yuan prodded young monks to visit India.

After Tao-an's death in 385 AD, his most renowned disciple, Fa-hien, set off to collect texts on the *Vinaya*. His sixteen-year sojourn (399-414 AD) is recorded in the *Fo-kuo chi* (*Record of the Buddhist Country*). Fa-hien knew Sanskrit well and translated a copious text on the disciplinary code of the *Mahasanghika*. He was followed by Sung-yun and Hui-sheng (518 AD) who left a brief account of their journey. The most prolific writer was Yuan Chwang (629-645 AD), who departed for India secretly, but returned to great honour by the Emperor T'ai-Tsung. The next famous pilgrim was I-ching, born in the reign of the same emperor, and ordained as a monk at the age of fourteen years.

Chinese annals document embassies exchanged between China and the Pallava court of Kanchi in the eighth century and the Chola court in the eleventh. There was considerable commercial traffic between China and south India in these centuries. Chau-Ju-Kua, the Chinese inspector of foreign trade, compiled the *Chu-fan-chi* around 1225 AD, about south Indian kingdoms in the Middle Ages. Mongol emperor Kublai Khan sent several embassies to South Indian states.

Chinese merchant Wang Ta-yuan visited many lands between 1330–1349 AD and penned the *Tai-i-chi-lio* (*Description of the Barbarians of the Isles*), listing 99 countries and ports, notably Colombo, the Maldives, Kayangulam, Eli and Calicut. Early in the fifteenth century, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty commissioned naval expeditions to establish his fame in distant countries, which in turn deputed embassies to the Chinese court. Seven expeditions led by Cheng Ho came to south India. Later, his fellow travellers Fei Hsin and Ma Huan respectively penned the *Hsing-cha-sheng-lan* (*Description of the Star Raft*, 1436) and *Ying-yai-sheng-lan* (*Description of the Coasts of the Ocean,* 1451) which give significant details about Ceylon, Cochin and Calicut before the rise of the Portuguese.

We conclude with a few words about Magadha, who's Emperor Asoka gave Sakya Muni's creed its international dimension. Magadha (modern south Bihar) was one of four important kingdoms in Buddha's lifetime, the others being Kosala, the kingdom of the Vamsas, and Avanti. It was one of the sixteen *mahajanapadas* and its capital was Rajagriha, where Bimbisara and his son Ajatasatru reigned. Later, the capital shifted to Pataliputra. Under Bimbisara, Anga was included in the realm and he was titled king of

Anga-Magadha. His territory comprised of 80,000 villages spanning a circumference of nearly 300 leagues. Ajatasatru annexed Kosala, the only rival kingdom, with help from the Lichchavis.

Bimbisara and Ajatasatru raised Magadha to such heights that till the time of Asoka, the history of northern India was synonymous with that of Magadha. In Buddha's time, Magadha stretched to the river Champa on the east, the Vindhya ranges to the south, the river Son on the west, and the Ganga to the north. The Ganga formed the natural frontier between Magadha and the Lichchavi republic and both had equal rights over the river. When Buddha visited Vaishali, Bimbisara built and decorated a five-league long road from Rajagriha to the Ganga; the Lichchavis did the same on their side. Sakya Muni preached in the Magadhi dialect.

Magadha was a major political and commercial centre in the early Buddhist era. The rulers had cordial ties with their neighbours; Bimbisara and Pasenadi married each other's sisters. He also had an alliance with Pukkusati, king of Gandhara. When Candappajjota of Ujjeni fell sick with jaundice, Bimbisara sent his personal physician, Jivaka, to cure him. Buddha's leading disciples, Sariputra and Moggallana, hailed from Magadha. Under Asoka, Pataliputra's income from the four city gates was 400,000 *kahapanas* daily; the *Sabha* (council) daily yielded another 100,000 *kahapanas*. The farmlands were rich and fertile.

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CHAPTER — 12

FA-HIEN

Fa-Hien (also Fah-Hian or Faxian), whose family name was Kung, was a native of Wu-yang in P'ing-yang in Shan-hsi province. After three older brothers died in infancy, his father dedicated him to the Buddhist society while keeping him at home. But after he fell dangerously ill, he was sent to the monastery, where he recovered and decided to remain. His father died when he was ten; an uncle urged him to renounce monastic life out of deference to his widowed mother, but he said: 'I did not quit the family in compliance with my father's wishes, but because I wished to be far from the dust and vulgar ways of life. This is why I chose monkhood.' Soon thereafter, he completed his noviciate and took the vows of the full Buddhist order.

Buddhism in China suffered a severe lacuna in the rules of discipline observed by monks, and available translations of Buddhist texts were perceived as flawed. Fa-Hian set off for India to procure complete copies of the *Vinaya-pitaka* and original copies of works unknown to his countrymen. He reportedly visited the capital (Nanking) on his return, and along with the Indian *Sramana* Buddha-bhadra, translated some of the texts procured in India. However, he died before completing this task, at the age of 88 years, at King-chow in the monastery of Sin.

M. Abel-Rémusat published a translation of Fa-Hian's pilgrimage in Paris (1836), but this version of the *Fo-koue-ki* was widely viewed as faulty. Samuel Beal's[207] translation is far more readable than the later version of James Legge; hence we have relied upon it for our extracts. The pilgrim's gullible acceptance of stories of miracles by former Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are included to reflect his mindset and the extent of his travels, though our purpose is to glean insights into how India appeared to a foreign visitor in antiquity.

Fa-Hien is a religious title, and means 'Illustrious in the Law,' or '*Illustrious master of the Law*.' The Catalogue of the imperial library of the Suy dynasty (AD 589–618) mentions Fa-Hien four times, including a

reference to his translation work at Kin-ling (Nanking) with Buddha-bhadra.

Cunningham and Indian geographers and archaeologists have identifed the principal places Fa-Hien touched after crossing the Indus into the Punjab. Most places from Ch'ang-an to Bannu have also been identified. Woo-e is near Kutcha or Kuldja, in 43°25' N., 81°15'E. The country of K'ieh-cha was probably Ladakh, though James Legge thinks he crossed the Indus farther east than Skardo. T'o-leih is identified with Darda in Greenough's '*Physical and Geological Sketch-Map of British India*,' where 'Dardu Proper' lies east of the Indus, as per the narrative. The point at which Fa-hien recrossed the Indus into Udyana is unknown. Taksasila, which he visited, was on the west of the river and has been incorrectly accepted as the Taxila of Arrian in the Punjab.

CHAPTER 1

Setting out for India:

Fah Hian, when formerly resident at Tchang'an,[208] was grieved at noticing the fragmentary character of the *Rules of the Buddhist Discipline*[209] (as then known in China). Whereupon, in the second year of Hung Chi, the cyclical characters being Ki Hae,[210] he agreed with Hwui King, Tao Ching, Hwui Ying, and Hwui Wu, to go together to India to seek for complete copies of these *Rules*.

Setting out, therefore, from Tchang'an, they first of all crossed the Lung (Mountains), and arrived at the country of Kon Kwei,[211] where they sojourned during the season of the Rains. After this they pushed forward, and arrived at the country of Niu Tan;[212] then crossing the Yang Lau Hills they reached the great frontier station of Chang Yeh.[213] This place was in such an unsettled condition that the roads were unsafe for passengers. The Prince[214] of the country prevailed on them to remain there for some time, and himself afforded them hospitality. It was here they fell in with Chi Yen, Hwui Kan, Sang Chau, Po Wan, and Sang King, and pleased to find they

had one common aim in view, they remained together during the season of rains. After this they again set out and arrived at Tun Wang.[215]

They all stopped here a month and some odd days, after which Fah Hian and his four companions made arrangements to set out in advance of the others, and so they were again separated. The military governor of Tun Wang, Li Ho by name, provided them with all necessaries for crossing the Desert (Gobi Desert). In this desert there are a great many evil demons, there are also sirocco winds, which kill all who encounter them. There are no birds or beasts to be seen; but so far as the eye can reach, the route is marked out by the bleached bones of men who have perished in the attempt to cross the desert. After travelling thus for seventeen days, a distance of about fifteen hundred *li*,[216] they arrived at the kingdom of Shen-Shen.[217]

CHAPTER II

Buddhism in Shen-Shen:

This land is rugged and barren. The people dress like the Chinese, except they wear garments made of felt and woollen stuff. The King of this country is well affected to the Law of Buddha. In his dominions are about four thousand priests, all of whom belong to the religious system known as the Little Vehicle (*Hinayana*). The common people and the Shamans[218] of this and the neighbouring kingdoms all follow the religious customs of India, only some more exactly than others. All the kingdoms westward from this, as a rule, have the same characteristics, except that their languages differ, - each using its own dialect of the Tartar language. All the followers of Buddha (*prajarwikas* - those who have renounced their homes), however, practice themselves in reading Indian books, and conversing in that language.

Buddhism in Uighur:

This kingdom also has about four thousand priests, all professing the doctrines of the Little Vehicle. When Fah Tsih and Tsai Tch'ang, two Buddhist priests of the land of Thsin, arrived at this country, they were unable to conform to some of the customs of the religious community. Fah

Hian, therefore, having obtained a pass, proceeded to the palace (hall) of the reigning Prince, Kung Sun, there remained two months and some days; after which, he returned to Po Wan and the rest (who had by this time arrived at the country); but as there was a general dissatisfaction with the want of politeness which the people of the country showed towards their guests, three of the pilgrims, viz., Chi Yan, Hwui Kan, and Hwui Wu, resolved immediately to retrace their steps towards Kao Tchang, for the purpose of obtaining there the provisions necessary for their journey. Fah Hian and the others, in consequence of their possessing a pass, were furnished with all they needed by Kung Sun. After having provided themselves with these things, they immediately set forward in a south-westerly direction. On their route they found neither dwelling-houses or people. The miseries they endured in crossing the rivers, and in surmounting the natural difficulties of the road along which they had to journey, exceed all conception. After being on the road a month and five days, they at last arrived at Khoten (Yu-tien).

CHAPTER III

Mahayana Buddhism in Khoten:

This country is exceedingly prosperous; the people are very wealthy, and all of them, without exception, reverence the Law of Buddha, and take delight in attending to their religious duties. The body of priests may, perhaps, amount to ten thousand men, and principally belong to the system of the Great Vehicle. They all partake of their meals in common. The people of the country build their houses in clusters. Before the doors of their houses they erect small towers. The smallest are about twenty-two feet high. They also construct apartments for foreign priests, where they entertain them as guests, and provide them with all they require. The ruler of the country located Fah Hian and his companions in a *Sangharama*,[219] which was called *Gomati* (Kiu-ma-ti). The priests of this temple belong to the system known as the Great Vehicle (*Mahayana*). At the sound of the gong, three thousand priests assemble together to take their meal. Whilst entering the dining hall they observe the greatest decorum and propriety of conduct; one after another they take their seats. Silence is observed amongst

them all; they make no noise with their rice-bowls, and when they require more food there is no chattering one with the other, but they simply make a sign with their fingers (and so are supplied).

The ceremony of images:

Hwui King, Tao Ching, Hwui Ta, set out in advance towards Ki'a-Cha (Kartchou'), whilst Fah-Hian and the rest, wishing to witness the ceremony of the procession of images, halted here for a period of three months and some days. In this country there are fourteen large *Sangharamas*, without reckoning the smaller ones. On the first day of the fourth month, they begin within the city to sweep and water the roads, and to decorate the streets. Above the chief gate of the city they stretch out a large cloth screen, and ornament the covered space in every possible way, then the King and the court ladies, with their attendants, take their places there. The priests of the *Gomati* temple, belonging to the Greater Vehicle, being chiefly honoured by the King, first take their images in procession. They construct a four-wheeled image-car about three or four *li* from the city, its height is about thirty-five feet, and in appearance like a moving royal pavilion. It is adorned with the seven precious substances, and adorned with silken streamers and flags and curtains. The chief image is then placed upright in the centre of the carriage, with two *Bodhisatwas*[220] in attendance, and surrounded by all the *Devas* (Hindu gods). All are made of gold and silver, whilst glittering gems are hung suspended in the air. When the image is about one hundred paces from the city gate, the King removes his royal head-dress, and putting on new garments, with bare feet he proceeds from the city to meet the procession, holding flowers and incense in his hand, and followed by his suite. On meeting the car he bows down with his face to the ground in adoration, whilst he scatters the flowers and burns the incense. At the time when the image enters the city, the court ladies and their attendants throw down from the pavilion above the gate flowers in endless variety. Thus everything is sumptuously arranged. Each *Sangharama* has its own car, and its own day, for the procession. Beginning on the first day of the fourth month, they continue till the fourteenth day, after which they conclude, and the King and the ladies return to the palace.

CHAPTER V

Quinquennial assembly in Kartchou:

The King of this country holds the quinquennial assembly known as the Pan-che-yu-sse (*pancha-varsa*). At the time of the assembly he invites the priests of the four quarters (of every country) to attend. A vast concourse of them having come together, they then proceed to decorate the priests' session-place with silken flags and canopies. (In the midst) they erect a draped throne adorned with gold and silver lotus flowers, and behind it they arrange the seats for the priests. The king and his attended ministers then proceed to make their religious offerings. It is principally in the spring time that the King convokes the assembly, either during the first, second, or third month. After it is over, the King again exhorts his ministers to prepare and present further religious offerings. This occupies from one to five days more. After this is all done, the King further makes an offering of the horse which he rides, with its trappings, whilst the chief minister, and the principal nobles and officers of the land, offer theirs also; moreover, they make presents of white woollen stuff and every kind of precious thing which the Shamans require. All these things are given as votive offerings by the various ministers of the King. But, after being thus publicly presented by vow, they are redeemed from the priests for a certain value.[221]

Monks invoked for good harvests:

These mountainous regions are so cold that they will produce no cereal but wheat. As soon as the ecclesiastics have gathered in their harvest (received their dues), the weather becomes cloudy and overcast. The King, therefore, usually supplicates the priests to allow all the wheat to ripen before they begin to gather in (receive) theirs. In this country is a stone spitting-vessel of Buddha; it is the same colour as his alms-bowl. There is also one of Buddha's teeth, over which the inhabitants have raised a tower. There are about 1,000 or more priests here, all of them belonging to the system called the Little Vehicle.

CHAPTER VI

They cross the treacherous Tsung Ling mountain and enter north India:

On the confines of this region is a little kingdom called To-li,[222] in which, likewise, there is a congregation of priests belonging to the Little Vehicle. In this kingdom there was, formerly, an Arhat, who, by his spiritual power, transported a sculptor up to the Tushita Heavens to observe size, colour, and general appearance of Maitreya Bodhisatwa (the future Buddha), so that, on his return, he might carve a wooden image of him. Having first and last made three ascents for the purpose of correct observation, he finally completed the image. It was 94ft. high, and the length of the foot of the image 9ft. 4in. On festival days it always emits an effulgent light. The princes of all the neighbouring countries vie with each other in making religious offerings to it. It still exists in this country.

CHAPTER VII

They reach the Indus; Fah-Hian narrates how Buddhism came to China:

At the base there is a stream called the Sin-to (Indus). Men of old days have cut away the cliff so as to make a passage, and have carved out against the rock steps for descent, amounting altogether to 700 in number. Having passed these, there is, suspended across the river, a bridge of ropes, by which travellers pass over it. From one side of the river to the other is eighty paces. According to the records of Kau Yih,[223] neither Chang Kian[224] nor Kan Ying[225] of the Han[226] dynasty, reached so far as this. All the priests asked Fah Hian what he knew as to the time when the law of Buddha began to spread eastward from their country. Hian replied,

"On enquiry, men of those lands agreed in saying, that, according to an ancient tradition, Shamans from India began to carry the sacred books of Buddha beyond the river, from the time when the image of Maitreya Boddhisatwa was set up." Now this image was set up 300 years or so after the Nirvana of Buddha, which corresponds with the time of Pingwang,[227] of the Chau Family. Hence it may be said that the diffusion of the great doctrine may be attributed to the influence of this image. For apart from the

power of the great teacher Maitreya, following in the footsteps of Sakya, who would have been sufficient to cause the knowledge of the three precious ones[228] to be spread so far, that even men on the outskirts of the world acquired that knowledge? We may conclude therefore, with certainty, that the origin of this diffusion of the law of Buddha was no human work, but sprang from the same cause as the dream of Ming Ti.[229]

CHAPTER VIII

Monasteries of Udyana:

Crossing the river we arrive at the country of Ou-chang (Udyana). This is the most northern part of India. The language of middle India is everywhere used. Middle India is that which is called the Middle Country (*Madya Desa*). The clothes and food of the ordinary people are, likewise, just the same as in the Middle Country. The law of Buddha is universally honoured. The names given to places where the priests take up their fixed abodes is *Sangharama*. There are altogether about 500 of these, all of which are attached to the system called the Little Vehicle. If any foreign ecclesiastic (*Bikshu*) arrive amongst them, they are all ready to entertain him for three days,[230] after which they bid him seek for himself a resting place.

Tradition regarding the Buddha:

Tradition says, "When Buddha visited North India, he at once came to this country. When he left he bequeathed to them an impression of his foot." The appearance of the impression is large or small, according to the intensity of the religious feeling of the person who beholds it. It exists to the present day. The stone on which Buddha dried his clothes, and the place where he converted the malevolent dragon (Apalala), still remain. The stone is about 12ft. high and 24 ft. square, and smooth on one side. From this place the three pilgrims, Hwui King, To Ching, and Hwui Ta, went on in advance towards the kingdom of Na-kie (Nagrak[231]) where the shadow of Buddha is to be seen. Fah Hian and the others remained in this country

during the season of the Rains. After this they descended towards the south, and arrived at the kingdom of Su-ho-to (Swat).[232]

CHAPTER XII

In former births, Buddha gave his flesh to save a dove at Udyana; at Gandhara he sacrificed his eyes, at Takshasila he gave his head in charity and also his body to feed a starving tiger. At Peshawar, he predicted the arrival of Kanishka:

In old times Buddha, in company with all his disciples, travelled through this country, on which occasion he addressed Ananda thus, "After my *Nirvana* there will be a king of this country called Ka-ni-ka (Kanishka), who on this spot will raise a Pagoda."

In after times King Kanishka was born, and, on one occasion, as he was going on a tour of inspection, the divine ruler Sekra (Indra), wishing to originate the first thoughts of such a purpose, caused to appear before him a little shepherd boy making a Pagoda on the road. The King then stopped and asked him what he was doing, to which he replied, "I am making a tower in honour of Buddha." The King said, "you are a very good boy," and immediately set about building a great tower over that of the little shepherd boy. The height of it was 470ft. and more, and it was decorated with every sort of precious substance, so that all who passed by and saw the exquisite beauty and graceful proportions of the tower and the temple attached to it, exclaimed in delight, "these are incomparable for beauty." Tradition says that this was the highest tower in *Jambudwipa*.[233] When the King had finished his tower, the little one, built by the shepherded boy, immediately came out it, and removed itself to the south of the great tower, its height was about 3ft. 6in.

Buddha's alms bowl is also preserved in this country. In former times a King of the Yu-tchi, having raised a great army of soldiers, came with them all to invade this country, desiring to carry off the alms bowl. When he had subdued the country, the King of the Yu-tchi, being a firm believer in the law of Buddha, wished to take the bowl and go. He, therefore, prepared to make religious offerings, and, having performed his vows to the three

sacred objects of worship, he caparisoned a great elephant, and placed the alms bowl upon its back. No sooner had he done so, than the elephant fell to the ground, and was unable to advance a step. He then caused a four-wheeled car to be constructed to convey the alms bowl, and eight elephants to be harnessed to it; but once more they were unable to advance. The King was then convinced that the destiny of the alms bowl (in that kingdom) was not yet completed, and, being deeply ashamed of himself, he forthwith raised a tower upon the spot, and also a *Sangharama*; moreover he delayed his own departure, and remained to guard the relic, and performed every kind of religious service in its honour.

CHAPTER XIII

Po Wan, Tsang King and Hwui Ta return home. Hwui King fell ill in Na-kie and To Ching stayed to care for him. Later, Hwui King went to the temple of Buddha's alms bowl and died soon after. Fah-Hian proceeded to the place of Buddha's skull bone:

Going westwards sixteen *yojanas*,[234] we arrive at the borders of the country of Na-kie (Nagrak). In the city of Hi-lo (Hidda) is the Vihara containing the relic of the skull-bone of Buddha.[235] This Vihara is entirely covered with plates of gold, and decorated with the seven precious substances.[236] The King of the country reverences, in a high degree, this sacred relic. For fear lest any man should carry off the true bone and substitute another in its place, therefore he appoints eight persons belonging to the principal families of the country to seal up (every night) the door of the shrine, each one with his own seal, so as to guard and protect it. At early dawn these eight men all go to the temple, and each one observes if his seal is as he left it. They then open the door, and having washed their hands with perfumed water, they take out the bone of Buddha, and place it upon a lofty throne which is erected outside the shrine. On this throne is a circular table composed of the seven precious substances, with a crystal bell-shaped cupola on the top. Both the table and the cover are highly decorated and enriched with gems. The bone is of a yellowish-white colour, about four inches square, and somewhat elevated in the middle. Each day after it is

thus removed, certain men appointed for the purpose ascend a lofty belfry and beat a great drum, blow the conch, and clash the cymbals. When the King hears it he immediately repairs to the Vihara and offers flowers and incense; having done this, he repeatedly bends his head to the ground in adoration and departs. He enters by the eastern gate and departs by the western one. Thus does the King discharge his religious duties every morning, and after worship he proceeds to attend to governmental affairs. The chief men and nobles also attend to these acts of worship first, and then to their household duties, this, in fact, is the first and unfailing duty of every day. After the acts of worship are over, they then return the relic to its shrine. In this Vihara is a Dagoba (small relic tower) ornamented with the seven precious substances, partly solid and partly hollow, and about five feet in height. In order to enable worshippers to present their offerings at this Dagoba there are men appointed to sell flowers and incense at the gate of the Vihara every morning, so that all those who desire to make religious offerings may purchase everything necessary for the purpose. All the neighbouring princes depute commissioners to present religious offerings in this chapel. The site of the chapel is a square of forty paces a side. Though the heavens should quake, and the earth open, this place would remain unmoved.

Buddha's tooth relic:

In this town also is a tower of Buddha's tooth-relic,[237] which is worshipped in the same way as the skull-bone. One *yojana* to the NE of this city we reach the entrance of a defile where is preserved Buddha's religious staff. A Vihara is erected in which religious offerings are made to it. The staff is made of sandal-wood, of the kind called *Gosirchandana*, and is about one chang and six or seven-tenths long (between 19 and 20 feet).[238] It is contained in a wooden tube case, from which no human power can remove it. Entering the defile and travelling westward for four days there is a Vihara erected for the purpose of paying religions reverence to Buddha's robe (*Sanghati*). When there is a drought in that country the chief personages of the kingdom assemble together, and taking out the robe of Buddha, they worship it and pay to it religious devotion. The heavens then yield abundance of rain.

CHAPTER XV

After crossing the Little Snowy Mountains, Hwui Ying fell ill and died. Fah-Hian and his companion proceeded to Afghanistan and after resting during the rains, arrived at Bannu. Travelling east, they re-crossed the Indus:

On the other side of the river is a country called Pi-cha (Bhida on the Jhelum). The Law of Buddha is prosperous and flourishing here, and is known both in connection with the Small and Great Vehicle. On seeing disciples from China among them they were much affected and spoke thus, "How wonderful to think that men from the ends of the earth, should know the character of this religion (that there is a system of religion requiring one to leave one's family), and should come thus far to seek the laws of Buddha." We received from them all that we required and were treated according to the provisions of the law.

CHAPTER XVI

At Mathura on the banks of the Jamuna:

On the banks of this river there are twenty *Sangharamas*, containing perhaps 3000 priests. The Law of Buddha is in a reviving condition. All the kingdoms beyond the sandy deserts are spoken of as belonging to western India. The kings of all these countries firmly believe in the Law of Buddha. When they pay their religious offerings to the priesthood, they uncover their heads. Both they and the members of their households and the ministers of state (frequently) conduct the priests to their several palaces, for the purpose of providing them with food. Having placed their entertainment before them, they spread a carpet on the ground opposite the lofty dens on which the priests sit, and there take their places in front of them, for in the presence of the priesthood it is not allowed (to laymen) to sit on a loftier seat. These rules for the conduct of princes when offering their religious devotions have been handed down by tradition from the time when Buddha was in the world to the present day.

Revenue and administration in Madya Desa; the social status of Chandalas:

To the south of this, the country is called Madya Desa (middle country). The climate of this region is exceedingly equable, there is neither frost nor snow. The inhabitants are prosperous and happy. There are no Boards of Population and Revenue. Those only who farm the Royal demesnes, pay a portion of the produce as rent. Nor are they bound to remain in possession longer than they like. The King in the administration of justice inflicts no corporal punishment, but each culprit is fined in money according to the gravity of his offences; and even in cases where the culprit has been guilty of repeated attempts to excite rebellion, they restrict themselves to cutting off his right hand. The chief officers of the king have all allotted revenues. The people of this country kill no living creature nor do they drink intoxicating liquors. And, with the exception of the Chandalas (a caste of hunters), they eat neither garlic or onions. The word "*chandala*" signifies a wicked man, who lives apart from others. If such a man enters a town or a market place, he strikes a piece of wood, in order to keep himself separate; people, hearing this sound, know what it means and avoid touching him or brushing against him. In this country they do not keep swine or fowls, they do not deal in living animals, nor are there shambles or wine shops round their markets. They use shells for money in their traffic. The Chandalas alone go to hunting and deal in flesh. From the time of Buddha's *Nirvana*, the kings and nobles of all these countries began to erect Viharas for the priesthood, and to endow them with lands, gardens, houses, and also men and oxen to cultivate them. The Records of these endowments, being engraved on sheets of copper, have been handed down from one king to another, so that no one has dared to deprive them of possession, and they continue to this day to enjoy their proper Revenues.

Status of priests and treatment of visiting monks:

All the resident priests have chambers, beds, coverlets, food, drink and clothes provided for them without stint or reserve. Thus it is in all places. The priests, on the other hand, continually employ themselves in work of benevolence, in reciting their Scriptures, or in profound meditation. When a strange priest arrives amongst them, the senior brethren go out to meet him,

and conduct him on his way, carrying for him his clothes and alms dish. They then present him with water to wash his feet and cleanse them from mire, and they prepare an extraordinary repast.[239] After a little pause, when the stranger has rested, they ask him his age, according to which they allot him a chamber with proper materials, in every respect as the Law directs. In every place where the priests take up their fixed abode (i.e., rainy season), they erect towers in honour of Sariputra, Mogalan, Ananda (Buddha's disciples), and also towers in honour of the *Abhidharma*, *Vinaya*, and *Sutra Pitakas*. After the first month of residence the principal religious families in the neighbourhood exhort them to commence their Religious Services. On this, the priests partake of an extraordinary collation, and being assembled in a great congregation they repeat the Law; this being over, they present religious offerings to the tower of Sariputra, every kind of incense and flowers, and throughout the whole night they burn lamps provided by those men for the purpose. Sariputra was originally a Brahman. On one occasion having met Buddha, he sought to become a disciple. So also did the great Kasyapa[240] and the great Mogalan. The *Bikshunis* principally affect the worship of the tower of Ananda, because it was Ananda who requested Buddha to permit females to become disciples. The *Samaneras* principally affect the worship of Rahula (Buddha's son). The professors of the *Abhidharma* pay their religious offerings to that work, and so also with the masters of the *Vinaya*. Every year there is one such religious service, each individual having his own day. Men who belong to the Great Vehicle worship the *Prajna Paramita*,[241] Manjusri,[242] and Avalokiteswara (*Bodhisatwa*). The Priests' harvest being finished (the season when priests receive presents), then the nobles, and householders, and Brahmans, all provide themselves with different sorts of material for making garments such as priests require and present them to the clergy. The priests likewise make presents one to another. These rules of courtesy for the direction of the holy Congregation have been handed down without interruption from the time of Buddha's *Nirvana* till now.

CHAPTER XVII

From Mathura to Sankasya; Buddha's ascent to *Triyastrinshas* heaven and return to earth:

Going SE from this place (i.e. Mathura) eighteen *yojanas*, there is a kingdom called Sang-ka-shi (Sankasya).[243] When Buddha went up to the *Triyastrinshas* heaven to say Bana (preach the Law) for the sake of his mother,[244] after three months he descended at this place. On this occasion he exerted his spiritual power so that his disciples did not know where he had gone. Seven days before the completion of the three months, he again scattered his spiritual influence, so that Aniruddha (his cousin) by his divine sight was able to behold the World-Honoured one afar off. Immediately he addressed the venerable Maha Mogalan, "You now can go and pay reverence to the World-Honoured one." Mogalan forthwith proceeded and prostrated himself in adoration of the marks on the foot of Buddha.[245] This act of adoration being over, Buddha addressed him and said, "After seven days more I shall descend to *Jambudvipa*." Then Mogalan returned. At the appointed time the *maharajas* of the eight kingdoms and all the ministers and people, not having seen Buddha for so long, greatly desired to meet him. They flocked therefore in great crowds to this country to await the return of the World-Honoured One. Then the *Bikshuni* Utpala began to think thus with herself, "Today the king, ministers, and people are all going to meet Buddha and render homage to him, but I – a woman – how can I contrive to get the first sight of him." Buddha immediately, by his divine power, changed her into a holy *Chakravartti*[246] *Raja*, and in that capacity she was the very first to reverence Buddha on his return.

The descent of Buddha:

Buddha was now about to descend from the *Triyastrinshas* heavens. At this time there appeared a threefold precious ladder. Buddha standing above the middle ladder which was made of the seven precious substances began to descend. Then the king of the *Brahmakayikas*[247] caused a silver ladder to appear, and took his place on the right hand, holding a white *chowry* in his hand. Whilst the divine Sekra caused a bright golden ladder to appear, and took his place on the left hand holding a precious parasol in his hand.

Innumerable *Devas* were in attendance whilst Buddha descended. After he had accomplished his return the three ladders all disappeared in the earth except seven steps, which still continued to be visible.

Asoka investigates the ladders:

In after times king Asoka, wishing to find out the utmost depth to which these ladders went, employed men to dig and examine the matter. They went down till they came to a spring of yellow water, but yet had not arrived at the bottom. The king deriving from this an increase of faith and reverence, forthwith built over the ladders a Vihara, and in the middle of it placed a standing figure (of Buddha) sixteen feet high. Behind the Vihara he erected a stone pillar thirty cubits high, and on the top placed the figure of a Lion.[248] Within the pillar on the four sides are placed figures of Buddha; both within and without it is shining and bright as glass (lapis lazuli). It happened once that some heretical Doctors had a contention with the Shamans respecting this, as a place of residence. Then the Shamans agreed to any condition for settling the question that might be considered reasonable. On which they all bound themselves to this compact, "If this place properly belongs to the Shamans, then there will be some supernatural proof given of it." Immediately on this, the lion on the top of the pillar uttered a great roar. Witnessing this testimony, the unbelievers, abashed, withdrew from the dispute and submitted.

CHAPTER XX

Fah-Hian passes through Kanauj, Kasi, and reaches Kosala:

Going eight *yojanas* southwards[249] from this place, we arrive at the country of Kiu-sa-lo (Kosala[250]) and its chief town She-wei (Sravasti).[251] There are very few inhabitants in this city, altogether perhaps about two hundred families. This is the city which king Prasenajit governed. Towers have been erected in after times on the site of the ruined Vihara of Maha Prajapati,[252] also on the foundations (of the house) of Sudatta[253] the Nobleman, also on the spot where the Angoulimalya was burnt who was converted and entered Nirvana; all these Towers are erected in the midst of

the city. The unbelieving Brahmans, entertaining a jealous feeling, desired to destroy these various edifices, but on their attempting to do so the heavens thundered and the lightnings flashed, so that they were unable to carry their design into execution.

Jetavana Vihara and the image of the Buddha:

Leaving the city by the south gate, and proceeding twelve hundred paces on the road, on the west side of it is the place where the nobleman Sudatta built a Vihara (*Jetavana*). This chapel opens towards the East. The principal door is flanked by two side chambers, in front of which stand two stone pillars, on the top of the left hand one is the figure of a wheel, and on the right hand one, the image of an ox.[254] The clean water of the tanks, the luxuriant groves, and numberless flowers of variegated hues, combine to produce the picture of what is called the Vihara of Chi-un (Jeta). When Buddha ascended into the *Triyastrinshas* heavens to repeat the Law for the sake of his mother, after ninety days absence, king Prasenajit desiring to see him again, carved out of the sandal wood called Gosirchandana an image of the saint and placed it on the seat that he usually occupied. When Buddha returned and entered the Vihara, the image immediately quitting its place, went forward to meet him. On this Buddha addressed these words to it, "Return I pray you to your seat. After my *Nirvana* you will be the model from which all my flowers (members of the four schools or classes) shall carve their images of me." On this the Figure immediately returned to its seat. This image, as it was the very first made of all the figures of Buddha, is the one which all subsequent ages have followed as a model. Buddha subsequently removed and dwelt in a small Vihara on the south side of the greater one, in a place quite separate from that occupied by the image, and about twenty paces from it.

Fire in Jetavana Vihara; restoration by the faithful:

The Chi-un Vihara originally had seven storeys. The monarchs of all the surrounding countries and their inhabitants vied with each other in presenting religious offerings at this spot. They decked the place with flags and silken canopies, they offered flowers and burnt incense, whilst the lamps shone out day after day with unfading splendour. Unfortunately, a rat

gnawing at the wick of one of the lamps caused it to set fire to one of the hanging canopies, and this resulted in a general conflagration, and the entire destruction of the seven storeys of the Vihara. The kings and people of the surrounding countries were all deeply grieved, supposing that the sandal wood figure had also been consumed. Four or five days afterwards, on opening the door of the eastern little chapel, they were surprised to behold the original figure there. All the people were filled with joy, and they agreed to re-build the chapel. Having completed two storeys they removed the image from its new situation back to where it was before. When Fah Hian and To Ching arrived at this chapel of Chi-un, they were much affected to think that this was the spot in which Buddha had passed twenty-five years of his life.

Buddhist priests express surprise to meet the Chinese pilgrims at Jetavana:

Whereupon the priests, belonging to that community, came forward and addressed Fah Hian and his companion thus, "From what country have you come?" To which they replied, "We come from the land of Han." Then those priests, in astonishment, exclaimed, "Wonderful! To think that men from the remotest corner of the earth should come so far as this, from a desire to search for the Law;" and then talking between themselves they said, "Our various Superiors and Brethren who have succeeded one another in this place, the earliest time till now, have none of them seen men of Han come so far as this before."

Five hundred blind men recover their sight after hearing Buddha:

Four *li* to the N.W. of the Vihara is a copse called "Recovered Sight" (*Aptanetravana*, Jul. ii.308). Originally there were five hundred blind men dwelling on this spot, who were in the habit of attending the Chapel. On one occasion Buddha declared the Law on their account, after listening to his sermon, they immediately recovered their sight. The blind men, overcome with joy, drove their staves into the earth and fell down on their faces in adoration. The staves forthwith took root and grew up to be great trees. The people, from a feeling of reference, did not presume to cut them down, and so they grew and formed a grove to which this name of

"Recovered Sight" was given. The priests of the chapel of Chi-un resort in great numbers to this shady copse to meditate after their midday meal.

Brahmins fail to defame Buddha:

The great Garden enclosure of the Vihara of Chi-un has two gates, one opening towards the East, the other towards the North. This garden is the plot of ground which the noblemen Sudatta bought, after covering it with gold coins. The chapel is placed in the exact centre of it; it was here Buddha resided for a very long time and expounded the Law for the Salvation of men. Towers have been erected on the various spots where he walked for exercise or sat down. These towers have all distinctive titles given them, as for example, the place where Buddha formerly held a discussion with the followers of the ninety-six heretical schools. The king of the country, the chief ministers, the landowners and people all came in great numbers to hear him. At this time a woman, who was an unbeliever, called Chinchimana, being filled with jealousy, gathered up her clothes in a heap round her person so as to appear big with child, and then accused Buddha, in the midst of the great assembly, of having acted towards her contrary to the Law. On this, Sekra, the heavenly king, taking the appearance of a white mouse, came and gnawed through the sash which bound the woman's clothes up in the heap; on this the whole fell down, and then the earth opened and she herself went down alive into Hell.

Destruction of the Sakyas:

Four *li* to the SE of Sravasti is the place where the World-Honoured One stood by the side of the road when king Viroudhaka (Leou-li)[255] wished to destroy the country of the Sakya family; on this spot there is a tower built. Fifty *li* to the west of the city we arrive at a town called To-wai,[256] this was the original birthplace of Kasyapa Buddha. Towers are erected on the spot where he had an interview with his father and also where he entered *Nirvana*. A great tower has also been erected over the relics of the entire body of Kasyapa Tathagata.

CHAPTER XXII

Birthplace of the Buddha deserted:

From this spot going eastward less than a *yojana* we arrive at the city of Ka-wei-lo-wei (Kapilavastu).[257] In this city there is no government or people, it is just like a great desert. There is simply a congregation of priests and about ten families of lay people. In the place where stand the ruins of the palace of Sudhodana (Buddha's father), there is a picture of the Prince-apparent and his mother, (supposedly) taken at the time of his miraculous conception.[258] The Prince is represented as descending towards his mother, riding on a white elephant. Towers have been erected on the following spots – where the royal Prince left the city by the Eastern gate,[259] where he saw the sick man, and where he caused his chariot to turn and take him back to his Palace. There are also towers erected on the following spots – at the place where the (Rishi) Asita calculated the horoscope of the royal Prince; where Nanda[260] and the others struck the elephant and seized it; where the arrow[261] going south-east thirty *li* entered the earth, from which bubbled up a fountain of water, which, in after generations, was used as a well for travellers to drink at; also on the spot where Buddha, after arriving at Supreme Wisdom, met his father; where the five hundred Sakyas having embraced the faith, paid reverence to Upali; at the place where the earth shook six times in succession; at the place where Buddha expounded the Law on behalf of all the Devas, whilst the four Heavenly Kings guarded the four gates of the hall, so that his father could not enter; at the place where Maha Prajapatî presented Buddha with a Sanghati whilst he was sitting under a Nyagrodha tree, with his face to the East, which tree still exists; at the place where Viroudhaka Raja killed the offspring of the Sakyas,[262] who had previously entered on the path Srotapanna. All these towers are still in existence.

Buddha's birth place – Lumbini:

Fifty *li* to the east of the city is the royal garden, called Lumbini; it was here the Queen entered the bath to wash herself, and having come out on the northern side, advanced twenty paces, and then holding a branch of the (*Sala*) tree in her hand, brought forth the Prince. When born he walked

seven steps; two dragon Kings washed the Prince's body, - the place where this occurred was afterwards converted into a well, from which the priests draw their drinking water. All the Buddhas have four places universally determined for them: 1. The place for arriving at Supreme Wisdom; 2. The place for turning the wheel of the Law; 3. The place for expounding the true principles of the Law, and refuting the heretics; 4. The place for descending to earth after going into the *Triyastrinshas* heaven to explain the Law to their mothers.

CHAPTER XXIII

In Ramagrama:[263]

The King of this country obtained one share of the Relics of Buddha's body.[264] On his return home he built a tower (over the relics), which is the same as the Tower of Ramagrama. By the side of it is a tank in the middle of which resides a Dragon, who constantly guards and protects the tower, and performs religious service in it, morning and night. When King Asoka was born (and came to the throne), he wished to destroy the eight towers and to build eighty-four thousand others (throughout the land). Having destroyed seven of them, he next proceeded to treat this one in the same way. The Dragon therefore assumed a body, and conducted the King within his abode, and having exhibited to him all the vessels and appliances he used in his religious services, he addressed the King, and said: "If you can excel me in these particulars, then you may destroy the tower, go and do so at once, I will have no quarrel with you." King Asoka knowing that these vessels were of no human workmanship, immediately returned to his home.

CHAPTER XXIV

Passing through the place where Buddha directed his charioteer Chandaka and horse Kanika to return to the palace, Fah-Hian arrives at Kusinagara:

Proceeding eastward from this place four *yojanas* we arrive at the tower raised over the ashes selected after the burning of Buddha's body. Here also is a *Sangharama*. Again advancing twelve *yojanas* to the eastward we

arrive at the town of Kusinagara. To the north of this town, on the place where the world-honoured Buddha, lying by the side of the Hiranyavatî (Little Gandak) River, with his head to the North, and a Sal tree on either side of him, entered *Nirvana*. Also in the place where Subhadra (an 81-year old Brahmin) was converted, the very last of all his disciples. Also where, for seven days, they paid reverence to the world-honoured Buddha, lying in his golden coffin. Also where Vajrapani threw down his golden mace, and where the eight kings divided the relics; in each of the above places towers have been raised and *Sangharamas* built, which still exist.

CHAPTER XXV

Passing through the site where the Litchavas[265] were prevented from following Buddha to the place of his Nirvana, Fah-Hian arrives at Vaisali:

To the north of the city of this name there is the Vihara of the great forest (Mahavana Vihara) which has a double tower (two storeys). This chapel was once occupied by Buddha.[266] Here also is the tower which was built over half the body of Ananda. Within this city dwelt Amradarika (courtesan Ambapalli) who built a tower in honour of Buddha, the ruins of which still exist. Three *li* to the south of the city, on the west side of the road, is the garden which Amradarika presented to Buddha as a place for him to rest in. When Buddha was about to enter Nirvana, accompanied by his disciples, he left Vaisali by the western gate, and turning his body to the right as a token of respect (*pradakshana*) he beheld the city and thus addressed his followers:- "In this place I have performed the last religious act of my earthly career." Men afterwards raised a Tower on this spot.

Legend of the thousand Buddhas:

Three li to the north-west of the city is a tower called "the tower of the deposited bows and clubs." The origin of this name was as follows:- On one of the superior affluents of the river Ganges there was a certain country ruled by a king. One of the concubines of this monarch gave birth to an unformed fœtus, whereupon the wife of the king, being filled with jealousy,

said, “Your conception is one of very bad omen.” So they immediately closed it up in a box of wood and cast it into the middle of the Ganges. Lower down the stream there was a certain Rajah, who, as he was taking a tour of observation, caught sight of the wooden box as it floated on the surface of the stream. On bringing it to the shore and opening it, to see what was inside, he beheld a thousand little children very fair and just of a size. The king hereupon took them and brought them up. Afterwards, when they grew up, they turned out to be very brave and warlike, and were victorious over all whom they went to attack. In process of time they marched against the kingdom of the monarch, their father. The king was filled with great consternation in anticipation of their approach. On this his concubine asked the Rajah why he was so terrified, to which he replied, “The king of that country has a thousand sons, brave and warlike beyond compare, and these are coming to waste my territories, this is why I am alarmed.” To this the concubine replied, “Fear not! But erect on the east of the city a high tower, and when the robbers come, place me on the top of it, and I will restrain them.” The king did as she requested, and when the invaders arrived the concubine, from the top of the tower, addressed them, saying, “Are you my children all? Then why are you engaged in such rebellious acts as these?” They replied, “Who are you, that say you are our mother?” The concubine replied, “If ye will not believe me, all of you look up towards me, and open your mouths.” On this the concubine, with both her hands, compressed her breasts, and from each breast forthwith proceeded five hundred jets of milk, which fell into the mouths of her thousands sons. On this the robbers, perceiving that she was indeed their mother, immediately laid down their bows and clubs. The two royal fathers, by a consideration of these circumstances, were able to arrive at the condition of Pratyeka Buddhas, and two towers, erected in their honour, remain to the present day. In after times, when the world-honoured Buddha arrived at Supreme Reason, he addressed all his disciples in these words, and said, “This is the place where I formerly laid aside my bow and my club.” Men in after times, coming to know this, founded a Tower in this place, and hence the name given to it. The thousand young children are in truth the thousand Buddhas of this Bhadra Kalpa. Buddha, when standing beside this tower, addressed Ananda in these words, “After three months I must enter *Nirvana*,” on which

occasion Mara Raja so fascinated the mind of Ananda that he did not request Buddha to remain in the world.

CHAPTER XXVI

Nirvana of Ananda:

When Ananda was going from the country of Magadha towards Vaisali, desiring to enter *Nirvana*, all the *Devas* acquainted king Ajasat[267] of it. The king immediately placed himself at the head of his troops, set out after him and arrived at the banks of the river. All the Litchhavas of Vaisali, hearing that Ananda was coming, likewise set out to meet him and arrived at the side of the river. Ananda then reflected that if he were to advance, king Ajasat would be much grieved, and if he should go back, then the Litchhavas would be indignant. Being perplexed he forthwith entered the *Samadhi* called the "brilliancy of flame," consuming his body, and entered *Nirvana* in the very midst of the river. His body was divided into two parts, one part was found on either side of the river, so the two kings, each taking the relics of half his body, returned and erected towers over them.

CHAPTER XXVII

In Magadha (Patna), Asoka makes a hill to lure his brother from Gridhrakuta (Vulture's Peak):

The king, having a great regard and reverence for his brother,[268] requested him to come to his house to receive his religious offerings. His brother, pleased with his tranquillity in the mountain, declined the invitation. The king then addressed his brother, saying, "If you will only accept my invitation, I will make for you a hill within the city." The king then, providing all sorts of meat and drink, invited the Genii to come, addressing them thus, "I beg you all to accept my invitation for tomorrow, but as there are no seats (fit for you), I must request you each to bring his own." On the morrow all the great Genii came, each one bringing with him a great stone, four or five paces square. Immediately after the feast, he deputed the Genii to pile up the great stones and make a mountain of them, and at the base of the mountain with five great square stones to make a Rock chamber, in

length about thirty-five feet and in breadth twenty-two feet, and in height eleven feet or so.

Buddha Ghosa's eminence:

In this city (Patna) once lived a certain Brahman[269] called Lo-tai-sz-pi-mi, of large mind and extensive knowledge, and attached to the Great Vehicle. There was nothing with which he was unacquainted, and he lived apart occupied in silent meditation. The King of the country honoured and respected him, as his religious superior (Guru). If he went to salute him he did not dare to sit down in his presence. If the king from a feeling of affectionate esteem took him by the hand, the Brahman immediately washed himself from head to foot. For something like fifty years the whole country looked up to this man and placed its confidence on him alone. He mightily extended the influence of the Law of Buddha, so that the heretics were unable to obtain any advantage at all over the priesthood.

The procession of Images in Patna:

Of all the kingdoms of mid-India, the towns of this country are especially large. The people are rich and prosperous and virtuous. Every year on the eighth day of the second month there is a procession of Images. On this occasion, they construct a four-wheeled car, and erect upon it a tower of five stages, composed of bamboos lashed together, the whole being supported by a centre post resembling a large spear with three points, in height twenty-two feet and more. So it resembles a Pagoda. They then cover it over with fine white linen, on which they afterwards paint all sorts of gaily-coloured pictures. Having made figures of all the *Devas*, and decorated them with gold, silver, and coloured glass (lapis lazuli), they place them under canopies of embroidered silk. Then at the four corners (of the car) they construct niches (shrines) in which they place figures of Buddha, in a sitting posture, with a *Bodhisatwa* standing in attendance. There are perhaps twenty cars thus prepared, and decorated each one differently from the rest. During the day of the procession, both priests and laymen assemble in great numbers. There are all sorts of games and amusements (for the latter), whilst the former offer flowers and incense in religious worship. The *Bramacharis* (disciples of Brahmans) come forth to

salute Buddha, and one after the other the cars enter the city. After coming into the town they take up their several positions. Then all night long the people burn lamps,[270] indulge in games, and make religious offerings. Such is the custom of all those who assemble on this occasion from the different countries round about.

The founding of hospitals and shelters:

The respective nobles and landowners of this country have founded hospitals within the city, to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, cripples, and the diseased, may repair (for shelter). They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases order them food and drink, medicine or decoctions, every thing in fact that may contribute to their ease. When cured they depart at their own convenience.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Indra (Sekra) questions Buddha:

From this city, proceeding in a south-easterly direction nine *yojanas*, we arrive at a small rocky hill[271] standing by itself, on the top of which is a stone cell facing the south. On one occasion, when Buddha was sitting in the middle of this cell, the Divine Sekra took with him his attendant musicians, each one provided with a five stringed lute, and caused them to sound a strain in the place where Buddha was seated. Then the divine Sekra proposed forty-two questions to Buddha, writing each one of them singly with his finger upon a stone. The traces of these questions yet exist. There is also a *Sangharama*[272] built upon this spot.

Sariputra's *Nirvana*:

Going south-west from this one yojana we arrive at the village of Na-lo (Nalandagram). This was the place of Sariputra's birth. Sariputra returned here to enter *Nirvana*. A tower therefore was erected on this spot, which is still in existence.

CHAPTER XXIX

From New Rajagriha, the pilgrims reach the Vulture's Peak, where Mara had tried to frighten Ananda:

Three *li* from the top is a stone cavern facing the south. Buddha used in this place to sit in profound meditation (*dhyana*). Thirty paces to the north-west is another stone cell, in which Ananda practiced meditation. The *Deva Mara Papiyan* (wicked one) having assumed the form of a vulture, took his station before the carvern, and terrified Ananda. Buddha, by his spiritual power penetrated the rock, and with his outspread hand touched the head of Ananda. On this he bore up against his fear, and found peace. The traces of the bird and of the hand-hole still plainly exist, and from this circumstance the hill is called "the hill of the vulture cave" (*Gridhrakuta*).

Fah-Hian meditates in the hall where Buddha delivered his most celebrated discourses:

The hall in which Buddha delivered the law has been overturned and destroyed; the foundations of the brick walls still exist however. The peaks of this mountain are picturesque and imposing; it is the loftiest one of the five mountains that surround the town. Fah-Hian having bought flowers, incense, and oil and lamps, in the New Town procured the assistance of two aged *Bikshus* to accompany him to the top of the peak. Having arrived there, he offered his flowers and incense, and lit his lamps, so that their combined lustre illuminated the gloom of the cave. Fah Hian was deeply moved, even till the tears coursed down his cheeks, and he said, "Here it was in bygone days Buddha dwelt, and delivered the *Surangama Sutra*. Fah Hian, not privileged to be born at a time when Buddha lived, can but gaze on the traces of his presence, and the place which he occupied." Then taking his position in front of the cave, he recited the *Surangama* (*Sutra*), and remained there the entire night.

CHAPTER XXX

Traversing the Bamboo Garden of Nalanda and other places, the pilgrims arrive at Sattapanni Cave where the first great Convocation

was held:

This is the place where 500 *Rahats* assembled after the *Nirvana* of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books. At the time when the books were recited, three vacant seats where specially prepared and adorned. The one on the left was for Sariputra, the one on the right for Maudgalyayana. The assembly was yet short of 500 by one *Rahat*; and already the great Kasyapa was ascending the throne, when Ananda stood without the gate unable to find admission;[273] on this spot they have raised a tower, which still exists.

CHAPTER XXXI

In Gaya and neighbouring sites:

All within this city likewise is desolate and desert. Going south twenty *li*, we arrive at the place where *Bodhisatwa*, when alive, passed six years in self-inflicted austerities. This place is well wooded. From this spot, proceeding westward three *li*, we arrive at the spot where Buddha, entering the water to bathe himself, the *Deva* held out the branch of a tree to him to assist him in coming out of the water. Again, going north two *li*, we arrive at the place where the village girls[274] gave the milk and rice to Buddha. From this, going north two *li*, is the spot where Buddha, seated on a stone under a great tree, and looking towards the east, ate the rice and milk. Both the tree and the stone remain to the present day. The stone is about six feet square, and two in height.

Buddha seeks a divine sign and fights the forces of Mara:

Going north-east from this half a *yojana*, we arrive at a stone cell, into which *Bodhisatwa* entering sat down with his legs crossed, and his face toward the west. Whilst thus seated, he reflected with himself: “If I am to arrive at the condition of perfect wisdom, then let there be some spiritual manifestation.” Immediately on the stone wall there appeared the shadow of Buddha, in length somewhat about three feet. This shadow is still distinctly visible. Then the heavens and the earth were greatly shaken, so much so that all the *Devas* resident in space cried out and said, “This is not the place

appointed for the Buddhas (past or those to come) to arrive at Perfect Wisdom; at a distance less than half a *yojana* south-west from this, beneath the Pei-to tree, is the spot where all the Buddhas (past or yet to come) should arrive at that condition." The *Devas* having thus spoken immediately went before him, singing and leading the way with a view to induce him to follow. Then *Bodhisatwa*, rising up, advanced after them. When distant thirty paces from the tree, the *Devas* presented to him the grass mat of Ki-tseung (Santi).[275] Bodhisatwa, having accepted it, again advanced fifteen paces. Then 500 blue birds came flying towards him,[276] and having encircled Bodhisatwa three times in their flight, departed. Bodhisatwa, then going forward, arrived under the Pei-to tree, and spreading out the mat of Santi, sat down upon it, with his face towards the east. Then it was that Mara Raja dispatched three pleasure girls[277] from the northern quarter to come and tempt him, whilst Mara himself coming from the south, assailed him likewise. Then Bodhisatwa striking the toe of his foot against the earth, the whole army of Mara was scattered, and the three women were changed into hags.

Buddha attains the supreme knowledge:

Buddha having arrived at Supreme Wisdom for seven days sat contemplating the Tree, experiencing the joys of emancipation. On this spot they have raised a tower, as well as on the following, viz. where he walked for seven days under the Pei-to tree, from east to west; where all the *Devas*, having caused the appearance of a hall composed of the seven precious substances for seven days paid religious worship to Buddha; where the blind dragon Manlun (*Mouchalinda*, *Lalita Vistara* 355) for seven days encircled Buddha in token of respect; also where Buddha seated on a square stone beneath a *Nyagrodha* tree, and with his face to the east, received the respectful salutation of Brahma; also where the four Heavenly Kings respectfully offered him his alms bowl; also where the 500 merchants presented him with wheat and honey; also where he converted the Kasyapas, elder and younger brothers, each of whom was at the head of 1,000 disciples. In the place where Buddha arrived at perfect[278] reason, there are three *Sangharamas*, in all of which priests are located. All the

ecclesiastics are supplied with necessaries by the people, so that they have sufficient and lack nothing. They scrupulously observe the rules of the *Vinaya* with respect of decorum. They exactly conform to the regulations established by Buddha when he was in the world, which relate to sitting down, rising up, or entering the assembly; and they have ever done so from the first till now. The sites of the four great Pagodas have always been associated together from the time of the *Nirvana*. The four great Pagodas are those erected on the place where he was born, where he obtained emancipation, where he began to preach, and where he entered *Nirvana*.

CHAPTER XXXII

Asoka is blessed by Sakya Muni:

Formerly, when King Asoka was a lad, when he was playing on the road, he encountered[279] Sakya Buddha going begging. The little boy, rejoiced to have the opportunity, immediately presented him with a handful of earth as an offering. Buddha received it, and on his return sprinkled it on the ground on which he took his exercise. In return for this act of charity the lad became an iron-wheel king, and ruled over *Jambudwipa*. On assuming the iron wheel (becoming a universal monarch) he was on a certain occasion going through *Jambudwipa* in the administration of justice, at which time he saw one of the places of torment[280] for the punishment of wicked men, situated between two mountains, and surrounded by an iron wall. He immediately asked his attendant ministers, "What is this place?" To this they replied and said, "This is the place where Jemma, the infernal king, inflicts punishment on wicked men for their crimes." The king then began to reflect and said, "The Demon King, in the exercise of his function, requires to have a place of punishment for wicked men. Why should not I, who rule these men (on earth), have a place of punishment likewise for the guilty?"

Asoka creates his own hell:

On this he asked his ministers, "Who is there that I can appoint to make for me a Hell, and to exercise authority therein for the punishment of

wicked men?" In reply they said, "None but a very wicked man can fulfill such an office." The king forthwith dispatched his ministers to go in every direction to seek for such a man. In the course of their search they saw, by the side of a running stream, a lusty great fellow of a black colour, with red hair and light eyes, with feet like talons, and a mouth like that of a fish. When he whistled to the birds and beasts they came to him, and when they approached he mercilessly shot them through, so that none escaped. Having caught this man, he was brought before the king. The king then gave him these secret orders, "You must enclose a square space with high walls, and within this enclosure plant every kind of flower and fruit (tree), and make beautiful lakes and alcoves, and arrange everything with such taste as to cause men to be anxious to look within the enclosure. Then, having made a wide gate, the moment a man enters within the precincts, seize him at once, and subject him to every kind of infernal torture. And whatever you do, let no one (who has once entered) ever go out again. And I strictly enjoin you, that if I even should enter the enclosure, that you torture me also and spare not. Now then, I appoint and constitute you Lord of this place of Torment!" It happened that a certain *Bikshu*, as he was going his rounds begging for food, entered the gate. The Infernal Keeper seeing him, (seized his person) and made preparations to put him to torture. The *Bikshu*, being very much frightened, suppliantly begged for a moment's respite, that he might, at least, partake of his mid-day meal. It so happened that just at this moment another man entered the place, on which the keeper directly seized him, and, putting him in a stone mortar, began to pound his body to atoms, till a red froth formed on the surface of the mass. The *Bikshu* having witnessed this spectacle, began to reflect on the impermanency, the sorrow, the vanity of bodily existence, that it is like a bubble and froth of the sea, and so he arrived at the condition of a Rahat. This having transpired, the Infernal Keeper laid hold of him and thrust him into a cauldron of boiling water. The heart of the *Bikshu* and his countenance were full of joy. The fire was extinguished and the water became cold, whilst in the middle of it there sprung up a Lotus, on the top of which the *Bikshu* took his seat. The keeper (on witnessing this) forthwith proceeded to the king and said, "A wonderful miracle has occurred in the place of Torture – would that your Majesty would come and see it." The king said, "I dare not come, in consideration of my former agreement with you." The keeper replied, "This matter is one of

great moment: it is only right you should come; let us consider your former agreement changed." The king then directly followed him and entered the prison; on which the *Bikshu*, for his sake, delivered a religious discourse, so that the king believed and was converted.[281] Then he ordered the place of Torture to be destroyed, and repented of all the evil he had formerly committed.

Asoka's queen cuts down the Bodhi tree:

From the time of his conversion he exceedingly honoured the three sacred symbols of his faith (*Buddha*, *Dharma*, *Sangha*), and went continually to the spot underneath the Pei-to Tree for the purpose of repentance, self-examination, and fasting. In consequence of this, the queen on one occasion asked, "Where is it the king is perpetually going?" on which the ministers replied, "He continually resides under the Pei-to Tree." The queen hereupon, awaiting an opportunity when the king was not there, sent men to cut the tree down. The king, repairing as usual to the spot, and seeing what had happened, was so overpowered with grief that he fell down senseless on the ground. The ministers, bathing his face with water, after a long time restored him to consciousness. Then the king piled up the earth on the four sides of the stump of the tree, and commanded the roots to be moistened with a hundred pitchers of milk. Then, prostrating himself at full length on the ground, he made the following vow: "If the tree does not revive, I will never rise up again." No sooner had he done this than the tree immediately began to force up small branches from the root, and so it continued to grow until it arrived at its present height, which is somewhat less than 120 feet.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Fah-Hian visits *Kukutapadagiri* (Cock's-foot) mountain and other sites linked with Kasyapa and Sakya Buddha:

Fah Hian returning towards Pataliputra kept along the course of the Ganges, and after going ten *yojanas* in a westerly direction arrived at a Vihara[282] called "Desert" (Kwang ye) in which Buddha resided. Priests still reside in it. Still keeping along the course of the Ganges, and going west

twelve *yojanas*, we arrive at the country of Kasi and the city of Benares (Po-lo-nai). About ten *li* or so to the NE of this city is the chapel of the Deer Park of the *Rishis* (Buddha gave his first sermon here). This garden was once occupied by a Pratyeka Buddha. There are always wild deer reposing in it for shelter. When the world-honoured Buddha was about to arrive at Supreme Wisdom, all the *Devas* who resided in space began to chant a hymn and say: "The son of Sudhodana Raja, who has left his home that he may acquire supreme wisdom, after seven days will arrive at the condition of Buddha." The Pratyeka Buddha, hearing this, immediately entered *Nirvana*. Therefore, the name of this place is the Deer Park of the Rishi. The world-honoured Buddha having arrived at complete knowledge, men in after-ages erected a Vihara on this spot.

Buddha's first disciples:

Buddha being desirous to convert Adjnata Kaundinya[283] (Keou lun) and his companions, known as the five men, they communised one with another and said: "This Shaman Gotama, having in his own person for six years practiced the severest mortifications, reducing himself to the daily use of but one grain of millet and one of rice, and in spite of this, having failed to obtain Supreme Wisdom, how much less shall he now obtain that condition, by entering into men's society and removing the checks he placed upon his words and thoughts and actions; today when he comes here, let us carefully avoid all conversation with him." On Buddha's arrival the five men rose and saluted him, and here they have erected a tower – also on the following spots, viz. on a site sixty paces to the north of the former place, where Buddha, seated with his face to the east, began to turn the Wheel of the Law (to preach) for the purpose of converting Kaundinya and his companions, commonly known as "the five men," also on a spot twenty paces to the north of this, where Buddha delivered his prediction concerning Maitreya, also on a spot fifty paces to the south of this, where the Dragon Elapatra asked Buddha at what time he should be delivered from his Dragon-form; in all these places towers have been erected which still exist. In the midst (of the Park) there are two *Sangharamas* which still have priests dwelling in them.

CHAPTER XXXV

Fah-Hian arrives in Ellora:

Going two hundred *yojanas* south from this, there is a country called Ta-Thsin (*Dakshina*, Deccan). Here is a *Sangharama* of the former Buddha Kasyapa (Ellora caves). It is constructed out of a great mountain of rock, hewn to the proper shape. This building has altogether five storeys. The lowest is shaped into the form of an elephant, and has five hundred stone cells in it. The second is in the form of a lion and has four hundred chambers. The third is shaped like a horse and has three hundred chambers. The fourth is in the form of an ox and has two hundred chambers. The fifth storey is in the shape of a dove and has one hundred chambers in it. At the very top of all is a spring of water which flowing in a stream before the rooms, encircles each tier, and so, running in a circuitous course, at last arrives at the very lowest storey of all, where, flowing past the chambers as before, it finally issues through the door of the building. Throughout the consecutive tiers, in various parts of the building, windows have been pierced through the solid rock for the admission of light, so that every chamber is quite illuminated and there is no darkness (throughout the whole). At the four corners of this edifice they have hewn out the rock into steps, as means for ascending. Men of the present time point out a small ladder which reaches up to the highest point (of the rock) by which men of old ascended it, one foot at a time. They derive the name which they give to this building, viz. Po-lo-yu, from an Indian word signifying "pigeon." There are always *Rahats* abiding here. This land is hilly and barren and without inhabitants. At a considerable distance from the hill there are villages, but all of them are inhabited by heretics.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Fah-Hian avoids the dangerous Deccan roads and returns to Patna; procures some scriptures:

From Benares going eastward in a retrograde order, we arrive at the town of Pataliputra again. The purpose of Fah Hian was to seek for copies of the *Vinaya Pitaka*. But throughout the whole of Northern India the various

masters trusted to tradition only for their knowledge of the Precepts, and had no written copies[284] of them at all. Wherefore Fah Hian had come even so far as Mid India (without success). But here in the *Sangharama* of the Great Vehicle (at Patna) he obtained one copy of the Precepts, viz. the collection used by the school of the *Mahasangikas*, which was that used by the first great assembly of priests convened during Buddha's lifetime. In the chapel of Chi-un (Jetavana) there is a tradition that this was originally their copy (or, this school originally sprang from them). The eighteen sects in general have each their own Superior, but they are agreed in their dependence on the Great Refuge (*Buddha*, *Dharma*, *Sangha*). In some minor details of faith they differ, as well as in a more or less exact attention to some matters of practice. But this collection is generally regarded as most correct and complete. Moreover, he obtained one copy of Precepts in manuscript, comprising about 7,000 *gathas*. This copy was that used by the assembly belonging to the school of the *Sarvastivadas*. The same, in fact, as is generally used in China. The masters of this school also hand down the Precepts by word of mouth, and do not commit them to writing. Moreover, in this assembly he obtained an imperfect copy of the *Abhidharma*, including altogether about 6,000 *gathas*. Moreover, he obtained a collection of *Sutras* in their abbreviated form, consisting altogether of 2,500 verses. Moreover, he obtained an expanded volume (*Vaipoulya*)[285] of the *Parinirvana*[286] *Sutra*, containing about 5,000 verses. Moreover, he procured a copy of the *Abhidharma* according to the school of the *Mahasangikas*. On this account Fah Hian abode in this place for the space of three years engaged in learning to read the Sanskrit books, and to converse in that language, and in copying the precepts.

To-ching vows to remain in India:

When To-ching arrived in mid-India and saw the customary behaviour of the Shamans, and the strict decorum observed by the assembly of priests, and their religious deportment, even in the midst of worldly influences, — then, sorrowfully reflecting on the meagre character of the Precepts known to the different assemblies of priests in the border land of China, he bound himself by a vow and said, "From the present time for ever till I obtain the condition of Buddha, may I never again be born in a frontier country." And

in accordance with this expression of his wish, he took up his permanent abode in this place, and did not return. And so Fah Hian, desiring with his whole heart to spread the knowledge of the Precepts throughout the land of Han (China), returned alone.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Fah-Hian passes through Champa in modern Bihar and arrives at the kingdom of Tamralipti[287]; visits Ceylon:

Fah-Hian remained here for two years, writing out copies of the Sacred books (*Sutras*), and taking impressions of the figures (used in worship). He then shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel. Putting to sea, they proceeded in a south-westerly direction, and, catching the first fair wind of the winter season (NE monsoon) they sailed for fourteen days and nights and arrived at the country of the Lions (Simhala, Ceylon). Men of that country (Tamralipti) say that the distance between the two is about 700 *yojanas*.

In Ceylon (Sri Lanka):

On every side of it are small islands,[288] perhaps amounting to 100 in number. They are distant from one another 10 or 20 li, and as much as 200 li. All of them depend on the great island. Most of them produce precious stones and pearls. The Mani gem[289] is also found in one district, embracing a surface perhaps of 10 *li*. The King sends a guard to protect the place. If any gems are found, the King claims three out of every ten.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Fah-Hian is impressed with the beauty and fertility of Ceylon, the miracles performed by Buddha in the island, and the wealth of the *Sangharamas*; he becomes homesick:

Fah-Hian had now been absent from China many years; the manners and customs of the people with whom he had intercourse were entirely strange to him. The towns, people, mountains, valleys, and plants and trees which

met his eyes, were unlike those of old times. Moreover, his fellow travellers were now separated from him – some had remained behind and some were dead – to think upon the past was all that was left him! and so his heart was continually saddened. All at once, as he was standing by the side of this jasper figure, he beheld a merchant present to it, as a religious offering, a white taffeta fan, of Chinese manufacture. Unperceived (Fah Hian) gave way to his sorrowful feeling, and the tears flowing down filled his eyes.

A branch of the Bodhi tree is sent to Lanka:

A former King of this country sent an embassy[290] to mid-India, to procure a slip of the Pie-to tree. This they planted by the side of the Hall of Buddha. When it was about 220 feet high, the tree began to lean towards the SE. The King, fearing it would fall, placed eight or nine props round the tree to support it. Just in the place where the tree was thus supported, it put forth a branch, which pierced through the props, and descending to the earth, took root. This branch is about 20 inches round. The props, although pierced through the centre, still surround (the tree), which stands now without their support, yet men have not removed them. Under the tree is erected a chapel, in the middle of which is a figure (of Buddha) in a sitting posture. Both the clergy and laity pay reverence to this figure with little intermission. Within the capital, moreover, is erected the chapel of the Tooth of Buddha, in the construction of which all the seven precious substances have been employed. The King purifies himself according to the strictest Brahmanical rules, whilst those men within the city who reverence (this relic) from a principle of belief, also compose their passions according to strict rule. This kingdom, from the time when (this chapel) was erected, has suffered neither from want, famine, calamity, or revolution. The treasury of this congregation of priests contains numerous gems and a Mani jewel of inestimable value.

CHAPTER XL

The pilgrim collects manuscripts in Ceylon:

Fah Hian resided in this country for two years. Continuing his search (for sacred books), he obtained a copy of the *Vinaya Pitaka* according to the

school of the *Mahisasikas* (followers of Rahula). He also obtained a copy of the Great Agama (*Dirgagama*) and of the Miscellaneous Agama (*Sanyuktagama*), and also a volume of miscellaneous collections from the Pitakas (*Samyukta Pitaka*). All these were hitherto entirely unknown in the land of Han. Having obtained these works in the original language (Pali or Magadhi), he forthwith shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel which carried about two hundred men.

Typhoon at sea; Fah-Hian saves his books and images:

Astern of the great ship was a smaller one, as a provision in case of the large vessel being injured or wrecked during the voyage. Having got a fair wind they sailed eastward for two days, when suddenly a tempest (typhoon) sprung up, and the ship sprang a leak. The merchants then desired to haul up the smaller vessel, but the crew of that ship, fearing that a crowd of men would rush into her and sink her, cut the towing cable and fell off. The merchant men were greatly terrified, expecting their death momentarily. Then dreading lest the leak should gain upon them, they forthwith took their goods and merchandize and cast them overboard. Fah Hian also flung overboard his water-pitcher (*koundika*) and his washing basin, and also other portions of his property. He was only afraid lest the merchants should fling into the sea his sacred books and images. And so with earnestness of heart he invoked Avalokiteswara and paid reverence to the Buddhist saints of the land of Han – speaking thus: "I, indeed, have wandered far and wide in search of the Law. Oh! would that by your spiritual power, you would turn back the flowing of the water (stop the leak), and cause us to reach some resting place." Nevertheless the hurricane blew for thirteen days and nights, when they arrived at the shore of a small island, and, on the tide going out, they found the place of the leak; having forthwith stopped it up, they again put to sea on their onward voyage.

At Java:

In this ocean there are many pirates who, coming on you suddenly, destroy everything. The sea itself is boundless in extent – it is impossible to know east or west, except by observing the sun, moon, or stars in their motions. If it is dark, rainy weather, the only plan is to steer by the wind

without guide. During the darkness of night, one only sees the great waves beating one against the other and shining like fire, whilst shoals of sea monsters of every description (surround the ship). The merchant men were now much perplexed, not knowing towards what land they were steering. The sea was bottomless and no soundings could be found, so that there was not even a rock for anchorage. At length, the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings, and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onwards. But if (during bad weather) they had happened to have struck on a hidden rock, then there would have been no way to have escaped alive. Thus they voyaged for ninety days and more, when they arrived at a country called Yo-po-ti (Java). In this country heretics and Brahmans flourish, but the Law of Buddha is not much known.

Another storm en route to China; Brahmans plot against the pilgrim:

Stopping here the best portion of five months, Fah Hian again embarked on board another merchant vessel, having also a crew of 200 men or so. They took with them fifty days provisions, and set sail on the 15th day of the fourth month. Fah Hian was very comfortable on board this ship.[291] They shaped a course NE for Kwang Chow (Canton, China). After a month and some days, at the stroke of two in the middle watch of the night, a black squall suddenly came on, accompanied with pelting rain. The merchant men and passengers were all terrified. Fah Hian at this time also, with great earnestness of mind, again entreated Avalokiteswara and all the priesthood of China to exert their Divine power in his favour, and bring them daylight. When the day broke, all the Brahmans, consulting together, said: "It is because we have got this Shaman on board with us that we have no luck, and have incurred this great mischief – come let us land this *Bikshu* on the first island we meet with, and let us not, for the sake of one man, all of us perish."

Fah-Hian's patron intervenes:

The religious patron (*Danapati*) of Fah Hian then said: "If you land this *Bikshu*, you shall also land me with him; and if not, you had better kill me: for if you really put this Shaman on shore (as you threaten), then, when I arrive in China, I will go straight to the King and tell him what you have

done. And the King of that country is a firm believer in the Law of Buddha, and greatly honours the *Bikshus* and priests." The merchantmen on this hesitated, and (in the end) did not dare to land him.

After seventy days at sea, food and water are rationed; the merchants undertake navigation themselves and after twelve days arrive at the mountains of Lau, far north of Canton. Finally, after replenishing their stocks and many more days of sailing, they reached Tsing Chow, dependent on the Leou family:

The Prince Lai Ying, who was a faithful follower of the Law of Buddha, hearing that there was a Shaman on board with sacred books and images, took ship and embarked and came on board (to see Fah Hian). Then, immediately engaging men from the nearest shore, he dispatched the books and sacred figures to be landed and taken forthwith to the seat of his government.

Fah-Hian and Chinese scholars edit the sacred books:

Meanwhile Leou of Tsing Chow entertained Fah Hian for the whole winter and summer. The summer period of rest being over, Fah Hian dismissed all the doctors of religion (who had been with him). He had been anxious for a long time to get back to Tchang'an. But as the engagements he had entered into were pressing ones, he directed his course first towards the southern capital (Nanking), where the different doctors edited the sacred books he had brought back.

Fah-Hian's travails and final arrival home:

After Fah Hian left Tchang'an, he was five years in arriving at Mid-India. He resided there during six years, and was three years more before he arrived at Tsing Chow. He had successively passed through thirty different countries. In all the countries of India, after passing the Sandy Desert (Gobi), the dignified carriage of the priesthood and the surprising influence of religion (amongst the people) cannot be adequately described. But, because our learned doctors had not heard of these things, he was induced, regardless of all personal considerations, to cross the seas, and to encounter every conceivable danger in returning home. Having been preserved

therefore by Divine power (of the Three Honourable Ones), and brought through all dangers safely, he was further induced to commit to writing these records of his travels, desiring that the virtuous of all ages may be informed of them together, as well as himself.

In this year (414-15 AD) Kea-yin, being the twelfth of the reign of I Hi of the Tsin dynasty, when the star Sheou (autumn equinox) was just emerging from the summer mansion, Fah Hian, the pilgrim, arrived home. He was detained all the winter in answering the multitude of questions put to him. Whoever enquired of him respecting his travels he always answered obligingly and exactly according to truth. Of these answers, the summary is found in this book. But when they pressed him to write a full record of all that happened to him from first to last, then he said, “If I were to recall all which has occurred to me, then persons of unstable minds would be excited to strive how they might enter on similar dangers and encounter corresponding risks, reckless of their personal safety. For they would argue in this way, ‘Here is a man who has escaped all and come back safe and sound;’ and so these foolish persons would set about jeopardising their lives in lands impossible to explore, and to pass through which, not one in ten thousand could hope for.” On hearing these remarks, they all said, with a sigh of assent, “This man, in order to preserve the knowledge of old things and new, has himself penetrated to the eastern source of the great doctrine, and is yet alive. He has sought out the Law, and now exhibits it to us. Equally with us, then, shall all those who hereafter attain this knowledge, give him boundless thanks. And those also who assist to diffuse this knowledge, where it has not prevailed, shall acquire incalculable merit; and the chief merit of a sage is this – to neglect those things which are generally esteemed, and esteem those things which are generally neglected.”

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CHAPTER — 13

HWUI SENG AND SUNG YUN

Journey in search of the Buddhist texts:[292]

In the suburb Wan I, to the N.E. of the city of Lo-Yang, was the dwelling of Sung Yun of Tun-Wang, who, in company with the *Bikshu* Hwui Seng, was sent on an embassy to the western countries by the Empress Dowager (Tai Hau) of the Great Wei dynasty, to obtain Buddhist books. Of these they procured altogether 170 volumes, all standard works, belonging to the Great Vehicle.

First of all, having repaired to the capital, they proceeded in a westerly direction 40 days, and arrived at the Chih Ling (Barren Ridge), which is the western frontier of the country. On this ridge is the fortified outpost of the Wei territory.

Ascending the Chih Ling and proceeding westward 23 days, having crossed the Drifting Sands, they arrived at the country of the To-kuh-wan (Eastern Turks). Along the road the cold was very severe, whilst the high winds and the driving snow, and the pelting sand and gravel were so bad, that it was impossible to raise one's eyes without getting them filled. The chief city of the To-kuh-wan is pleasantly situated; and the climate of the neighbourhood is agreeably warm. The written character of this country is the same as that of the Wei empire; the rules both of clergy and laity observed by these people are mostly barbarous. From this country, going west 3,500 *li*, we arrive at the city of Shen-Shen (now called Makhai). This city, from its foundation, has been under the rule of the To-kuh-wan; and at present there resides in it a military officer of that country, with a body of troops, who are employed in subjugating the western Tartars.

From Shen-Shen, going west 1640 *li*, we arrive at the city of Tso-moh (Tehe-mo-to-na of Yuan Chwang). In this town there are, perhaps, a hundred families resident. The country is not visited with rain, but they irrigate their crops from the streams of water. They know not the use of oxen or ploughs in their husbandry.

Buddha images in China:

In the town is a representation of Buddha, with a Bodhisatwa – but certainly not executed by any Tartar. On questioning an old man about it, he said, "This was done by Lu-kwong, who subdued the Tartars." From the city, going westward 1275 *li*, we arrive at the city of Moh.

Buddha tower in Han-Mo:

From the city Moh, going west 22 *li*, we arrive at the city of Han-Mo.[293] Fifteen *li* to the south of this city is a large temple, with about 300 priests in it. These priests possess a golden full-length figure of Buddha, in height a *chang* and 6/10 (about 18 feet). Its appearance is very imposing, and all the characteristic marks of the body are bright and distinct. Its face was placed as usual looking eastward; but the figure, not approving of that, turned about and looked to the west. The old men have the following tradition respecting this figure:- They say that originally it came from the south, transporting itself through the air. The King of Khoten desiring himself to see it for the purpose of paying reverence to it, they attempted to convey it to his city, but in the middle of the route, when they halted at night, the figure suddenly disappeared. On dispatching men to look after it, they found it had returned to its old place. Immediately, therefore, (the King) raised a tower (over it), and appointed 400 attendants to sweep and water (the tower). If any of these servitors receive a hurt of any kind, they apply some of the gold leaf from off this figure to the injured part, and so are directly cured. Men in after ages began to build houses around the spot where this image was, (and so the town sprang up). The tower of this image, and the other towers, are ornamented with many thousand flags and streamers of variegated silk. There are perhaps, as many as 10,000 of these, and more than half of them belonging to the Wei country. Over the flags are inscriptions in the square character, recording the several dates when they were presented; the greater number are of the nineteenth year of Tai-Wo, the second year of King Ming (510 AD) and the second year of Yen Chang. There was only one flag with the name of the reigning monarch on it, and this was in the time of Yaou Tsun.

At Khoten; cremation and royal burials:

From the town of Han-Mo, going west 878 *li*, we arrive at the country of Khoten. The king of this country wears a golden cap on his head, in shape like the comb of a cock; the appendages of the head-dress hang down behind him two feet, and they are made of taffeta (*kun*), about five inches wide. On State occasions, for the purpose of imposing effect, there is music performed, consisting of drums, horns, and golden cymbals. The King is also attended by one chief bowman, two spearmen, five halberdiers, and, on his right and left, swordsmen, not exceeding one hundred men. The poorer sort of women here wear trowsers, and ride on horseback just as well as their husbands. They burn their dead, and, collecting the ashes, erect towers over them. In token of mourning, they cut their hair and disfigure their faces, as though with grief. Their hair is cut to a length of four inches, and kept so all round. When the king dies, they do not burn his body, but enclose it in a coffin and carry it far off and bury it in the desert. They found a temple to his memory, and, at proper times, pay religious service to his manes.

Buddhism comes to Khoten:

The king of Khoten was no believer in the Law of Buddha. A certain foreign merchantman, on time, brought a *Bikshu* called Pi-lou-chan (Vairochana?) to this neighbourhood and located him under a plum-tree to the south of the city. On this, an informer approached the King and said, "A strange Shaman has come (to your dominions) without permission, and is now residing to the south of the city, under the plum-tree." The King, hearing this, was angry; and forthwith went to see Vairochana. The *Bikshu* then addressed the King as follows: "Ju-lai (Tathagata) has commissioned me to come here to request your Majesty to build for him a perfectly finished pagoda (i.e., pagoda with a spire), and thus secure to yourself perpetual felicity." The King said, "Let me see Buddha and then I will obey him." Vairochana then, sounding a gong,[294] requested (Buddha to appear); on which Buddha commissioned Rahula to assume his appearance and manifest himself in his true likeness in the air. The King prostrated himself on the ground in adoration, and at once made arrangements for founding a temple under the tree. Then he caused to be carved a figure of Rahula as he appeared in the air; and, for fear of its perishing, the King afterwards

constructed a chapel for its special preservation. At present it is carefully protected by a sort of shade (jar), that covers it; but, notwithstanding this, the shadow of the figure constantly removes itself outside the building, so that those who behold it can scarcely help becoming converts. In this place (or chapel) are the shoes of a Pratyeka Buddha, which have up to the present time resisted decay. They are made neither of leather or silk, - in fact, it is impossible to determine what the material is. The extreme limits of the kingdom of Khoten reach about 3000 *li* or so, from east to west.

In Yerkiang, vegetarianism; Brahman script:

In the second year of Shan Kwai (519 AD) and the 7th month, 29th day, we entered the kingdom of Shih-Ku-Po (Tchakouka, Yerkiang). The people of that country are mountain dwellers. The five kinds of cereals grow in abundance. In eating these, they make them into cakes. They do not permit the slaughter of animals, and such of them as eat flesh only use that which dies of itself. The spoken language both of clergy and laity is like that of the people of Khoten, but the written character in use is that of the Brahmans. The limits of this country can be traversed in about five days.

Dragon tamed by Brahman spells:

During the first decade of the 8th month, we entered the country of Han-Pan-to (Kie-pan-to; Kartchou of Yuan Chwang). Still going west six days, we entered on the Tsung Ling mountains; and advancing yet three days to the west, we arrived at the city of Kiueh-Yu; and after three days more, to the Puh-ho-i mountains ('Untrustworthy Mountains'). This spot is extremely cold. The snow accumulates both by winter and summer. In the midst of the mountain is a lake in which dwells a mischievous dragon. Formerly there was a merchant who halted by the side of the lake. The dragon just then happened to be very cross, and forthwith pronounced a spell and killed the merchant. The King of Pan-to (Kartchou), hearing of it, dispatched an embassy with his own son to the country of Ou-chang (Udyana), to acquire knowledge of the spells used by the Brahmans. After four years, having procured these secrets, they came back to the King, who again sent them to the lake to enchant the dragon. Having recited the spells, lo! the dragon was changed into a man, who, deeply sensible of his

wickedness, approached the King. The King immediately banished him from the Tsung Lung mountains, more than 1000 *li* from the lake. The king of the present time is of the 13th generation (from these events).

The pilgrims move to Ye-tha, a rich land of unbelievers:

In the first decade of the 10th month we arrived at the country of the Ye-tha. The lands of this country are abundantly watered by the mountain streams, which fertilise them and flow in front of all the dwellings. They have no walled towns; but they keep order by means of a standing army that constantly moves here and there. These people also use felt garments. The course of the rivers is marked by the verdant shrubs that fringe their banks. In the summer the people seek the cool of the mountains; in the winter they disperse themselves through the villages. They have no written character. Their rules of politeness are very defective. They have no knowledge at all of the movements of the heavenly bodies; and, in the division of the year, they have no intercalary month, or any long and short months; but they merely divide the year into twelve parts, and that is all. They receive tribute from all surrounding nations: on the south as far as Tieh-lo;[295] on the north, the entire country of Lae-Leh,[296] eastward to Khoten, and west to Persia – more than forty countries in all. When they come to the court with their presents for the king, there is spread out a large carpet about forty paces square, which they surround, with a sort of rug hung up as a screen. The king puts on his robes of state and takes his seat upon a gilt couch, which is supported by four golden phœnix birds. When the ambassadors of the Great Wei dynasty were presented (Sung Yun and Hwui Seng), (the king), after repeated prostrations,[297] received their letters of instruction. On entering the assembly, one man announces your name and title; then each stranger advances and retires. After the several announcements are over, they break up the assembly. This is the only rule they have; there are no instruments of music visible at all. The royal ladies of the Ye-tha (Little Yuchi, White Huns) country also wear state robes, which trail on the ground three feet and more; they have special bearers for carrying these lengthy robes. They also wear on their heads a horn, in length eight feet[298] and more, three feet of its length being red coral. This they ornamented with all sorts of gay

colours, and such is their head-dress. When the royal ladies go abroad, then they are carried (in a chariot); when at home, then they seat themselves on a gilded couch, which is made in the shape of a six-tusked white elephant, with four lions (for support). As for the rest of the great ladies, they all in like manner cover their heads, using horns, from which hang down veils all round, like precious canopies. Both the rich and poor have their distinctive modes of dress. These people are of all the four tribes of barbarians the most powerful. The majority of them are unbelievers. Most of them worship false gods. They kill living creatures and eat their flesh. They use the seven precious substances, which all the neighbouring countries bring as tribute, and gems in great abundance.

In Kashmir:

In the middle decade of the 11th month we entered the country of Shie Mi (Cashmere?). This country is just beyond the Tsung Ling mountains. The aspect of the land is still rugged; the people are very poor; the rugged narrow road is dangerous – a traveller and his horse can hardly pass along it, one at a time. From the country of Po-lu-lai (Bolor) to the country of Ouchang (Oudyana) they use iron chains for bridges. These are suspended in the air for the purpose of crossing (the mountain chasms). On looking downwards no bottom can be perceived; there is nothing to grasp at in case of a slip, but in a moment the body is hurled down 10,000 fathoms. On this account travellers will not cross over, in case of high winds.

In Oudyana:

On the first decade of the 12th month we entered Ouchang country. On the north this country borders on the Tsung Ling mountains; on the south it skirts India. The climate is agreeably warm. The territory contains several thousand *li*. The people and productions are very abundant. The fertility of the soil is equal to that of Lin-tsze (in Shantung) and the climate more equable. This is the place where Pi-lo (Avalokiteswara?) delivered the child, and where Bodhisatwa gave his body (to the tigress).[299] Once on a time the whole body of the people left the land, except the clergy, but these availed to protect it. The king of the country religiously observes a vegetable diet; on the great fast days (vide Jul. ii. 6, n.) he pays adoration to Buddha, both

morning and evening, with sound of drum, conch, *vina* (a sort of lute), flute and all kinds of wind instruments. After mid-day he devotes himself to the affairs of government. Supposing a man has committed murder, they do not suffer him to be killed; they only banish him to the desert mountains, affording him just food enough to keep him alive. In investigating doubtful cases, – as, for example, cases of poisoning by accident (by) administering medicine for the purpose of cleansing the system, - then, after examination, the punishment is adjusted according to the serious or trivial character of attending circumstances. At the proper time, they let the streams overflow the land, by which the soil is rendered soft and fertile. All provisions necessary for man are very abundant, cereals of every kind flourish, and the different fruits ripen in great numbers. In the evening the sound of the convent bells may be heard on every side, filling the air with their melody; the earth is covered with flowers of different hues, which succeed each other winter and summer, and are gathered by clergy and laity alike as offerings for Buddha.

Sung Yun meets the king, tells him about Confucius and Lao-Tse:

The king of the country seeing Sung Yun (enquired about him, and) on their saying that the ambassadors of the Great Wei (dynasty) had come to salute him, he courteously received their letters of introduction. On understanding that the Empress Dowager was devotedly attached to the Law of Buddha, he immediately turned his face to the east and, with closed hands and meditative heart, bowed his head (in prayer); then, sending for a man who could interpret the Wei language, he questioned Sung Yun and said, “Are my honourable visitors men from the region of Sun-rising?” Sung Yun answered and said, “Our country is bounded on the east by the great sea; from this the sun rises according to the Divine will (the command of Tathagata).” The king again asked, “Does that country produce holy men?” Sung Yun then proceeded to enlarge upon the virtues of Confucius and Laou (Tseu) of the Chow dynasty, and then of the silver walls and golden palaces of Fairy Land (Pung loi Shan), and then of the spirits, genii, and sages, who dwell there; in connection with the above he further dilated on the subjects of divination, alchemy and magic, and medicine; descanting on these various subjects and properly distinguishing their several

properties, he finished his address. Then the king said, “If these things are really as your worship says, then truly yours is the land of Buddha, and I ought to pray at the end of my life that I may be born in that country.”

The pilgrims visit the holy sites associated with Buddha:

After this, Sung Yun, with Hwui Seng, left the city for the purpose of inspecting the traces which exist of the teaching (religion) of Tathagata. To the east of the river is the place where Buddha dried his clothes. When first Tathagata came to the country of Ou-chang, he went to convert a dragon king. He, being angry with Buddha, raised a violent storm with rain. The *Sanghati* of Buddha was soaked through and through with the wet. After the rain was over, Buddha stopped on a rock, and, with his face to the east, sat down whilst he dried his robe (*Kasha*). Although many years have elapsed since then, the traces of the stripes of the garment are as visible as if newly done, and not merely the seams and bare outline, but one can see the marks of the very tissue itself, so that in looking at it, it appears as if the garment had not been removed, and, if one were asked to do it, as if the traces might be lifted up (as the garment itself). There are memorial towers erected on the sport where Buddha sat, and also where he dried his robe. To the west of the river is a tank occupied by a Naga Raja. By the side of the tank is a temple served by fifty priests and more. The Naga Raja ever and anon assumes supernatural appearances. The king of the country propitiates him with gold and jewels, and other precious offerings, which he casts into the middle of the tank; such of these as afterwards find their way out through a side exit, the priests are permitted to retain. Because the Dragon thus provides for the necessary expenses of this temple (clothes and food), therefore men call it the Naga Raja temple.

Traces of Buddha:

Eighty *li* to the N. of the royal city there is the trace of the shoe of Buddha on a rock. They have raised a tower to enclose it. The place where the print of the shoe is left on the rock, is as if the foot had trodden on soft mud. Its length is undetermined, as at one time it is long, and at another time short. They have now founded a temple on the spot, capable of accommodating seventy priests and more. Twenty paces to the south of the tower is a spring

of water issuing from a rock. It was here Buddha once came to cleanse (his person), on which occasion he bit off a piece of his tooth-stick (*Dantakashta*) (Jul. iii. 49 and ii. 55), and planted it in the ground; it immediately took root, and is at present a great tree, which the Tartars call Po-lou (*Pilu* tree, *Salvadora Persica*). To the north of the city is the To-lo (Salatoura) temple, in which there are very numerous appliances for the worship of Buddha. The pagoda is high. The priests' chambers are ranged in order round the temple (or tower). There are sixty full-length golden figures (herein). The king, whenever he convenes (or convening yearly) a great assembly, collects the priests in this temple. On these occasions the Shamans within the country flock together in great crowds. Sung Yung and Hwui Seng, remarking the strict rules and eminent piety (extreme austerities) of those *Bikshus*, and from a sense that the example of these priests singularly conduced to increase (their own) religious feelings, remitted two servants for the use of the convent to prepare the religious offerings and to water and sweep the temple. From the royal city, going S.E. over a mountainous district, eight days' journey, we come to the place where Tathagata, practicing austerities, gave up his body to feed a starving tiger. It is a high mountain, with scarped precipices and towering peaks that pierce the clouds. The fortunate tree (*Kalpa-vriksh*) and the Ling chi grow here in abundance, whilst the groves and fountains (or forest rivulets), the docile stags and the variegated hues of the flowers, all delight the eyes. Sung Yun and Hwui Seng devoted a portion of their travelling funds to erect a pagoda on the crest of the hill, and they inscribed on a stone, in the square character, an account of the great merits of the Wei dynasty. This mountain possesses a temple called "collected bones," with 300 priests and more. One hundreds and odd *li* to the south of the royal city is the place where Buddha (*Julai*), formerly residing in the Ma-hui country, peeled off his skin for the purpose of writing upon it, and extracted (broke off) a bone of his body for the purpose writing with it. Asoka Raja raised a pagoda on this spot for the purpose of enclosing these sacred relics. It is about ten *chang* high (120 feet). On the spot where he broke off his bone, the marrow ran out and covered the surface of a rock, which yet retains the colour of it, and is unctuous as though it had only recently been done.

Hill of Prince Sudatta; Sung Yun becomes home-sick:

To the S.W. of the royal city, 500 *li*, is the Shen-chi hill (of Prince Sudatta). The sweet waters and delicious fruits (of this place) are spoken of in the Sacred Books (the *Sutras* and *Vyakaranas*). The grottoes of this mountain are agreeably warm; the trees and shrubs retain a perpetual verdure. At the time when the pilgrims arrived, the gentle breeze which fanned the air, the songs of the birds, the trees in their springtide beauty, the butterflies that fluttered over the numerous flowers, - all this caused Sung Yun, as he gazed on this lovely scenery in a distant land, to revert to home thoughts; and so melancholy were his reflections, that he brought on a severe attack of illness; after a month, however, he obtained some charms of the Brahmans, which gave him ease.

To the S.E. of the crest of the hill Shen-chi, is a rock-cave of the Prince,[300] with two chambers to it. Ten paces in front of this cave is a great square stone on which it is said the Prince was accustomed to sit; above this Asoka raised a memorial tower.

Piety and Samadhi:

One *li* to the south of the tower is the place of the Pansala (leafy hut) of the Prince. One *li* N.E. of the tower, fifty paces down the mountain, is the place where the son and daughter of the Prince persisted in circumambulating a tree (to escape a Brahman who had begged them from their father as slaves). On this the Brahman beat them with rods till the blood flowed down and moistened the earth. This tree still exists, and the ground, stained with blood, now produces a sweet fountain of water. Three *li* to the west of the cave is the place where the heavenly king Sekra, assuming the appearance of a lion sitting coiled up in the road, concealed Man-kea.[301] On the stone are yet traces of his hair and claws. The spot also where Adjitakouta[302] and his disciples nourished the Father and Mother (Prince and Princess). All these have memorial towers. In this mountain formerly were the beds of 500 *Arhats* ranged N. and S. in a double row. Their seats also were placed opposite one to another. There is now a great temple here with about 200 priests. To the north of the fountain which supplied the Princes with water is a temple. A herd of wild asses frequent this spot for grazing. No one drives them here, but they resort here of their

own accord. Daily at early morn they arrive – they take their food at noon, and so they protect the temple. These are spirits who protect the tower commissioned for this purpose by the Rishi Uh-po (Oupagupta?). In this temple there formerly dwelt a *Shami* (*Samanera*), who, being constantly occupied in sifting ashes (belonging to the convent), fell into a state of fixed composure (Samadhi). The Karmadana of the convent had his funeral obsequies performed, thinking he was dead, and not observing that his skin continued unchanged. After his burial, the Rishi Oupa continued to take the office of the *Samanera* in the place of sifting the ashes. On this the king of the country founded a chapel to the Rishi, and placed in it a figure of him as he appeared, and ornamented it with much gold leaf.

Rahats and *Yakshas;* and the kingdom of Gandhara:

Close to the peak of this hill is a temple of Po-kin (*Bhagavan*?), built by the Yakshas. There are about 80 priests in it. They say the *Rahats* and *Yakshas* continually come to offer religious services, to water and sweep the temple, and to gather wood for it. Ordinary priests are not allowed to occupy this temple. The Shaman To Yung, of the Great Wei dynasty, came to this temple to pay religious worship; but having done so, he departed, without daring to take up his quarters there. During the middle decade of the 4th month of the reign Ching Kwong (520 AD), we entered the kingdom of Gandhara. This country closely resembles the territory of Ou-chang. It was formerly called the country of Ye-po-lo.[303] This is the country which the Ye-thas (Little Yuchi) destroyed and afterwards set up Lae-lih to be king over the country; since which events two generations have passed. The disposition of this king was cruel and vindictive, and he practiced the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the Law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brahman caste; they had a great respect for the law of Buddha, and loved to read the Sacred Books, when suddenly this king came into power, who was strongly opposed to anything of the sort, and entirely self-reliant. Trusting to his own strength, he had entered on a war with the country of Ki-pin (Cophene)[304] respecting the boundaries of their kingdom, and his troops had been already engaged in it for three years.

Gandhara king meets Sung Yun, who feels slighted by his conduct:

The King has 700 war elephants, each of which carries ten men armed with sword and spear, whilst the elephants are armed with swords attached to their trunks, with which to contend when at close quarters. The King continually abode on the frontier and never returned (to his kingdom), in consequence of which the seniors had to labour and the common people were oppressed. Sung Yun repaired to the royal camp to deliver his credentials. The King[305] was very rough with him, and failed to salute him. He sat still whilst receiving the letters. Sung Yung perceived that these remote barbarians were unfit for exercising public duties, and that their arrogancy refused to be checked. The King now sent for interpreters, and addressed Sung Yun as follows:- "Has your worship not suffered much inconvenience in traversing all these countries and encountering so many dangers on the road." Sung Yun replied, "We have been sent by our royal mistress to search for works of the great translation through distinct regions. It is true the difficulties of the road are great, yet we dare not complain or say we are fatigued; but your majesty and your forces as you sojourn here on the frontier of your kingdom, enduring all the changes of heat and cold, are you not also nearly worn out?" The King, replying, said: "It is impossible to submit to such a little country as this, and I am sorry that you should ask such a question." Sung Yun, on first speaking with the King (thought), "this barbarian is unable to discharge with courtesy his official duties,- he sits still whilst receiving diplomatic papers, and is wrapped up in himself;" but, on second thoughts, reflecting that he also had the feelings of a man, he determined to reprove his conduct and said, "Mountains are high and low – rivers are great and small – amongst men also there are distinctions, some being noble and others ignoble. The sovereign of the Ye-tha, and also of Ou-chang, when they received our credentials, did so respectfully; but your Majesty alone has paid us no respect." The King, replying, said, "When I see the King of the Wei, then I will pay my respects; but to receive and read his letters whilst seated, is surely no such outrageous occurrence. When men receive a letter from father or mother, they don't rise from their seats to read it. The Great Wei sovereign is to me (for the nonce) both father and mother, and so, without being unreasonable, I will read the letters you bring me, still sitting down." Sung Yun then took

his departure without any official salutation. He took up his quarters in a temple in which the religious services were very poor. At this time the country of Po-tai[306] sent two young lions to the King of Gandhara as a present. Sung Yun had an opportunity of seeing them; he noticed their fiery temper and courageous mien. The pictures of these animals common in China are not at all good resemblances of them.

Sung Yun continues his pilgrimage; arrives at the Indus:

After this, going west five days, they arrived at the place where Tathagata made an offering of his head for the sake of a man – where there is both a tower and temple, with about twenty priests. Going west three days, we arrive at the great river Sin-tou. On the west bank of this river is the place where Tathagata took the form of a great fish called Ma-kie (*Magara*), and came out of the river, and for twelve years supported the people with his flesh. On this spot is raised a memorial tower. On the rock are still to be seen the traces of the scales of the fish.

Buddhist stupas:

Again going west thirteen days' journey, we arrived at the city of Fo-sha-fu.[307] The river valley is a rich loamy soil. The city walls are constructed with double gates. There are very many groves (around the city), whilst fountains of water enrich the soil; and, as for the rest, there are costly jewels and gems in abundance. Both clergy and laity are honest and virtuous. Within this city there is a heretical temple of ancient date called "Sang-the" (*Santi*?). All religious persons frequent it and highly venerate it. To the north of the city, one *li*, is the temple of the White Elephant Palace.[308] Within the temple all is devoted to the service of Buddha. There are here stone images highly adorned and very beautiful, very many in number, and covered with gold sufficient to dazzle the eyes. Before the temple and belonging to it is a tree called the White Elephant Tree, from which, in fact, this temple took its origin and name. Its leaves and flowers are like those of the Chinese Date tree, and its fruit begins to ripen in the winter quarter. The tradition common amongst the old people is this: "That when this tree is destroyed, then the Law of Buddha will also perish." Within the temple is a

picture of the Prince (Sudatta) and his wife with their children, begging of a Brahman. The Tartar (conquerors), seeing this picture, were so moved that they could not refrain from tears.

Buddha's prophecy about Kanishka, who builds a magnificent pagoda:

Again going west one day's journey, we arrive at the place where Tathagata gave his eyes in charity. Here also is a tower and a temple. On a stone of the temple is the impress of the foot of Kasyapa Buddha. Again going west one day we crossed a deep river (Indus), more than 300 paces broad. Sixty *li* S.W. of this we arrive at the capital of the country of Gandhara (hence Peshawar). Seven *li* to the S.E. of this city there is a Tsioh–li Feou-thou.[309] Investigating the origin of this tower, we find that when Tathagata was in the world he was passing once through this country with his disciples on his mission of instruction; on which occasion, when delivering a discourse on the east side of the city, he said, "Three hundred years after my Nirvana, there will be a king of this country called Ka-ni-si-ka (Kanishka). On this spot he will raise a pagoda (Feou-thou). Accordingly, 300 years after that event, there was a king of this country, so called. On one occasion, when going out to the east of the city, he saw four children engaged in making a Buddhist tower out of dung; they had raised it about three feet high, when suddenly they disappeared. [The record states, "One of the children, raising himself in the air and turning towards the king, repeated a verse (*Gatha*).] The king surprised at this miraculous event, immediately erected a tower for the purpose of enclosing (the small pagoda), but gradually the small tower grew higher and higher, and at last went outside and removed itself 400 feet off, and there stationed itself. Then the king proceeded to widen the foundation of the great tower 300 paces and more.[310] To crown all, he placed a roof-pole upright and even. Throughout the building he used ornamental wood; he constructed stairs to lead to the top. The roof consisted of every kind of wood. Altogether there were thirteen storeys; above which there was an iron pillar, 3 feet high,[311] with thirteen gilded circlets. Altogether the height from the ground was 700 feet. This meritorious work being finished, the dung pagoda, as at first, remained three paces south of the great tower. The Brahman, not believing

that it was really made of dung, dug a hole in it to see. Although years have elapsed since these events, this tower has not corrupted; and although they have tried to fill up the hole with scented earth, they have not been able to do so. It is now enclosed with a protecting canopy. The Tsioh-li pagoda, since its erection, has been three times destroyed by lightning, but the kings of the country have each time restored it. The old men say, "When this pagoda is finally destroyed by lightning, then the Law of Buddha also will perish." The record of To-Yung says, "When the king had finished all the work expect getting the iron pillar up to the top, he found that he could not raise this heavy weight. He proceeded, therefore, to erect at the four corners a lofty stage; he expended in the work large treasures, and then he, with all his court and princes ascending on to it, burnt incense and scattered flowers, and, with their hearts, called on the gods to help them; then, with one turn of the windlass, they raised the weight and so succeeded in elevating it to its place. The Tartars say, therefore, that the four heavenly kings lent their aid in this work, and that, if they had not done so, no human strength would have been of any avail. Within the pagoda there is contained every sort of Buddhist utensil; here are gold and jewelled (vessels) of a thousand forms and vast variety – to name which even would be no easy task; at sunrise the gilded discs of the vane are lit up with dazzling glory, whilst the gentle breeze of morning causes the precious bells (suspended from the roof) to tinkle with a pleasing sound. Of all the pagodas of the western world, this one is by far the first (in size and importance). At the first completion of this tower they used true pearls in making the network-covering over the top; but after some years, the king, reflecting on the enormous value of this ornamental work, thought thus with himself: "After my decease (funeral) I fear some invader may carry it off" – or "supposing the pagoda should fall, there will be no one with means sufficient to re-build it;" – on which he removed the pearl work and placed it in a copper vase, which he removed to the N.W. of the pagoda 100 paces, and buried it in the earth. Above the spot he planted a tree, which is called Po-tai (*Bodhi*), the branches of which, spreading out on each side, with their thick foliage, completely shade the spot from the sun. Underneath the tree on each side there are sitting figures (of Buddha) of the same height, viz. a *chang* and a half (17 feet). There are always four dragons in attendance to protect these jewels; if a man (in his heart) covets them, calamities immediately befall him. There is also a stone

tablet erected on the spot, and engraved on it are these words of direction: “Hereafter, if this tower is destroyed, after long search, the virtuous man may find here pearls (of value sufficient) to help him restore it.”

Seeking omens from the tower of fortune to return home:

Fifty paces to the south of the Tsioh-li pagoda there is a stone tower, in shape perfectly round, and two *chang* high (27 feet). There are many spiritual portents gathered from this building; so that men, by touching it, can find out if they are lucky or unlucky. If they are lucky, then by touching it the golden bells will tinkle; but if unlucky, then, though a man should violently push the tower, no sound would be given out. Hwui Seng, having travelled far from his country and fearing that he might not have a fortunate return, paid worship to this sacred tower, and sought a sign from it. On this, he did but touch it with his finger and immediately the bells rang out. Obtaining this omen, he comforted his heart. And the result proved the truth of the augury. When Hwui Seng first went up to the capital, the Empress had conferred upon him a thousand streamers of a hundred feet in length and of the five colours, and five hundred figured (mats?) of scented grass. The princes, dukes and nobility had given him two thousand flags. Hwui Seng, in his journey from Khoten to Gandhara, - wherever there was a disposition to Buddhism, - had freely distributed these in charity; so that when he arrived here, he had only left one flag of 100 feet in length, given him by the Empress. This he decided to offer as a present to the tower of Sivika Raja, whilst Sung Yun gave two slaves to the Tsioh-li pagoda, in perpetuity, to sweep it and water it. Hwui Seng, out of the little funds he had left, employed a skilful artist to depict on copper the Tsioh-li pagoda and also the four principal pagodas of Sakya Mouni.

Crossing the Indus:

After this, going N.W. seven days’ journey, they crossed a great river (Indus), and arrived at the place where Tathagata, when he was Sivika Raja, delivered the dove; here there is a temple and a tower also. There was formerly here a large storehouse of Sivika Raja, which was burnt down. The grain which was in it was parched with the heat, and is still to be found in the neighbourhood (of the ruins). If a man takes but a single grain of this, he

never suffers from fever; the people of the country also take it to prevent the power of the sun hurting them.

Homage to the Buddha's relics:

The records of To-ung say, "At Na-ka-lo-ho (Nagarahara) there is a skull bone of Buddha, four inches round, of a yellowish-white colour, hollow underneath, sufficient to receive a man's finger; to the touch it is soft as wax."

We then visited the Ki-ka-lam[312] temple. This contains the robe (*kasha*) of Buddha in thirteen pieces. In measurement this garment is as long as it is broad. Here also is the staff of Buddha, in length a *chang* and seven-tenths (about 18 feet), in a wooden case, which is covered with gold leaf. The weight of this staff is very uncertain; sometimes it is so heavy that a hundred men cannot raise it, and at other times it is so light that one man can lift it. In the city of Nagrak is a tooth of Buddha and also some of his hair – both of which are contained in precious caskets; morning and evening religious offerings are made to them.

We next arrive at the cave of Gopala, where is the shadow of Buddha. Entering the mountain cavern fifteen feet, and looking for a long time at the western side of it opposite the door, then at length the figure, with all its characteristic marks, appears; on going nearer to look at it, it gradually grows fainter and then disappears. On touching the place where it was with the hand, there is nothing but the bare wall. Gradually retreating, the figure begins to come in view again, and foremost is conspicuous that peculiar mark between the eyebrows (*ourna*), which is so rare among men. Before the cave is a square stone, on which is a trace of Buddha's foot.

One hundred paces S.W. of the cave is the place where Buddha washed his robe. One *li* to the north of the cave is the stone cell of Mogalan; to the north of which is a mountain, at the foot of which the great Buddha, with his own hand made a pagoda, ten *chang* high (115 feet). They say that when this tower sinks down and enters the earth, then the Law of Buddha will perish. There are, moreover, seven towers here; to the south of which is a stone with an inscription on it; they say, Buddha himself wrote it. The foreign letters are distinctly legible even to the present time.

Hwui Seng abode in the country of Ou-chang two years. The customs of the clergy and the laity of the western foreigners (Tartars) are, to a great extent, similar (with ours); the minor differences we cannot fully detail. When it came to the second month of the second year of Ching-un (521 AD) he began to return.

The foregoing account is principally drawn from the private records of To-Yung and Sung Yun. The details given by Hwui Seng were never wholly recorded.

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CHAPTER — 14

YUAN CHWANG

Hieun Tsiang (also Hsuan-tsang, now Yuan Chwang) was among the best informed of the writers who visited India. His journey, like that of Fa-hien, was primarily concerned with Buddhism for he desired to see and worship the sacred land, collect authoritative Buddhist *sutras*, and study the depth of Buddhist philosophy. It was, in the words of Asoka's Rock Edict 8, a *dharma-yatra* to the sacred Buddhist cosmos of Serindia and India proper.[313] The Chinese pilgrim assiduously gathered geographical details of the regions he traversed, the climate and agriculture, wealth and character of the people, the presence of Buddhist monks and monasteries and the dominant sects (*Hinayana* or *Mahayana*) therein, and also the presence or dominance of Hindus and Jainas. He indicated if the king was friendly or unfriendly towards Buddhism, and the vitality of Buddhism in a particular kingdom, thus alluding to the importance of royal patronage for the faith.[314]

Yuan Chwang has been criticised for being too credulous about stories of Buddhist miracles, yet his record is of lasting significance to students of ancient Buddhist thought as his collection of tales and traditions then prevalent in India help reconstruct the atmosphere of the time. As he interacted with important Indian rulers and witnessed some important events, his account gives insight into India of the first millennium AD.

Northwest India and Central Asia were always regions of intense political and cultural exchange. Yuan Chwang passed through the region when it was ruled by the Western Turks, necessitating a guarantee of safe conduct from the king of the Turks. Harsha patronised the pilgrim, whose personal account of the king is arresting. He gives precise data such as the fact that Nalanda was purchased for Buddhist monks by merchants for ten *kotis*, and that it was supported from the revenues of one hundred villages. But his lasting significance was for archaeologists: Gen. Alexander Cunningham discovered Nalanda and Vaisali by following his footsteps.

Scholars have generally assigned three dates for the birth of Yuan Chwang (ca. 600-664), namely, 596, 600, and 602; most Chinese scholars prefer 600, but the Western favour 602. After an early interest in *Yogacara*, Yuan Chwang realized the inadequacy of extant Chinese texts and set off in 627

to procure the authentic teachings and the encyclopædic *Yogacara-bhumi*. He spent fourteen years (629-643) in India, studying *Yogacara*, *Sarvastivada*, *Madhyamika*, logic, grammar and the *Vedas* under eminent teachers. Returning home, he translated 75 of the 657 works he carried back with him. In 645 he was received by Emperor Tai-ts‘ung who encouraged him to write the *Record of Travels to the Western Regions*. His biography was compiled by Hui-li who died while working on it, and the task was then completed by Yen-tsung on 20 April 688 (K 1071). The first five chapters of "*Life*" narrate the pilgrim's family background, travels from China to Central Asian kingdoms, and his return journey, while the next five chapters describe his activities in China on the basis of contemporary documents. The '*Life'* ably supplements Yuan Chwang's '*Record of the Western World*' and furthers understanding of the status of Buddhism in the seventh century Central Asian states, India, and China.

Yuan Chwang and Kumarajiva were the greatest translators of Buddhist texts into Chinese. He was so accomplished in Sanskrit that he translated Lao-tzu into Sanskrit. He established the *Vijnaptimatra* school of Buddhism in China. The '*Record*' and '*Life'* deepen our understanding of the Silk Route, and his initiatives paved the way for diplomatic relations between India and China. Several embassies were exchanged between Harsavardhana and Tai-ts‘ung. He told his countrymen about India's invention of sugar, called *shimi* 'stone honey' in Chinese (*sarkara* 'sugar, crystals, granules, stonelets'), and the Emperor sent the ambassador Wang Hsüan-ts'e to get sugar technology from India.

The '*Life'* was first translated by Stanislas Julien in 1853. The first English translation by Samuel Beal appeared in 1888. Only the first five chapters by Hui-li were complete; the five final chapters by Yen-Ts‘ung were summarised. In 1951, British Sinologist Arthur Waley summarised the historical career of Yuan Chwang from the '*Life'* and other sources in *The Real Tripitaka and other Pieces* (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1952). Mr. Li Yung-hsi was the first Chinese scholar to translate the *complete* ten chapters of '*Life'* into English; they were published in 1959 by The Chinese Buddhist Association, Peking, with a foreword by Venerable Chao Pu-chu. Mrs. D. Devahuti translated the correspondence of Yuan Chwang, Prajnadeva and Jnanaprabha from the Chinese of the '*Life*;' these

were published under the title *The Unknown Hsuan-tsang* (New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2001).

Book II

Relates to Three Countries, viz, (I) Lan-po, (2) Na-Kie lo-ho and (3) Kien t'o-lo

1. Names of India

India is In-tu, the moon, because of its eminence:

On examination, we find that the names of India (T'ien-chu) are various and perplexing as to their authority. It was anciently called *Shin-tu*, also *Hien-tau*; but now, according to the right pronunciation, it is called *In-tu*. The people of *In-tu* call their country by different names according to their district. Each country has diverse customs. Aiming at a general name which is the best sounding, we will call the country *In-tu*. In Chinese this name signifies the moon. The moon has many names, of which this is one. For as it is said that all living things ceaselessly revolve in the wheel (of transmigration) through the long night of ignorance, without a guiding star, their case is like (*the world*), the sun gone down; as then the torch affords its connecting light, though there be the shining of the stars, how different from the bright (*cool*) moon; just so the bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country eminent, and so it is called *In-tu*.

Brahmins a noble caste:

The families of India are divided into castes, the Brahmans particularly (*are noted*) on account of their purity and nobility. Tradition has so hallowed the name of this tribe that there is no question as to difference of place, but the people generally speak of India as the country of the Brahmans (Po-lo-men).

2. Extent of India, Climate, & c

Accurate geography of India:

The countries embraced under this term of India are generally spoken of as the five Indies. In circuit this country is about 90,000 *li*; on three sides it is bordered by the great sea; on the north it is backed by the Snowy Mountains. The north part is broad, the southern part is narrow. Its shape is like the half-moon. The entire land is divided into seventy countries or so. The seasons are particularly hot; the land is well watered and humid. The north is a continuation of mountains and hills, the ground being dry and salt. On the east there are valleys and plains, which being well watered and cultivated, are fruitful and productive. The southern district is wooded and herbaceous; the western parts are stony and barren. Such is the general account of this country.

3. Measures of Length

To give a brief account of matters. In point of measurements, there is first of all the *yojana (yu-shen-na);* this from the time of the holy kings of old has been regarded as a day's march for an army. The old accents say it is equal to 40 *li*; according to the common reckoning in India it is 30 *li*, but in the sacred books (*of Buddha*) the *yojana* is only 16 *li*.

In the subdivision of distances, a *yojana* is equal to eight *krosas* (*keu-lu-she*); a *krosa* is the distance that the lowing of a cow can be heard; a *krosa* is divided into 500 bows (*dhanus*); a bow is divided into four cubits (*hastas*); a cubit is divided into 24 fingers (*angulis*); a finger is divided into seven barleycorns (*javas*); and so on to a louse (*yuka*), a nit (*liksha*), a dust grain, a cow's hair, a sheep's hair, a hare's down, copper-water,[315] and so on for seven divisions, till we come to a small grain of dust; this is divided sevenfold till we come to an excessively small grain of dust (*anu*); this cannot be divided further without arriving at nothingness, and so it is called the infinitely small (*paramanu*).

4. Astronomy, the Calendar, &c

Although the revolution of the Yin and Yang principles and the successive mansions of the sun and moon be called by names different from ours, yet the seasons are the same; the names of the months are derived from the position (*of the moon in respect*) of the asterisms.

The shortest portion of time is called a *t'sa-na* (*kshana*); 120 *kshanas* make *a ta-t'sa-na* (*takshana*); 60 of these make a *la-fo* (*lava*); 30 of these

make a *mau-hu-li-to* (*muthurta*); five of these make "a period of time" (*kala*); six of these make a day and night (*ahoratra*), but commonly the day and night are divided into eight *kalas*.[316]

The period from the new moon till full moon is called the white division (*Sukla-paksha*) of the month; the period from the full moon till the disappearance is called the dark portion (*Krishna-paksha*). The dark portion comprises fourteen or fifteen days, because the month is sometimes long and sometimes short. The preceding dark portion and the following light portion together form a month; six months form a "march" (*hing, s.ayana*). The sun when it moves within (*the equator*) is said to be on its northward march (*uttarayana*), when it moves without (*the equator*) it is on its southern march (*dakshinayana*). These two periods form a year (*vatsara*).

5. Towns and Buildings

The towns and villages have inner gates; the walls are wide and high; the streets and lanes are tortuous, and the roads winding. The thoroughfares are dirty and the stalls arranged on both sides of the road with appropriate signs. Butchers, fishers, dancers, executioners, and scavengers, and so on, have their abodes without the city. In coming and going these persons are bound to keep on the left side of the road till they arrive at their homes. Their houses are surrounded by low walls, and form the suburbs. The earth being soft and muddy, the walls are constructed of wood or bamboo; the houses have balconies and belvederes, which are made of wood, with a coating of lime or mortar, and covered with tiles. The different buildings have the same form as those in China: rushes, or dry branches, or tiles, or boards are used for covering them. The walls are covered with lime and mud, mixed with cow's dung for purity. At different seasons they scatter flowers about.

The *sangharamas* are constructed with extraordinary skill. A three-storeyed tower is erected at each of the four angles. The beams and the projecting heads are carved with great skill in different shapes. The doors, windows, and the low walls are painted profusely; the monks' cells are ornamental on the inside and plain on the outside. In the very middle of the building is the hall, high and wide. There are various storeyed chambers

and turrets of different height and shape, without any fixed rule. The doors open towards the east; the royal throne also faces the east.

6. Seats, Clothing, &c

When they sit or rest they all use mats; the royal family and the great personages and assistant officers use mats variously ornamented, but in size they are the same. The throne of the reigning sovereign is large and high, and much adorned with precious gems: it is called the Lion-throne (*simhasana*). It is covered with extremely fine drapery; the footstool is adorned with gems. The nobility use beautifully painted and enriched seats, according to their tastes.

7. Dress, Habits, &c

Their clothing is not cut or fashioned; they mostly affect fresh-white garments; they esteem little those of mixed colour or ornamented. The men wind their garments round their middle then gather them under the armpits, and let them fall down across the body, hanging to the right. The robes of the women fall down to the ground; they completely cover their shoulders. They wear a little knot of hair on their crowns, and let the rest of their hair fall loose. Some of the men cut off their moustaches, and have other odd customs. On their heads the people wear caps (*crowns*), with flower-wreaths and jewelled necklets. Their garments are made of *Kiau-she-ye* (*kauseya*) and of cotton. *Kiau-she-ye* is the product of the wild silkworm. They have garments also of *Ts'o-mo* (*kshauma*), which is a sort of hemp; garments also made of *Kien-po-lo* (*kambala*) which is woven from fine goat-hair; garments also made from the fine hair of a wild animal: it is seldom this can be woven, and therefore the stuff is very valuable, and it is regarded as fine clothing.

In North India, where the air is cold, they wear short and close-fitting garments, like the Hu people. The dress and ornaments worn by non-believers are varied and mixed. Some wear peacocks' feathers; some wear as ornaments necklaces made of skull bones (*Kapaladharinas*); some have no clothing, but go naked (*Nirgranthas*); some wear leaf or bark garments; some pull out their hair and cut off their moustaches; others have bushy whiskers and their hair braided on the top of their heads. The costume is not uniform, and the colour, whether red or white, not constant.

The Kshattriyas and the Brahmans are cleanly and wholesome in their dress, and they live in a homely and frugal way. The king of the country and the great ministers wear garments and ornaments different in their character. They use flowers for decorating their hair, with gem-decked caps; they ornament themselves with bracelets and necklaces.

There are rich merchants who deal exclusively in gold trinkets, and so on. They mostly go bare-footed; few wear sandals. They stain their teeth red or black; they bind up their hair and pierce their ears; they ornament their noses, and have large eyes. Such is their appearance.

8. Cleanliness, Ablutions, & c

They are very particularly in their personal cleanliness, and allow no remissness in this particular. All wash themselves before eating; they never use that which has been left over (*from a former meal*); they do not pass the dishes. Wooden and stone vessels, when used, must be destroyed; vessels of gold, silver, copper, or iron after each meal must be rubbed and polished. After eating they cleanse their teeth with a willow stick, and wash their hands and mouth.

Until these ablutions are finished they do not touch one another. Every time they perform the functions of nature they wash their bodies and use perfumes of sandal-wood or turmeric.

9. Writing, Language, Books, the Vedas, Study

Very acute observations:

The letters of their alphabet were arranged by Brahmadeva, and their forms have been handed down from the first till now. They are forty-seven in number, and are combined so as to form words according to the object, and according to circumstances (*of time or place*): there are other forms (*inflexions*) used. This alphabet has spread in different directions and formed diverse branches, according to circumstances; therefore there have been slight modifications in the sounds of the words (*spoken language*); but in its great features there has been no change. Middle India preserves the original character of the language in its integrity. Here the pronunciation is soft and agreeable, and like the language of the Devas. The pronunciation of the words is clear and pure, and fit as a model for all men. The people of

the frontiers have contracted several erroneous modes of pronunciation; for according to the licentious habits of the people, so also will be the corrupt nature of their language.

Contradicts the view that Indians have no sense of history and records:

With respect to the records of events, each province has its own official for preserving them in writing. The record of these events in their full character is called *Ni-lo-pi-ch'a* (*Nilapita*, blue deposit). In these records are mentioned good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences.

To educate and encourage the young, they are first taught to study the book of twelve chapters (*Siddhavastu*).[317]

After arriving at the age of seven years and upwards, the young are instructed in the five *Vidyas, Sastras* of great importance. The first is called the elucidation of sounds (*Sabdavidya*). This treatise explains and illustrates the agreement (*concordance*) of words, and it provides an index for derivatives.

The second vidya is called *Kiau-ming (Silpasthanavidya*); it treats of the arts, mechanics, explains the principles of the *Yin* and *Yang* and the calendar.

The third is called the medicinal treatise (*Chikitsavidya*); it embraces formulae for protection, secret charms, (use of) medicinal stones, acupuncture, and mugwort.

The fourth vidya is called the *Hetuvidya* (science of causes); its name is derived from the character of the work, which relates to the determination of the true and false, and reduces to their last terms the definition of right and wrong.

The fifth vidya is called the science of "the interior" (*Adhyatmavidya*); it relates to the five vehicles,[318] their causes and consequence, and the subtle influences of these.

The Brahmans study the four *Veda Sastras.* The first is called *Shau* (longevity); it relates to the preservation of life and the regulation of the natural condition. The second is called *Sse* (sacrifice); it relates to the (rules of) sacrifice and prayer. The third is called *Ping* (peace or regulation); it relates to decorum, casting of lots, military affairs, and army regulations.

The fourth is called *Shu* (secret mysteries); it relates to various branches of science, incantations, medicine.[319]

The teachers (*of these works*) must themselves have closely studied the deep and secret principles they contain, and penetrated to their remotest meaning. They then explain their general sense, and guide their pupils in understanding the words which are difficult. They urge them on and skilfully conduct them…

When they have finished their education, and have attained thirty years of age, then their character is formed and their knowledge ripe. When they have secured an occupation they first of all thank their master for this attention. There are some, deeply versed in antiquity, who devote themselves to elegant studies, and live apart from the world, and retain the simplicity of their character. These rise above mundane presents, and are as insensible to renown as to the contempt of the world. Their name having spread afar, rulers appreciate them highly, but are unable to draw them to the court. The chief of the country honours them on account of their (*mental*) gifts, and the people exalt their fame and render them universal homage. This is the reason of their devoting themselves to their studies with ardour and resolution, without any sense of fatigue. They search for wisdom, relying on their own resources. Although they are possessed of large wealth, yet they will wander here and there to seek their subsistence.

10. Buddhist Schools, Books, Discussions, Discipline

The different schools are constantly at variance, and their contending utterances rise like the angry waves of the sea. The different sects have their separate masters, and in various directions aim at one end.

There are Eighteen schools, each claiming pre-eminence. The partisans of the Great and Little Vehicle are content to dwell apart. There are some who give themselves up to quiet contemplation, and devote themselves, whether walking or standing still or sitting down, to the acquirement of wisdom and insight; others, on the contrary, differ from these in raising noisy contentions about their faith. According to their fraternity, they are governed by distinctive rules and regulations, which we need not name.

The *Vinaya (liu),* discourses (*lun*), *sutras* (*king*), are equally Buddhist books. He who can entirely explain one class of these books is exempted from the control of the *karmadana.* If he can explain two classes, he receives in addition the equipments of an upper seat (room); he who can explain three classes has allotted to him different servants to attend to and obey him; he who can explain four classes has "pure men" (*upasakas*) allotted to him as attendants; he who can explain five classes of books is then allowed an elephant carriage; he who can explain six classes of books is allowed a surrounding escort. When a man's renown has reached to a high distinction, then at different times he convokes an assembly for discussion. He judges of the superior or inferior talent of those who take part in it; he distinguishes himself by refined language, subtle investigation, deep penetration, and severe logic, then he is mounted on an elephant covered with precious ornaments, and conducted by a numerous suite to the gates of the convent.

If, on the contrary, one of the members breaks down in his argument, or uses poor and inelegant phrases, or if he violates a rule in logic and adapts his words accordingly, they proceed to disfigure his face with red and white, and cover his body with dirt and dust, and then carry him off to some deserted spot or leave him in a ditch. Thus they distinguish between the meritorious and the worthless, between the wise and the foolish.

11. Castes – Marriage

With respect to the division of families, there are four classifications. The first is called the Brahman (*Po-lo-men*), men of pure conduct. They guard themselves in religion, live purely, and observe the most correct principles. The second is called Kshattriya (*T'sa-ti-li*), the royal caste. For ages they have been the governing class: they apply themselves to virtue (*humanity*) and kindness. The third is called Vaisyas (*fei-she-li*), the merchant class: they engage in commercial exchange, and they follow profit at home and aboard. The fourth is called Sudra (*Shu-t'o-lo),* the agricultural class: they labour in ploughing and tillage. In these four classes purity or impurity of caste assigns to every one his place. When they marry they rise or fall in position according to their new relationship. They do not allow promiscuous marriages between relations. A woman once married can never take another husband. Besides these there are other classes of many

kinds that intermarry according to their several callings. It would be difficult to speak of these in detail.

12. Royal Family, Troops, Weapons

The succession of kings is confined to the Kshattriya (*T'sa-li*) caste, who by usurpation and bloodshed have from time to time raised themselves to power. Although a distinct caste, they are regarded as honourable (*or* lords).

The chief soldiers of the country are selected from the bravest of the people, and as the sons follow the profession of their fathers, they soon acquire a knowledge of the art of war. These dwell in garrison around the palace (*during peace*), but when on an expedition they march in front as an advanced guard. There are four divisions of the army, viz.-(1) the infantry, (2) the cavalry, (3) the chariots, (4) the elephants. The elephants are covered with strong armour, and their tusks are provided with sharp spurs. A leader in a car gives the command, whilst two attendants on the right and left drive his chariot, which is drawn by four horses abreast. The general of soldiers remains in his chariot; he is surrounded by a file of guards, who keep close to his chariot wheels.

The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist an attack, and in case of defeat they carry orders hither and thither. The infantry by their quick movements contribute to the defence. These men are chosen for their courage and strength. They carry a long spear and a great shield; sometimes they hold a sword or sabre, and advance to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons of war are sharp and pointed. Some of them are these – spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins, and various kinds of slings. All these they have used for ages.

13. Manners, Administration of Law, Ordeals

The integrity of ordinary folks:

With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises. In their rules of government

there is remarkable rectitude, whilst in their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness. With respect to criminals or rebels, these are few in number, and only occasionally troublesome. When the laws are broken or the power of the ruler violated, then the matter is clearly sifted and the offenders imprisoned. There is no infliction of corporal punishment; they are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men. When the rules of propriety or justice are violated, or when a man fails in fidelity or filial piety, then they cut his nose or his ears off, or his hands and feet, or expel him from the country or drive him out into the desert wilds. For other faults, except these, a small payment of money will redeem the punishment. In the investigation of criminal cases there is no use of rod or staff to obtain proofs (*of guilt*). In questioning an accused person, if he replies with frankness the punishment is proportioned accordingly; but if the accused obstinately denies his fault, or in despite of it attempts to excuse himself, then in searching out the truth to the bottom, when it is necessary to pass sentence, there are four kinds of ordeal used (1) by water, (2) by force, (3) by weighing, (4) by poison.[320]

14. Medicines, Funeral Customs, & c

Every one who falls sick fasts for seven days. During this interval many recover, but if the sickness lasts they take medicine…

When a person dies, those who attend the funeral raise lamentable cries and weep together. They rend their garments and loosen their hair; they strike their heads and beat their breasts. There are no regulations as to dress for mourning, nor any fixed time for observing it.

There are three methods of paying the last tribute to the dead: (1) by cremation – wood being made into a pyre, the body is burnt; (2) by water – the body is thrown into deep flowing water and abandoned; (3) by desertion – the body is cast into some forest-wild, to be devoured by beasts.

In a house where there has been a death there is no eating allowed; but after the funeral they resume their usual (*habits*). There are no anniversaries (*of death*) observed. Those who have attended a death they consider unclean; they all bathe outside the town and then enter their houses.

The old and infirm who come near to death, and those entangled in a severe sickness, who fear to linger to the end of their days, and through

disgust wish to escape the troubles of life, or those who desire release from the trifling affairs of the world and its concerns, these after receiving a farewell meal at the hands of their relatives or friends, they place, amid the sounds of music, on a boat which they propel into the midst of the Ganges, where such persons drown themselves. They think thus to secure a birth among the Devas. Rarely one of these may be seen not yet dead on the borders (*of the river*).

The priests are not allowed to lament or cry for the dead; when a father or mother of a priest dies they recite their prayers, recounting their obligations to them; reflecting on the past, they carefully attend to them now dead. They expect by this to increase the mysterious character of their religious merit.

15. Civil Administration, Revenues, &c

As the administration of the government is founded on benign principles, the executive is simple. The families are not entered on registers, and the people are not subject to forced labour (*conscription*). The private demesnes of the crown are divided into four principal parts; the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings; the second is for providing subsidies for the ministers and chief officers of state; the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability; and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated. In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his own worldly gods in peace, and all till the ground for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions. The river-passages and the road-barriers are open on payment of a small toll. When the public works require it, labour is exacted but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

The military guard the frontiers, or go out to punish the refractory. They also mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the services; they are promised certain payments and are publicly enrolled. The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support.

16. Plants and Trees, Agriculture, Food, Drink, Cookery

The climate and the quality of the soil being different according to situation, the produce of the land is various in its character. The flowers and plants, the fruits and trees are of different kinds, and have distinct names.

It would be difficult to enumerate all the kinds of fruit… The pear (*Li*), the wild plum (*Nai*), the peach (*T'au*), the apricot (*Hang or Mui*), the grape (*Po-tau*), &c., these all have been brought from the country of Kashmir, and are found growing on every side.

On vegetables and meats consumed or forbidden:

In cultivating the land, those whose duty it is sow and reap, plough and harrow (*weed*), and plant according to the season; and after their labour they rest awhile. Among the products of the ground, rice and corn are most plentiful. With respect to edible herbs and plants, we may name ginger and mustard, melons and pumpkins, the *Heun-to (Kandu?)* plant, and others. Onions and garlic are little grown; and few persons eat them; if any one uses them for food, they are expelled beyond the walls of the town. The most usual food is milk, butter, cream, soft sugar, sugar-candy, the oil of the mustard-seed, and all sorts of cakes of corn are used as food. Fish, mutton, gazelle, and deer they eat generally fresh, sometimes salted; they are forbidden to eat the flesh of the ox, the ass, the elephant, the horse, the pig, the dog, the fox, the wolf, the lion, the monkey, and all the hairy kind. Those who eat them are despised and scorned, and are universally reprobated; they live outside the walls, and are seldom seen among men.

With respect to the different kind of wine and liquors, there are various sorts. The juice of the grape and sugarcane, these are used by the Kshattriyas as drink; the Vaisyas use strong fermented drinks; the Sramans and Brahmans drink a sort of syrup made from the grape or sugarcane, but not of the nature of fermented wine.

17. Commercial Transactions

Gold and silver, *teou-shih* (native copper), white jade, fire pearls (possibly amber), are the natural products of the country; there are besides these abundance of rare gems and various kinds of precious stones of different

names, which are collected from the islands of the sea. These they exchange for other goods; and in fact they always barter in their commercial transactions, for they have no gold or silver coins, pearl shells, or little pearls.[321]

BOOK III

TA-CH'A-SHI-LO (TAKSHASILA)

Land, people and legend:

The kingdom of *Ta-ch'a-shi-lo* is about 2000 *li* in circuit, and the capital is about 10 *li* in circuit. The royal family being extinct, the nobles contend for power by force. Formerly this country was in subjection to Kapisa, but latterly it has become tributary to *Kia-shi-mi-lo* (Kasmir). The land is renowned for its fertility, and produces rich harvests. It is very full of streams and fountains. Flowers and fruits are abundant. The climate is agreeably temperate. The people are lively and courageous, and they honour the three gems. Although there are many *sangharamas*, they have become ruinous and deserted, and there are very few priests; those that there are study the Great Vehicle.

To the north of the city 12 or 13 *li* is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. On feast-days (*religious commemoration days*) it glows with light, and divine flowers fall around it, and heavenly music is heard. According to tradition, we find in late times there was a woman whose body was grievously afflicted with leprosy. Coming to the *stupa* secretly, she offered worship in excess and confessed her faults. Then seeing that the vestibule (*open court before the stupa*) was full of dung and dirt, she removed it, and set to work to sweep and water it and to scatter flowers, she covered the ground with them. On this her evil leprosy left her, and her form became lovely, and her beauty doubled, whilst from her person there came the famed scent of the blue lotus, and this also is the reason of the fragrance of this excellent place. This is the spot where Tathagata formerly dwelt when he was practicing the discipline of a Bodhisattva; he was then the king of a great country and was called *Chen-ta-lo-po-la-po* (Chandraprabha); he cut off his head, earnestly

seeking the acquirement of Bodhi: and this he did during a thousand successive births, (*for the same object and in the same place*).[322]

Sang-ho-pu-lo(Simhapura)

On Svetambara and Digambara Jainas:

By the side of the *stupa*, and not far off, is the spot where the original teacher of the white-robed heretics arrived at the knowledge of the principles he sought, and first preached the law.[323] There is an inscription placed there to that effect. By the side of this spot is a temple of the Devas. The persons who frequent it subject themselves to austerities; day and night they use constant diligence without relaxation. The laws of their founder are mostly filched from the principles of the books of Buddha.[324] These men are of different classes, and select their rules and frame their precepts accordingly. The great ones are called Bhikshus; the younger are called Sramaneras. In their ceremonies and modes of life they greatly resemble the priests (*of Buddha*), only they have a little twist of hair on their heads, and they go naked (Digambara Jainas). Moreover, what clothes they chance to wear are white. Such are the slight differences which distinguish them from others. The figure of their sacred master (Mahavira) they stealthily class with that of Tathagata; it differs only in point of clothing;[325] the points of beauty are absolutely the same.

Kia-shi-mi-lo (Kasmir)

Land, people, Buddha and king Asoka:

The kingdom of Kasmir[326] is about 7000 *li* in circuit, and on all sides it is enclosed by mountains. These mountains are very high. Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted. The neighbouring states that have attacked it have never succeeded in subduing it. The capital of the country on the west side is bordered by a great river. It (*the capital*) is from north to south 12 or 13 *li*, and from east to west 4 or 5 *li*. The soil is fit for producing cereals, and abounds with fruits and flowers.

Here also are dragon-horses and the fragrant turmeric, the *fo-chu,* and medicinal plants.

The climate is cold and stern. There is much snow but little wind. The people wear leather doublets and clothes of white linen. They are light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. As the country is protected by a dragon, it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people. The people are handsome in appearance, but they are given to cunning. They love learning and are well instructed. There are about 100 *sangharamas* and 5000 priests. There are four *stupas* built by Asoka-raja. Each of these has about a pint measure of relics of Tathagata. The history of the country says: This country was once a dragon lake. In old times the Lord Buddha was returning to the middle kingdom (*India*) after subduing a wicked spirit in *U-chang-na* (Udyana), and when in mid-air, just over this country, he addressed Ananda thus: "After my *Nirvana*, the Arhat Madhyantika will found a kingdom in this land, civilise (*pacify*) the people, and by his own effort spread abroad the law of Buddha."

In the hundredth year after the *Nirvana of* Tathagata, Asoka, king of Magadha, extended his power over the world, and was honoured even by the most distant people. He deeply reverenced the three gems, and had a loving regard for all living things. At this time there were 500 Arhats and 500 schismatical priests, whom the king honoured and patronised without any difference. Among the latter was a priest called Mahadeva, a man of deep learning and rare ability; in his retirement he sought a true renown; far thinking, he wrote treatises the principles of which were opposed to the holy doctrine. All who heard of him resorted to his company and adopted his views. Asoka-raja, not knowing either holy or common men,[327] and because he was naturally given to patronise those who were seditious, was induced to call together an assembly of priests to the banks of the Ganges, intending to drown them all.

At this time the Arhats having seen the danger threatening their lives by the exercise of their spiritual power flew away through the air and came to this country and concealed themselves among the mountains and valleys. Asoka-raja having heard of it, repented, and confessing his fault, begged them to return to their own country; but the Arhats refused to do so with

determination. Then Asoka-raja, for the sake of the Arhats, built 500 *sangharamas*, and gave this country as a gift to the priesthood.

Kanishka reorganises the scriptures:

In the four-hundredth year (about 75 AD) after the Nirvana of Tathagata, Kanishka, king of Gandhara, having succeeded to the kingdom, his kingly renown reached far, and he brought the most remote within his jurisdiction. During his intervals of duty he frequently consulted the sacred books of Buddha; daily he invited a priest to enter his palace and preach the law, but he found the different views of the schools so contradictory that he was filled with doubt, and he had no way to get rid of his uncertainty. At this time the honoured Parsva said, "Since Tathagata left the world many years and months have elapsed. The different schools hold to the treatises of their several masters. Each keeps to his own views, and so the whole body is torn by divisions."

The king having heard this,… said, "Though of no account personally, yet, thanks to the remnant of merit which has followed me through successive births since the time of the Holy One till now, I have come to my present state. I will dare to forget my own low degree, and hand down in succession the teaching of the law unimpaired. I will therefore arrange the teaching of the three *pitakas* of Buddha according to the various schools…"

Kanishka then summoned a holy assembly, but the multitudes that arrived made meaningful consultation virtually impossible. Eliminating the less learned and finally retaining only those who knew the three *Pitakas* and the five *vidyas*, he was left with 499 men. This assembly then deliberated upon the arrangement of the scriptures and composing the *Vibhasha Sastra.* Vasumitra, who was initially excluded from the deliberations, demonstrated his divine power, and was appointed president of the assembly.

These five hundred sages and saints first composed in ten myriads of verses the *Upadesa Sastra* to explain the *Sutra Pitaka*. Next they made in ten myriads of verses the *Vinaya Vibhasha Sastra* to explain the *Vinaya Pitaka*; and afterwards they made in ten myriad of verses the *Abhidharma Vibhasha Sastra* to explain the *Abhidharma Pitaka.* Altogether they composed thirty myriad of verses in six hundred and sixty myriad of words, which thoroughly explained the three *Pitakas*. There was no work of

antiquity to be compared with (*placed above*) their productions; from the deepest to the smallest questions, they examined all, explained all minute expressions, so that their work has become universally known and is the resource of all students who have followed them.

Kanishka-raja forthwith ordered these discourses to be engraved on sheets of red copper. He enclosed them in a stone receptacle, and having sealed this, he raised over it a *stupa* with the Scriptures in the middle. He commanded the Yakshas[328] to defend the approaches to the kingdom, so as not to permit the other sects to get these *sastras* and take them away, with the view that those dwelling in the country might enjoy the fruit of this labour.

BOOK IV

CHI-NA-PO-TI (CHINAPATI)[326]

Land, people, and King Kanishka and the Chinese hostages:

This country is about 2000 *li* in circuit. The capital is about 14 or 15 *li* round. It produces abundant harvests; the fruit trees are thinly scattered. The people are contented and peaceful; the resources of the country are abundant. The climate is hot and humid; the people are timid and listless. They are given to promiscuous study, and there are amongst them believers and the contrary. There are ten *sangharamas* and eight Deva temples.

Formerly, when Kanishka-raja was on the throne, his fame spread throughout the neighbouring countries, and his military power was recognised by all. The tributary princes to the west of the (*Yellow*) River, in recognition of his authority, sent hostages to him. Kanishka-raja having received the hostages, he treated them with marked attention. During the three seasons of the year he appointed them separate establishments, and afforded them special guards of troops. This country was the residence of the hostages during the winter. This is the reason why it is called Chinapati, after the name of the residence of the hostages.

There existed neither pear nor peach in this kingdom and throughout the Indies until the hostages planted them, and therefore the peach is called *Chinani,* and the pear is called *Chinarajaputra*.[329] For this reason the men

of this country have a profound respect for the Eastern land. Moreover (*when they saw me*) they pointed with their fingers, and said one to another, "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler."[330]

Three hundred years after the *Nirvana* of Buddha the master of *sastras* called Katyayana composed here the Fa-Chi-lun (*Abhidharmajnana-prasthana Sastra*).[331]

CHE-LAN-TO'-LO (JALANDHARA)

This kingdom is about 1000 *li* from east to west, and about 800 *li* from north to south. The capital is 12 or 13 *li* in circuit. The land is favourable for the cultivation of cereals, and it produces much rice. The forests are thick and umbrageous, fruits and flowers abundant. The climate is warm and moist, the people brave and impetuous, but their appearance is common and rustic. The houses are rich and well supplied. There are fifty convents, or so; about 2000 priests. They have students both of the Great and Little Vehicle. There are three temples of Devas and about 500 heretics, who all belong to the Pasupatas (ash-sprinkled).

K'IU-LU-TO (KULUTA)

Mineral wealth of Kulu district; land, people:

This country is about 3000 *li* in circuit, and surrounded on every side by mountains. The chief town is about 14 or 15 *li* round. The land is rich and fertile, and the crops are duly sown and gathered. Flowers and fruits are abundant, and the plants and trees afford a rich vegetation. Being contiguous to the Snowy Mountains, there are found here many medicinal (*roots*) of much value. Gold, silver, and copper are found here – fire-drops (*crystal*) and native copper (*teou*). The climate is unusually cold, and hail or snow continually falls. The people are coarse and common in appearance, and are much afflicted with goitre and tumours, their nature is hard and fierce; they greatly regard justice and bravery. There are about twenty *sangharamas,* and 1000 priests or so. They mostly study the Great Vehicle; a few practise (*the rules of)* other schools (*nikayas*). There are fifteen Deva temples: different sects occupy them without distinction.

Along the precipitous sides of the mountains and hollowed into the rocks are stone chambers which face one another. Here the Arhats dwell or the Rishis stop.

In the middle of the country is a *stupa* built by Asokaraja. Of old the Tathagata came to this country with his followers to preach the law and to save men. This *stupa* is a memorial of the traces of his presence.

SHE-TO-T'U-LU (SATADRU)[330]

Vegetable and mineral wealth; people; popularity of Buddha:

This country is about 2000 *li* from east to west, and borders on a great river. The capital is 17 or 18 *li* in circuit. Cereals grow in abundance, and there is very much fruit. There is an abundance of gold and silver found here, and precious stones. For clothing the people wear a very bright silk stuff; their garments are elegant and rich. The climate is warm and moist. The manners of the people are soft and agreeable; and men are docile and virtuous. The high and low take their proper place. They all sincerely believe in the law of Buddha and show it great respect. Within and without the royal city there are ten *sangharamas,* but the halls are now deserted and cold, and there are but few priests. To the south-east of the city 3 or 4 *li* is a *stupa* about 200 feet high, which was built by Asoka-raja. Besides it are the traces where the four past Buddhas sat or walked.

MO-T'U-LO (MATHURA)

Fruit trees, gold, cotton produce:

The kingdom of Mo-t'u-lo is about 5000 *li* in circuit. The capital is 20 *li* round. The soil is rich and fertile, and fit for producing grain. They give principal care to the cultivation of An-mo-lo (*trees*), which grow in clusters like forests. These trees, though called by one name, are of two kinds[332]; the small species, the fruit of which, when young, is green, and becomes yellow as it ripens; and the great species, the fruit of which is green throughout its growth.

This country produces a fine species of cotton fabric and also yellow gold. The climate is warm to a degree. The manners of the people are soft and

complacent. They like to prepare secret stores of religious merit. They esteem virtue and honour learning.

Viharas and stupas:

There are about twenty *sangharamas* with 2000 priests or so. They study equally the Great and the Little Vehicles. There are five Deva Temples, in which sectaries of all kinds live.

Reverencing the main Bodhisattvas:

There are three *stupas* built by Asoka-raja. There are very many traces (footprints) of the four past Buddhas here. There are also *stupas* to commemorate the remains of the holy followers of Sakya Tathagata, to wit, of Sariputra (*She-li-tseu*), of Mudgalaputra (*Mo-te-kia-lo-tseu*), of Purnamaitrayaniputra (*Pu-la-na-mei-ta-li-yen-ni-fo-ta-lo*), of Upali (*Yeu-po-li*), of Ananda (*O'-nan-to*), of Rahula (*Lo-hu-lo*), of Manjusri (*Man-chu-sse-li*), and *stupas* of other Bodhisattvas. Every year during the six fast-days of each month, the priests resort to these various *stupas* and pay mutual compliments; they make their religious offerings, and bring many rare and precious objects for presents. According to their school they visit the sacred object (*figure*) of their veneration. Those who study the *Abhidharma* honour Sariputra; those who practice meditation honour Mudgalaputra; those who recite the *sutras* honour Purnamaitrayaniputra; those who study the *Vinaya* reverence Upali. All the Bhikshunis honour Ananda, the *Sramaneras* (novice disciples) honour Rahula; those who study the Great Vehicle reverence the Bodhisattvas. On these days they honour the *stupas* with offerings. They spread out their jewelled banners; the rich coverings (*parasols*) are crowded together as network; the smoke of incense rises in clouds; and flowers are scattered in every direction like rain; the sun and the moon are concealed as by the clouds which hang over the moist valleys. The king of the country and the great ministers apply themselves to these religious duties with zeal.

SU-LO-KIN-NA (SRUGHNA)[332]

Devout nature of people:

This country is about 6000 *li* in circuit. On the eastern side it borders on the Ganges river, on the north it is backed by great mountains. The river Yamuna (*Chen-mu-na*) flows through its frontiers. The capital is about 20 *li* in circuit, and is bounded on the east by the river Yamuna. It is deserted, although its foundations are still very strong. As to produce of soil and character of climate, this country resembles the kingdom of *Sa-t'a-ni-shi-fa-lo* (Sthanesvara). The disposition of the people is sincere and truthful. They honour and have faith in heretical teaching, and they greatly esteem the pursuit of learning, but principally religious wisdom (or, wisdom that brings happiness).

There are five *sangharamas* with about 1000 priests; the greater number study the Little Vehicle; a few exercise themselves in other (*exceptional*) schools. They deliberate and discuss in appropriate language (*choice words*), and their clear discourses embody profound truth. Men of different regions of eminent skill discuss with them to satisfy their doubts. There are a hundred Deva temples with very many sectaries (*unbelievers*).

To the south-west of the capital and west of the river Yamuna is a *sangharama,* outside the eastern gate of which is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. The Tathagata, when in the world in former days, preached the law in this place to convert men. By its side is another *stupa* in which there are relics of the Tathagata's hair and nails. Surrounding this on the right and left are *stupa* enclosing the hair and nail relics of Sariputra and of *Mu-te-kia-lo* (Maudgalyayana) and other Arhats, several tens in number.

Decline of Buddhism after death of Buddha:

After Tathagata had entered *Nirvana* this country was the seat of heretical teaching. The faithful were perverted to false doctrine, and forsook the orthodox views.

Purity and power of the Ganga:

On the east of the Yamuna, going about 800 *li*, we come to the Ganges river. The source of the river (*or* the river at its source) is 3 or 4 *li* wide;[333] flowing south-east, it enters the sea, where it is 10 *li* and more in width. The water of the river is blue, like the ocean, and its waves are wide-rolling as the sea. The scaly monsters, though many, do no harm to men. The taste of

the water is sweet and pleasant, and sands of extreme fineness border its course. In the common history of the country this river is called *Fo-shwui*, the *river of religious merit* which can wash away countless sins. Those who are weary of life, if they end their days in it, are borne to heaven and receive happiness. If a man dies and his bones are cast into the river, he cannot fall into an evil way; whilst he is carried by its waters and forgotten by men, his soul is preserved in safety on the other side (other world).

MA-TI-PU-LO (MATIPURA)[334]

Devout people; Sudra king:

This country is about 6000 *li* in circuit; the capital is about 20 *li*. The soil is favourable for the growth of cereals, and there are many flowers and kinds of fruit. The climate is soft and mild. The people are sincere and truthful. They very much reverence learning, and are deeply versed in the use of charms and magic. The followers of truth and error (Buddhists and Brahmins) are equally divided. The king belongs to the caste of the Sudras (*Shu-t'o-lo*). He is not a believer in the law of Buddha, but reverences and worships the spirits of heaven. There are about twenty *sangharamas,* with 800 priests. They mostly study the Little Vehicle and belong to the schools of Sarvastivadas (*Shwo-i-tsie-yau*). There are some fifty Deva temples, in which men of different persuasions dwell promiscuously.

Natural wealth of Haridwar region; purity and renown of Ganga:

On the north-west frontier of this country, on the eastern shore of the river Ganges, is the town of *Mo-yu-lo*;[334] it is about 20 li in circuit. The inhabitants are very numerous. The pure streams of the river flow round it on every side; it produces native copper, pure crystal, and precious vases. Not far from the town, and standing by the Ganges river, is a great Deva temple, where very many miracles of divers sorts are wrought. In the midst of it is a tank, of which the borders are made of stone joined skilfully together. Through it the Ganges river is led by an artificial canal. The men of the five Indies call it "the gate of the Ganga river." This is where religious merit is found and sin effaced. There are always hundreds and thousands of people gathered together here from distant quarters to bathe

and wash in its waters. Benevolent kings have founded here "a house of merit" (*punyasala*). This foundation is endowed with funds for providing choice food and medicines to bestow in charity on widows and bereaved persons, on orphans and the destitute.

KIE-PI-THA (KAPITHA)

This country[335] is about 2000 *li* in circuit, and the capital 20 *li* or so… The manners of the people are soft and agreeable. The men are much given to learning. There are four *sangharamas* with about 1000 priests, who study the *Ching-liang* (Sammatiya) school of the Little Vehicle. There are ten Deva temples, where sectaries of all persuasions dwell. They all honour and sacrifice to Mahesvara (*Ta-tseu-t'sani-tien*).

Beauty and wealth of Buddhist sangharama:

To the east of the city 20 *li* or so is a great *sangharama* of beautiful construction, throughout which the artist has exhibited his greatest skill. The sacred image of the holy form (*of Buddha*) is most wonderfully magnificent. There are about 100 priests here, who study the doctrines of the Sammatiya school. Several myriads of "pure men" (*religious laymen*) live by the side of this convent.

Within the great enclosure of the *sangharama* there are three precious ladders, which are arranged side by side from north to south, with their faces for descent to the east. This is where Tathagata came down on his return from the Trayastrimsas heaven. In old days Tathagata, going up from the "wood of the conqueror" (*Shing-lin*, Jetavana), ascended to the heavenly mansions, and dwelt in the Saddharma Hall, preaching the law for the sake of his mother. Three months having elapsed, being desirous to descend to earth, Sakra, king of the Devas, exercising his spiritual power, erected these precious ladders. The middle one was of yellow gold, the left hand one of pure crystal, the right-hand one of white silver….

On the outside of the *vihara,* but close by its side, there is a stone column about 70 feet high which was erected by Asoka-raja (*Wu-yeu*). It is of a purple colour, and shining as if with moisture. The substance is hard and finely grained. Above it is a lion sitting on his haunches, and facing the ladder. There are carved figures inlaid, of wonderful execution, on the four

sides of the pillar and around it. As men are good or bad these figures appear on the pillar (*or disappear*).[336]

BOOK V

KIE-JO-KIO-SHE-KWO (KANYAKUBJA)

On the celebrated Siladitya Harsavardhana (606 or 610 – 650 AD):

The reigning king is of the Vaisya[337] caste. His name is Harsavardhan (*Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-na*). A commission of officers hold the land. During two generations there have been three kings. (*The king's*) father was called *Po-lo-kie-lo-fa-t'an-na* (Prabhakaravardhan); his elder brother's name was Rajyavardhana (*Ho-lo-she-fa-t'an-na*).

Rajyavardhana came to the throne as the elder brother, and ruled with virtue. At this time the king of Karnasuvarna (*Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na*),[338] - a kingdom of Eastern India – whose name was Sasangka (*She-shangkia*),[339] frequently addressed his ministers in these words: "if a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the unhappiness of the (*mother*) kingdom." On this they asked the king to a conference and murdered him.

The people having lost their ruler, the country became desolate. Then the great minister *Po-ni* (Bhandi),[340] whose power and reputation were high and of much weight, addressing the assembled, said, "The destiny of the nation is to be fixed today. The old king's son is dead: the brother of the prince, however, is humane and affectionate, and his disposition, heaven-conferred, is dutiful and obedient. Because he is strongly attached to his family, the people will trust in him. I propose that he assume the royal authority: let each one give his opinion on this matter, whatever he thinks." They were all agreed on this point, and acknowledged his conspicuous qualities.

On this the chief ministers and the magistrates all exhorted him to take authority… The prince replied, "The government of a country is a responsible office and ever attended with difficulties. The duties of a prince require previous consideration. As for myself, I am indeed of small eminence; but as my father and brother are no more, to reject the heritage of

the crown, that can bring no benefit to the people. I must attend to the opinion of the world and forget my own insufficiency. Now, therefore, on the banks of the Ganges there is a statue of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva which has evidenced many spiritual wonders. I will go to it and ask advice (*request a response*)". [The prince accordingly visited the image]

The Bodhisattva replied, "In your former existence you lived in this forest as a hermit, and by your earnest diligence and unremitting attention your inherited a power of religious merit which resulted in your birth as a king's son. The king of the country, Karnasuvarna, has overturned the law of Buddha. Now when you succeed to the royal estate, you should in the same proportion exercise towards it the utmost love and pity. If you give your mind to compassionate the condition of the distressed and to cherish them, then before long you shall rule over the Five Indies. If you would establish your authority, attend to my instruction, and by my secret power you shall receive additional enlightenment, so that not one of your neighbours shall be able to triumph over you. Ascend not the lion-throne, and call not your self Maharaja."[341]

Siladitya avenges his brother's murder:

Having received these instructions, he departed and assumed the royal office. He called himself the King's Son (*Kumara*); his title was Siladitya. And now he commanded his ministers, saying, "The enemies of my brother are unpunished as yet, the neighbouring countries not brought to submission; while this is so my right hand shall never lift food to my mouth. Therefore do you, people and officers, unite with one heart and put out your strength". Accordingly they assembled all the soldiers of the kingdom, summoned the masters of arms. They had a body of 5000 elephants, a body of 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot-soldiers. He went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient; the elephants were not unharnessed nor the soldiers unbelted (*unhelmeted*). After six years he had subdued the Five Indies. Having thus enlarged his territory, he increased his forces; he had 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry. After thirty years his arms reposed, and he governed everywhere in peace. He then practiced to the utmost the rules of temperance, and sought to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep or to eat. He forbade

the slaughter of any living thing or flesh as food throughout the Five Indies on pain of death without pardon. He built on the banks of the river Ganges several thousand *stupas,* each about 100 feet high; in all the highways of the towns and villages throughout India he erected hospices, provided with food and drinks, and stationed there physicians, with medicines for travellers and poor persons round about, to be given without any stint. On all spots where there were holy traces (*of Buddha*) he raised *sangharamas.*

Siladitya hosts a great religious assembly:

Once in five years he held the great assembly called Moksha. He emptied his treasuries to give all away in charity, only reserving the soldiers' arms, which were unfit to give as alms. Every year he assembled the *Sramanas* from all countries, and on the third and seventh days he bestowed on them in charity the four kinds of alms (viz., food, drink, medicine, clothing). He decorated the throne of the law (*the pulpit*) and extensively ornamented (*arranged*) the oratories.[342] He ordered the priests to carry on discussions, and himself judged of their several arguments, whether they were weak or powerful. He rewarded the good and punished the wicked, degraded the evil and promoted the men of talent. If any one (*priest*) walked according to the moral precepts, and was distinguished in addition for purity in religion (*reason*), he himself conducted such a one to "*the lion-throne*" and received from him the precepts of the law. If any one, though distinguished for purity of life, had no distinction for learning, he was reverenced, but not highly honoured. If any one disregarded the rules of morality and was notorious for his disregard of propriety, him he banished from the country, and would neither see him nor listen to him. If any of the neighbouring princes or their chief ministers lived religiously, with earnest purpose, and aspired to a virtuous character without regarding labour, he led him by the hand to occupy the same seat with himself, and called him "illustrious friend;" but he disdained to look upon those of a different character. If it was necessary to transact state business, he employed couriers who continually went and returned. If there was any irregularity in the manners of the people of the cities, he went amongst them.

Wherever he moved he dwelt in a readymade building[343] during his sojourn. During the excessive rains of the three months of the rainy season

he would not travel thus. Constantly in his travelling-palace he would provide choice meats for men of all sorts of religion.[344] The Buddhist priests would be perhaps a thousand; the Brahmans, five hundred. He divided each day into three portions. During the first he occupied himself on matters of government; during the second he practiced himself in religious devotion without interruption, so that the day was not sufficiently long. When I first received the invitation of Kumara-raja, I said I would go from Magadha to Kamarupa.[345] At the time Siladitya-raja was visiting different parts of his empire, and found himself at *Kie-mi-ou-ki-lo*,[346] when he gave the following order to Kumara-raja: "I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange *Sramana* you are entertaining at the Nalanda convent." On this, coming with Kumara-raja, we attended the assembly. The king, Siladitya, after the fatigue of the journey was over, said, "From what country do you come, and what do you seek in your travels?"

Yuan Chwang meets Siladitya and discusses his own country:

He said in reply, "I come from the great Tang country, and I ask permission to seek for the law (*religious books*) of Buddha."

The king said, "Whereabouts in the great Tang country? By what road do you travel? And is it far from this, or near?"

In reply he said, "My country lies to the north-east from this several myriads of *li*; it is the kingdom which in India is called Mahachina".

The king answered, "I have heard that the country of Mahachina has a king called *Ts'in*,[347] the son of heaven, when young distinguished for his spiritual abilities, when old then (called) 'divine warrior.' The empire in former generations was in disorder and confusion, everywhere divided and in disunion; soldiers were in conflict, and all the people were afflicted with calamity. Then the king of *Ts'in*, son of heaven, who had conceived from the first vast purposes, brought into exercise all his pity and love; he brought about a right understanding, and pacified and settled all within the seas. His laws and instruction spread on every side. People from other countries brought under his influence declared themselves ready to submit to his rule. The multitude whom he nourished generously sang in their

songs of the prowess of the king of *Ts'in*. I have learned long since his praises sung thus in verse. Are the records (*eulogies*) of his great qualities well founded? Is this the king of the great Tang, of which you speak?"

Replying, he said, "China is the country of our former kings, but the 'great Tang' is the country of our present ruler. Our king in former times, before he became hereditary heir to the throne (*before the empire was established*), was called the sovereign of *Ts'in*, but now he is called the 'king of heaven' (*emperor*). At the end of the former dynasty[348] the people had no ruler, civil war raged on every hand and caused confusion, the people were destroyed, when the king of *Ts'in*, by his supernatural gifts, exercised his love and compassion on every hand; by his power the wicked were destroyed on every side, the eight regions found rest, and the ten thousand kingdoms brought tribute. He cherished creatures of every kind, submitted with respect to the three precious ones.[349] He lightened the burdens of the people and mitigated punishment, so that the country abounded in resources and the people enjoyed complete rest. It would be difficult to recount all the great changes he accomplished."

Siladitya-raja replied, "Very excellent indeed! The people are happy in the hands of such a holy king."

The religious assembly of kings and holy men of 20 countries:

Siladitya-raja being about to return to the city of Kanyakubja, convoked a religious assembly. Followed by several hundreds of thousand people, he took his place on the southern bank of the river Ganges, whilst Kumara-raja, attended by several tens of thousands took his place on the northern bank, and thus, divided by the stream of the river, they advanced on land and water. The two kings led the way with their gorgeous staff of soldiers (*of the four kinds*); some also were in boats; some were on elephants; sounding drums and blowing horns, playing on flutes and harps. After ninety days they arrived at the city of Kanyakubja, (*and rested*) on the western shore of the Ganges river, in the middle of a flowery copse.

Then the kings of the twenty countries who had received instruction from Siladitya-raja assembled with the Sramanas and Brahmans, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. The king in advance had constructed on the west side of the river a great *sangharama,*

and on the east of this a precious tower about 100 feet in height; in the middle he had placed a golden statue of Buddha, of the same height as the king himself. On the south of the tower he placed a precious altar, in the place for washing the image of Buddha. From this north-east 14 or 15 *li* he erected another rest-house. It was now the second month of spring-time; from the first day of the month he had presented exquisite food to the Sramanas and Brahmans till the 21st day; all along, from the temporary palace to the *sangharama,* there were highly decorated pavilions, and places where musicians were stationed, who raised the sounds of their various instruments. The king, on leaving the resting-hall (*palace of travel*), made them bring forth on a gorgeously caparisoned great elephant a golden statue of Buddha about three feet high, and raised aloft. On the left went the king, Siladitya, dressed as Sakra, holding a precious canopy, whilst Kumara-raja, dressed as Brahma-raja, holding a white *chamara,* went on the right. Each of them had as an escort 500 war-elephants clad in armour; in front and behind the statue of Buddha went 100 great elephants, carrying musicians, who sounded their drums and raised their music. The king, Siladitya, as he went, scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers, in honour of the three precious objects of worship. Having first washed the image in scented water at the altar, the king then himself bore it on his shoulder to the western tower, where he offered to it tens, hundreds, and thousands of silken garments, decorated with precious gems. At this time there were but about twenty Sramanas following in the procession, the kings of the various countries forming the escort. After the feast they assembled the different men of learning, who discussed in elegant language on the most abstruse subjects. At evening-tide the king retired in state to his palace of travel.

Siladitya quenches a fire with his personal merit:

Thus every day he carried the golden statue as before till at length on the day of separation a great fire suddenly broke out in the tower, and the pavilion over the gate of the *sangharama* was also in flames. Then the king exclaimed, “I have exhausted the wealth of my country in charity, and following the example of former kings, I have built this *sangharama,* and I have aimed to distinguish myself by superior deeds, but my poor attempts

(*feeble qualities*) have found no return! In the presence of such calamities as these, what need I of further life?"

Then with incense-burning he prayed, and with this vow, "Thanks to my previous merit, I have come to reign over all India; let the force of my religious conduct destroy this fire; or if not, let me die!" Then he rushed headlong towards the threshold of the gate, when suddenly, as if by a single blow, the fire was extinguished and the smoke disappeared.

The kings beholding the strange event were filled with redoubled reverence; but he (*the king),* with unaltered face and unchanged accents, addressed the princes thus: "The fire has consumed this crowning work of my religious life. What think you of it?"

The princes, prostrate at his feet, with tears, replied "The work which marked the crowning act of your perfected merit, and which we hoped would be handed down to future ages, has in a moment been reduced to ashes. How can we bear to think of it? But how much more when the heretics are rejoicing thereat, and interchanging their congratulations!"

The king answered, "By this, at least, we see the truth of what Buddha said; the heretics and others insist on the permanency of things, but our great teachers' doctrine is that all things are impermanent. As for me, my work of charity was finished, according to my purpose; and this destructive calamity does but strengthen my knowledge of the truth of Tathagata's doctrine. This is a great happiness (*good fortune*), and not a subject for lamentation."

Attempt on the life of Siladitya; banishment of 500 brahmins:

On this, in company with the kings, he went to the east, and mounted the great *stupa*. Having reached the top, he looked around on the scene, and then descending the steps, suddenly a heretic (or stranger), knife in hand, rushed on the king. The king, startled at the sudden attack, stepped back a few steps up the stairs, and then bending himself down he seized the man, in order to deliver him to the magistrates. The officers were so bewildered with fright that they did not known how to move for the purpose of assisting him.

The kings all demanded that the culprit should be instantly killed, but Siladitya raja, without the least show of fear and with unchanged

countenance, commanded them not to kill him; and then he himself questioned him thus:

"What harm have I done you, that you have attempted such a deed?"

The culprit replied, "Great king! Your virtues shine without partiality; both at home and abroad they bring happiness. As for me, I am foolish and besotted, unequal to any great undertaking; led astray by a single word of the heretics, and flattered by their importunity, I have turned as a traitor against the king."

The king then asked, "And why have the heretics conceived this evil purpose?"

He answered and said, "Great king! you have assembled the people of different countries, and exhausted your treasury in offerings to the Sramanas, and cast a metal image of Buddha; but the heretics who have come from a distance have scarcely been spoken to. Their minds, therefore, have been affected with resentment, and they procured me, wretched man that I am! to undertake this unlucky deed."

The king then straightly questioned the heretics and their followers. There were 500 Brahmans, all of singular talent, summoned before the king. Jealous of the Sramans, whom the king had reverenced and exceedingly honoured, they had caused the precious tower to catch fire by means of burning arrows, and they hoped that in escaping from the fire the crowd would disperse in confusion, and at such a moment they proposed to assassinate the king. Having been foiled in this, they had bribed this man to lay wait for the king in a narrow passage and kill him.

Then the ministers and the kings demanded the extermination of the heretics. The king punished the chief of them and pardoned the rest. He banished the 500 Brahmans to the frontiers of India, and then returned to his capital.

PO-LO-YE-KIA (PRAYAGA)

Buddha has few followers in Prayaga:

This country (modern Allahabad) is about 5000 *li* in circuit, and the capital, which lies between two branches of the river, is about 20 *li* round. The grain products are very abundant, and fruit-trees grow in great

luxuriance. The climate is warm and agreeable; the people are gentle and compliant in their disposition. They love learning, and are very much given to heresy.

There several Deva temples; the number of heretics is very great.

To the south-west of the capital, in a Champaka (*Chen-po-kia*) grove, is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-raja; although the foundations have sunk down, yet the walls are more than 100 feet high. Here it was in old days Tathagata discomfited the heretics. By the side of it is a *stupa* containing hair and nail relics, and also a place where (*past Buddhas?*) sat and walked.

On the powers of a Hindu temple:

In the city there is a Deva temple beautifully ornamented and celebrated for its numerous miracles. According to their records, this place is a noted one (*sri – fortunate ground*) for all living things to acquire religious merit.

If in this temple a man gives a single farthing, his merit is greater than if he gave a 1000 gold pieces elsewhere. Again, if in this temple a person is able to contemn life so as to put an end to himself, then he is born to eternal happiness in heaven.

Before the hall of the temple there is a great tree[350] with spreading boughs and branches, and casting a deep shadow. There was a body-eating demon here, who, depending on this custom (*of committing suicide*), made his abode here; accordingly on the left and right one sees heaps of bones. Hence, when a person comes to this temple, there is everything to persuade him to despise his life and give it up: he is encouraged thereto both by the promptings of the heretics and also by the seductions of the (*evil)* spirit. From very early days till now this false custom has been practiced…

The charity enclosure of Prayaga, where Siladitya made generous endowments:

To the east of the capital, between the two confluents of the river, for the space of 10 *li* or so, the ground is pleasant and upland. The whole is covered with a fine sand. From old times till now, the kings and noble families, whenever they had occasion to distribute their gifts in charity, ever came to this place, and here gave away their goods; hence it is called *the great charity enclosure.* At the present time Siladitya-raja, after the example

of his ancestors, distributes here in one day the accumulated wealth of five years. Having collected in this space of the *charity enclosure* immense piles of wealth and jewels, on the first day he adorns in a very sumptuous way a statue of Buddha, and then offers to it the most costly jewels. Afterwards to the priests who are present; afterwards to the heretics who live in the place, following the ways of the world; and lastly, to the widows and bereaved, orphans and desolate, poor and mendicants.

Thus, according to this order, having exhausted his treasuries and given food in charity, he next gives away his head diadem and his jewelled necklaces. From the first to the last he shows no regret, and when he has finished he cries with joy, "Well done! Now all that I have has entered into incorruptible and imperishable treasuries."

After this the rulers of the different countries offer their jewels and robes to the king, so that his treasury is replenished.

Voluntary death in the Prayaga; even animals bathe and die:

To the east of the *enclosure of charity,* at the confluence of the two rivers, every day there are many hundreds of men who bathe themselves and die. The people of this country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown himself in the waters. By bathing in this water (they say) all the pollution of sin is washed away and destroyed; therefore from various quarters and distant regions people come here together and rest. During seven days they abstain from food, and afterwards end their lives. And even the monkeys and mountain stags assemble here in the neighbourhood of the river, and some of them bathe and depart, others fast and die…

Ascetic practices in Prayaga:

The heretics who practice asceticism have raised a high column in the middle of the river; when the sun is about to go down they immediately climb up the pillar; then clinging on to the pillar with one hand and one foot, they wonderfully hold themselves out with one foot and one arm; and so they keep themselves stretched out in the air with their eyes fixed on the sun, and their heads turning with it to the right as it sets. When the evening has darkened, then they come down. There are many dozens of ascetics

who practice this rite. They hope by these means to escape from birth and death, and many continue to practice this ordeal through several decades of years.

KIAU-SHANG-MI (KAUSAMBI)

Another predominantly Hindu region visited by the pilgrim:

This country[351] is about 6000 *li* in circuit, and the capital about 30 *li*. The land is famous for its productiveness; the increase is very wonderful. Rice and sugarcanes are plentiful. The climate is very hot, the manners of the people hard and rough. They cultivate learning and are very earnest in their religious life and in virtue. There are ten *sangharamas,* which are in ruins and deserted; the priests are about 300; they study the Little Vehicle. There are fifty Deva temples, and the number of heretics is enormous.

In the city, within an old palace, there is a large *vihara* about 60 feet high; in it is a figure of Buddha carved out of sandal-wood, above which is a stone canopy. It is the work of the king *U-to-yen-na* (Udayana). By its spiritual qualities it produces a divine light, which from time to time shines forth. The princes of various countries have used their power to carry off this statue, but although many men have tried, not all the number could move it. They therefore worship copies of it, and they pretend that the likeness is a true one, and this is the original of all such figures.

When Tathagata first arrived at complete enlightenment, he ascended up to heaven to preach the law for the benefit of his mother, and for three months remained absent. This king (Udayana), thinking of him with affection, desired to have an image of his person; therefore he asked Mudgalyayanaputra, by his spiritual power, to transport an artist to the heavenly mansions to observe the excellent marks of Buddha's body, and carve a sandal-wood statue. When Tathagata returned from the heavenly palace, the carved figure of sandal-wood rose and saluted the Lord of the World. The Lord then graciously addressed it and said, "The work expected from you is to toil in the conversion of heretics, and to lead in the way of religion future ages."

To the south-west of the city 8 or 9 *li* is a stone dwelling of a venomous Naga. Having subdued this dragon, Tathagata left here his shadow; but

though this is a tradition of the place, there is no vestige of the shadow visible.

The law of Sakya becoming extinct, this will be the very last country in which it will survive; therefore from the highest to the lowest all who enter the borders of this country are deeply affected, even to tears, ere they return.

BUDDHIST RECORDS OF THE WESTERN WORLD, VOL. II.

BOOK VI

SHI-LO-FU-SHI-TI (SRAVASTI)

A great city in ruin:

The kingdom of Sravasti (*Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti*)[352] is about 6000 *li* in circuit. The chief town is desert and ruined. There is no record as to its exact limits. The ruins of the walls encompassing the royal precincts give a circuit of about 20 *li*. Though mostly in ruins, still there are a few inhabitants. Cereals grow in great abundance; the climate is soft and agreeable, the manners of the people are honest and pure. They apply themselves to learning, and love religion (*merit*). There are several hundreds of *sangharamas,* mostly in ruin, with very few religious followers, who study the books of the Sammatiya school. There are 100 Deva temples with very many heretics. When Tathagata was in the world, this was the capital of the country governed by Prasenajita-raja (*Po-lo-si-na-chi-to-wang*)…

Buddha's subdues the criminal, Angulimalya:

By the side of the house of Sudatta is a great *stupa.* This is the place where the Angulimalya (*Yang-kiu-li-mo-lo*) gave up his heresy. The Angulimalyas are the unlucky caste (*criminals*) of Sravasti. They kill everything that lives, and maddening themselves, they murder men in the towns and country, and make chaplets for the head of their fingers. The man in question wished to kill his mother to complete the number of fingers, when the Lord of the World (Buddha), moved by pity, went to him to

convert him. Beholding the Lord from far, the Angulimalya rejoicing said, "Now I shall be born in heaven; our former teacher declared that whoever injuries a Buddha or kills his mother, ought to be born in the Brahma heaven".

Addressing his mother, he said, "Old woman! I will leave you for a time till I have killed that great Shaman." Then taking a knife, he went to attack the Lord. On this Tathagata stepped slowly as he went, whilst the Angulimalya rushed at him without slacking his pace.

The Lord of the World addressing him said, "Why do you persevere in your evil purpose and give up the better feelings of your nature and foster the source of evil?" The Angulimalya, hearing these words, understood the wickedness of his conduct, and on that paid reverence to Buddha, and sought permission to enter the law (*of Buddha*), and having persevered with diligence in his religious progress, he obtained the fruit of an Arhat.

KIE-PI-LO-SSE-TI (KAPILAVASTU)

Buddha's birthplace in ruin; Yuan Chwang visits the spot where he met his father after his Enlightenment:

This country[353] is about 4000 *li* in circuit. There are some ten desert cities in this country, wholly desolate and ruined. The capital is overthrown and in ruins. Its circuit cannot be accurately measured. The royal precincts within the city measure some 14 or 15 *li* round. They were all built of brick. The foundation walls are still strong and high. It has been long deserted. The peopled villages are few and waste.

To the south of the city 3 or 4 *li* is a grove of Nyagrodha trees in which is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja. This is the place where Sakya Tathagata, having returned to his country after his enlightenment, met his father and preached the law. Suddhodana-raja, knowing that Tathagata had defeated Mara and was engaged in travelling about, leading people to the truth and converting them, was moved by a strong desire to see him, and considered how he could pay him the reverence due to him. He therefore sent a messenger to invite Tathagata, saying, "Formerly you promised, when you had completed your purpose to become a Buddha, to return to your native place. These are your words still unperformed; now then is the time for you

to condescend to visit me." The messenger having come to the place where Buddha was, expressed to him the king's desire. Tathagata in reply said, "After seven days I will return to my native place." The messenger returning, acquainted the king with the news, on which Suddhodana-raja ordered his subjects to prepare the way by watering and sweeping it, and to adorn the road with incense and flowers; and then, accompanied by his officers of state, he proceeded 40 *li* beyond the city, and there drew up his chariot to wait his arrival. Then Tathagata with a great multitude advanced; the eight Vajrapanis surrounded him as an escort, the four heavenly kings went before him; divine Sakra, with a multitude of Devas belonging to the world of desires (*Kama-loka*), took their place on the left hand; Brahma-raja with Devas of *Rupa-loka* accompanied him on the right. The Bhikshu priests walked in order behind, Buddha by himself, as the full moon among the stars, stood in the midst; his supreme spiritual presence shook the three worlds, the brightness of his person exceeded that of the seven lights; and thus traversing the air he approached his native country. The king and ministers having reverenced him, again returned to the kingdom, and they located themselves in the Nyagrodha grove.

KIU-SHI-NA-K'IE-LO (KUSINAGARA)

Yuan Chwang visits the place of Buddha's *pari-nirvana*:

The capital[354] of this country is in ruins, and its towns and villages waste and desolate...

To the north-west of the city 3 or 4 *li*, crossing the Ajitavati (Hiranyavati) (*O-shi-to-fa-ti*) river, on the western bank not far, we come to a grove of *sala* trees. The *sala* tree is like the *Huh* tree, with a greenish white bark and leaves very glistening and smooth. In this wood are four trees of an unusual height, which indicate the place where Tathagata died.[355]

There is (*here*) a great brick *vihara,* in which is a figure of the *Nirvana* of Tathagata. He is lying with his head to the north as if asleep. By the side of this *vihara* is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja; although in a ruinous state, yet it is some 200 feet in height. Before it is a stone pillar to record the *Nirvana* of Tathagata; although there is an inscription on it, yet there is no date as to year or month…

Buddha's last disciple:

To the west of this place, not far off, is a *stupa*. This is where Subhadra (*Shen-hien*) died (*entered Nirvana*). Subhadra was originally a Brahman teacher. He was 120 years of age; being so old, he had acquired in consequence much wisdom. Hearing that Buddha was about to die, he came to the two (*sala*) trees, and asked Ananda, saying, "The Lord is about to die; pray let me ask him respecting some doubts I have, which still hamper me." Ananda replied, "The Lord is about to die; pray do not trouble him." He said, "I hear that Buddha is difficult to meet in the world, and that the true law is difficult to hear. I have some grave doubts; there is no ground for fear." On being invited, Subhadra at once entered, and first asked Buddha, "There are many different persons who call themselves masters, each having a different system of doctrine, and pretending therewith to guide the people. Is Gautama (*Kiu-ta-mo*) able to fathom their doctrine?" Buddha said, "I know their doctrine thoroughly;" and then for Subhadra's sake he preached the law.

Subhadra having heard (*the sermon*), his mind, pure and faithful, found deliverance, and he asked to be received into the church as a fully ordained disciple. Then Tathagata addressed him saying, "Are you able to do so? Unbelievers and other sectaries who prepare themselves for a pure mode of life ought to pass a four years' novitiate, to exhibit their conduct and test their disposition; if their characters and words be unexceptionable, then such persons may enter my profession; but in your case, whilst living amongst men, you have observed their discipline. There should be no difficulty, then, to prevent your full ordination."

Subhadra said, "The Lord is very pitiful and very gracious, without any partiality. Is he then willing to forego in my case the four years of the threefold preparatory discipline?"[356]

Buddha said, "As I before stated, this has been done whilst living among men."

Then Subhadra, leaving his home immediately, took full orders as a priest. Then applying himself with all diligence, he vigorously disciplined both body and mind, and so being freed from all doubt, in the middle of the night (*of Buddha's Nirvana*), not long after (*the meeting*), he obtained the fruit, and became an Arhat without any imperfection. Being thus perfected in

purity, he could not bear to await Buddha's death (*Nirvana*), but in the midst of the congregation, entering the *samadhi* of "fire-limit" (*Agni-dhatu*), and after displaying his spiritual capabilities, he first entered *Nirvana*. He was thus the very last convert of Tathagata, and the first to enter *Nirvana.*

BOOK VII

P'O-LO-NI-SSE (VARANASI)

Wealth and culture and Varanasi Hindus:

This country is about 4000 *li* in circuit. The capital borders (*on its western side*) the Ganges river. It is about 18 or 19 *li* in length and 5 or 6 *li* in breadth; its inner gates are like a small-toothed comb; it is densely populated. The families are very rich, and in the dwellings are objects of rare value. The disposition of the people is soft and humane, and they are earnestly given to study. They are mostly unbelievers, a few reverence the law of Buddha. The climate is soft, the crops abundant, the trees (*fruit trees*) flourishing, and the underwood thick in every place. There are about thirty *sangharamas* and 3000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. There are a hundred or so Deva temples with about 10,000 sectaries. They honour principally Mahesvara (*Ta-tseu-tsai*). Some cut their hair off, others tie their hair in a knot, and go naked, without clothes (*Nirgranthas*); they cover their bodies with ashes (*Pasupatas*), and by the practice of all sorts of austerities they seek to escape from birth and death.

In the capital there are twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which are of sculptured stone and carved wood. The foliage of trees combine to shade (*the sites*), whilst pure streams of water encircle them. The statue of the Deva Mahesvara, made of *teou-shih* (*native copper*), is somewhat less than 100 feet high. Its appearance is grave and majestic, and appears as though really living.

Stupas of the city:

To the north-east of the capital, on the western side of the river Varana, is a *stupa* built by Asoka-raja (*Wu-yau*). It is about 100 feet high; in front of it is a stone pillar; it is bright and shining as a mirror; its surface is glistening and smooth as ice, and on it can be constantly seen the figure of Buddha as a shadow.

To the north-east of the river Varana about 10 *li* or so, we come to the *sangharama* of *Lu-ye* (Deer Park). Its precincts are divided into eight portions connected by a surrounding wall. The storeyed towers with projecting eaves and the balconies are of very superior work. There are fifteen hundred priests in the convent who study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. In the great enclosure is a *vihara* about 200 feet high; above the roof is a golden-covered figure of the Amra (*An-mo-lo*, mango) fruit. The foundations of the building are of stone, and the stairs also, but the towers and niches are of brick. The niches are arranged on the four sides in a hundred successive lines, and in each niche is a golden figure of Buddha. In the middle of the *vihara* is a figure of Buddha made of *teou-shih* (*native copper*). It is the size of life and he is represented as turning the wheel of the law (*preaching*).

FEI-SHE-LI (VAISALI)

Yuan Chwang noticed different groups living peacefully everywhere:

This kingdom (Vrijji) is about 5000 *li* in circuit.[357] The soil is rich and fertile; flowers and fruits are produced in abundance. The *amra* fruit (mango) and the *mocha* (banana) are very plentiful and much prized. The climate is agreeable and temperate. The manners of the people are pure and honest. They love religion and highly esteem learning. Both heretics and believers are found living together. There are several hundred *sangharamas,* which still remain have but few priests in them. There are several tens of Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of different kinds. The followers of the Nirgranthas are very numerous.

The capital city of Vaisali is to a great extent in ruins. Its old foundations are from 60 to 70 *li* in circuit. The royal precincts are about 4 or 5 *li* round: there are a few people living in it. North-west of the royal city (*precincts*) 5

or 6 *li*, is a *sangharama* with a few disciples. They study the teaching of the Little Vehicle, according to the Sammatiya school.

Amrapalli's house:

Not far from this is a *stupa;* this is the old house of the lady Amra (courtesan Amrapalli). It was here the aunt of Buddha and other Bhikshunis obtained Nirvana.

Buddha prepares to take leave of the world:

To the north of the *sangharama* 3 or 4 *li* is a *stupa*; this indicates the place where Tathagata stopped when about to advance to Kusinagara to die, whilst men and Kinnaras[358] followed him. From this not far to the north-west is a *stupa*; here Buddha for the very last time gazed upon the city of Vaisali.[359] Not far to the south of this is a *vihara*, before which is built a *stupa;* this is the site of the garden of the Amra-girl, which she gave in charity to Buddha…

[Buddha announces to Ananda that he will die after three months].

Lichchavis lament the impending death of Buddha:

Going north-west of the chief city 50 or 60 *li*, we come to a great *stupa*. This is where the Lichchavas (*Li-ch'e-p'o*) took leave of Buddha. Tathagata having left the city of Vaisali on his way to Kusinagara, all the Lichchavas, hearing that Buddha was about to die, accompanied him wailing and lamenting. The Lord of the World having observed their fond affection, and as words were useless to calm them, immediately by his spiritual power caused to appear a great river with steep sides and deep, the waves of which flowed on impetuously. Then the Lichhavas were abruptly stopped on their way, moved with grief as they were. Then Tathagata left them his *patra* as a token of remembrance…

Going south 80 or 90 *li* from this place, we come to the *sangharama* called Svetapura (*Shi-fei-to-pu-lo*); its massive towers, with their rounded shapes and double storeys, rise in the air… Going south-east from the Svetapura *sangharama* 30 *li* or so, on either (south and north) side of the

Ganges river there is a *stupa;* this is the spot where the venerable Ananda divided his body between the two kingdoms.

Ananda realises the message of Buddha is becoming perverted and decides to depart from the world:

"Although my years are many, yet for men's sake I was wishful to remain longer in the world, to hand down and defend the true law. But now men are stained with sin, and it is exceedingly difficult to instruct them. To stay longer would be useless: I will die soon." On this, going from Magadha, he went towards the city of Vaisali, and was now in the middle of the Ganges in a boat, crossing the river. At this time the king of Magadha, hearing of Ananda's departure, his feelings were deeply affected towards him, and so, preparing his chariot, he hastened after him with his followers (*soldiers)* to ask him to return. And now his host of warriors, myriads in number, were on the southern bank of the river, when the king of Vaisali, hearing of Ananda's approach, was moved by a sorrowful affection, and, equipping his host, he also went with all speed to meet him. His myriads of soldiers were assembled on the opposite bank of the river (*the north side*), and the two armies faced each other, with their banners and accoutrements shining in the sun. Ananda, fearing lest there should be a conflict and a mutual slaughter, raised himself from the boat into mid-air, and there displayed his spiritual capabilities, and forthwith attained *Nirvana.* He seemed as though encompassed by fire, and his bones fell in two parts, one on the south side, the other on the north side of the river. Thus the two kings each took a part, and whilst the soldiers raised their piteous cry, they all returned home and built *stupas* over the relics and paid them religious worship.

BOOK VIII

Contains the First Part of the Account of the Country of Magadha (Mo-kie-t'o)

A torture chamber created by king Asoka before he accepted the Dhamma:

At first when Asoka (*Wu-yau*) raja ascended the throne, he exercised a most cruel tyranny; he constituted a hell for the purpose of torturing living creatures. He surrounded it with high walls with lofty towers. He placed there specially vast furnaces of molten metal, sharp scythes, and every kind of instrument of torture like those in the infernal regions. He selected an impious man whom he appointed lord of the hell. At first every criminal in the empire, whatever his fault, was consigned to this place of calamity and outrage; afterwards all those who passed by the place were seized and destroyed.

At this time a Sramana, just entered the religious order, was passing through the suburbs begging food, when he came to hell-gate. The impious keeper of the place laid hold upon him to destroy him. The Sramana, filled with fear, asked for a respite to perform an act of worship and confession. Just then he saw a man bound with cords enter the prison. In a moment they cut off his hands and feet, and pounded his body in a mortar, till all the members of his body were mashed up together in confusion.

The Sramana having witnessed this, deeply moved with pity, arrived at the conviction of the impermanence (*anitya*) of all earthly things, and reached the fruit of "exemption from learning" (*Arhatship*). Then the infernal lictor said, "Now you must die." The Sramana having become an Arhat, was freed in heart from the power of birth and death, and so, though cast into a boiling cauldron, it was to him as a cool lake, and on its surface there appeared a lotus flower, whereon he took his seat. The infernal lictor, terrified thereat, hastened to send a messenger to the king to tell him of the circumstance. The king having himself come and beheld the sight, raised his voice in loud praise of the miracle.

The keeper, addressing the king, said, "Maharaja, you too must die." "And why so?" said the king. "Because of your former decree with respect to the infliction of death, that all who came to the walls of the hell should be killed; it was not said that the king might enter and escape death."[360]

The king said, "The decree was indeed established, and cannot be altered. But when the law was made, were *you* excepted? You have long destroyed life. I will put an end to it." Then ordering the attendants, they seized the lictor and cast him into a boiling cauldron. After his death the king

departed, and levelled the walls, filled up the ditches, and put an end to the infliction of such horrible punishments…

Asoka meets the Arhat Upagupta and accepts the Dhamma; erects 84,000 stupas:

After King Asoka had destroyed the hell, he met Upagupta, a great Arhat, who by the use of means (religious merit), allured him in a right way according as the opportunity (his power or capacity to believe) led, and converted him. The king addressed the Arhat and said, "Thanks to my acquired merit in former births, I have got my kingly authority, but in consequence of my faults I did not, by meeting Buddha, obtain conversion. Now, then, I desire in all the greater degree to honour the bequeathed remains of his body by building *stupas*."

The Arhat said, "My earnest desire is that the great king by his merits may be able to employ the invisible powers as agents in fulfilling his vow to protect the three precious ones"…

The king having heard this, was overpowered, and he summoned the spirits to assemble, and commanded them, saying, "By the gracious disposal and spiritual efficacy of the guiding power of the King of Law I have become, as the result of my good actions in former states of life, the highest amongst them. (*I wish now*) with especial care to prepare a means of paying religious worship to the bequeathed body of Tathagata. Do you, then, spirits and genii, by your combined strength and agreement of purpose, raise *stupa* for the relics of Buddha throughout the whole of Jambudvipa, to the very last house of all (the extremity of the land). The mind (purpose) is mine, the merit of completing it shall be yours. The advantage to be derived from this excellent act of religion I wish not to be confined to one person only; let each of you, then, raise a building in readiness, and then come and receive my further commands."

Having received these instructions, the genii commenced their meritorious work in the several quarters where they were; and having finished the task (*so far)*, they came together to ask for further directions. Asoka-raja (*Wu-yau-wang*) having opened the *stupas* of the eight countries where they were built, divided the relics, and having delivered them to the genii, he addressed the Arhat (Upagupta) and said, "My desire is that the relics

should be deposited in every place at the same moment exactly: although ardently desirous of this, my mind has not yet been able to perfect a plan for accomplishing it."

The Arhat addressed the king and said, "Command the genii to go each to this appointed place and regard the sun. When the sun becomes obscured and its shape as if a hand covered it, then is the time; drop the relics into the *stupas."* The king having received these instructions, gave orders accordingly to the genii to expect the appointed day.

Meantime the king, Asoka, watching the sun's disc, waited for the sign; then at noon (*or* the day) the Arhat, by his spiritual power, stretched forth his hand and concealed the sun. At the places where the *stupas* had been built for completion, all (*genii*) observing this event, at the same moment concluded the meritorious undertaking.

Footprints of the Buddha, with auspicious signs:

By the side of the *stupa*, and not far from it, in a *vihara,* is a great stone on which Tathagata walked. There is still the impression of both his feet on it, about eighteen inches long and six inches broad; both the right and left impress have the circle-sign (*chakra*), and the ten toes are all fringed with figures of flowers (or flower scrolls) and forms of fishes, which glisten brightly in the light (*morning light*). In old time Tathagata, being about to attain *Nirvana,* was going northward to Kusinagara, when turning round to the south and looking back at Magadha, he stood upon this stone and said to Ananda, "Now for the very last time I leave this foot-impression, being about to attain *Nirvana* and looking at Magadha. A hundred years hence there shall be a King Asoka;[361] he shall build here his capital and establish his court; he shall protect the three religious treasures and command the genii"….

Sasanka tries to destroy the sacred footprints:

Lately Sasanka-raja, when he was overthrowing and destroying the law of Buddha, forthwith came to the place where that stone is, for the purpose of destroying the sacred marks. Having broken it into pieces, it came whole again, and the ornamental figures as before; then he flung it into the river Ganges, but it came back to its old place.

Asoka's inscription bestowing his kingdom on the Three Jewels:

By the side of the *vihara* which contains the traces of Buddha, and not far from it, is a great stone pillar about thirty feet high, with a mutilated inscription on it. This, however, is the principal part of it, viz., "Asoka-raja with a firm principle of faith has thrice bestowed Jambudvipa as a religious offering on Buddha, the Dharma, and the assembly, and thrice he has redeemed it with his jewels and treasure; and this is the record thereof." Such is the purport of the record.

Asoka disciplines his wayward brother for the sake of the people:

To the north of the old palace is a large stone house. It looks outside like a great mountain, and within is many tens of feet wide. This is the house which Asoka-raja commanded the genii to build for his brother who had become a recluse. Early in his life Asoka had a half-brother called Mahendra (*Mo-hi-in-to-lo*), who was born of a noble tribe. In dress he arrogated the style of the king; he was extravagant, wasteful, and cruel. The people were indignant, and the ministers and aged officers of the king came to him (*the king*), and remonstrated thus, "Your proud brother assumes a dignity as though he were some great one in comparison with others. If the government is impartial then the country is contented; if men are agreed, then the ruler is in peace: these are the principles which have been handed down to us from our fathers. We desire that you will preserve the rules of our country, and deliver to justice those who would change them." Then Asoka-raja addressed his brother as he wept, and said, "I have inherited (*as my rule of*) government the duty of protecting and cherishing the people; how then have you, my brother, forgotten my affection and my kindness? It is impossible at the very beginning of my reign to neglect the laws. If I punish you, I fear the anger of my ancestors; on the other hand, if I excuse you, I fear the opinion of the people."

Mahendra, bowing his head, replied, "I have not guarded my conduct, and have transgressed the laws of the country; I ask only an extension of my life for seven days."

On this the king placed him in a dark dungeon, and placed over him a strict guard. He provided him with every kind of exquisite meat and every necessary article. At the end of the first day the guard cried out to him,

"One day has gone; there are six days left." The sixth day having expired, as he had greatly sorrowed for his faults and had afflicted (*disciplined*) his body and his heart, he obtained the fruit of sanctity (*became an Arhat*); he mounted into the air and exhibited his miraculous powers. Then separating himself from the pollution of the world, he went afar, and occupied the mountains and valleys (*as a recluse*).

Asoka-raja, going in his own person, addressed him as follows, "At first, in order to put in force the laws of the country, I desired to have you punished, but little did I think you would have attained to this highest rank of holiness. Having, however, reached this condition of detachment from the world, you can now return to your country."

The brother replied, "Formerly I was ensnared in the net of (*worldly*) affections, and my mind was occupied with love of sounds (*music*) and beauty; but now I have escaped all this and my mind delights in (*the seclusion of)* mountains and valleys. I would fain give up the world forever and dwell here in solitude".

The king said, "If you wish to subdue your heart in quiet, you have no need to live in the mountain fastness. To meet your wishes I shall construct you a dwelling."

Accordingly he summoned the genii to his presence and said to them, "On the morrow I am about to give a magnificent feast. I invite you to come together to the assembly, but you must each bring for your own seat a great stone." The genii having received the summons, came at the appointed time to the assembly. The king then addressed them and said, "The stones which are now arranged in order on the ground you may pile up, and, without any labour to yourselves, construct of them for me an empty house." The genii having received the order, before the day was over finished the task. Asoka-raja then himself went to invite his brother to fix his abode in this mountain cell.

Grandeur of *sangharama* of Tiladaka (Ti-lo-shi-kia):[362]

This building has four halls, belvederes of three stages, high towers, connected at intervals with double gates that open inwards. It was built by the last descendant of Bimbisara-raja (*Pin-pi-sha-lo*).[363] He made much of

high talent and exalted the virtuous. Learned men from different cities and scholars from distant countries flock together in crowds, and reaching so far, abide in this *sangharama.* There are 1000 priests in it who study the Great Vehicle. In the road facing the middle gate there are three *viharas,* above which are placed the connected succession of metal rings with bells suspended in the air; below they are constructed storey above storey, from the bottom to the top. They are surrounded by railings, and the doors, windows, the pillars, beams, and staircases are all carved with gilt copper in relief, and in the intervals highly decorated. The middle *vihara* contains an erect image of Buddha about thirty feet high. On the left is an image of Tara (*To-lo*) Bodhisattva;[364] on the right, one of Avalokitesvara (*Kwan-tsz'-tsai*) Bodhisattva. Each of these images is made of metallic stone; their spiritually composed appearance inspires a mysterious awe, and their influence is felt from far. In each *vihara* there is a measure of relics which emit a supernatural brilliancy, and from time to time shed forth miraculous indications.

Gunamati (Kiu-na-mo-ti) Bodhisattva defeats Madhava:

In the early time there was in this mountain a heretic called Madhava (*Mo-ta-po*), who at first followed the law of the Sankhya (*Seng-kie*) system, and practiced the acquirement of wisdom. He had studied to the bottom the doctrine of "the extreme void," as found in the orthodox and erroneous (*books*). His fame was great, and surpassed that of former teachers, and outweighed all then living. The king honoured him exceedingly, and named him "the treasure of the country." The ministers and people regarded him with admiration, and spoke of him as "the teacher of the household"…

At this time in Southern India there lived Gunamati Bodhisattva, who in his youth had displayed great talents and acquired in early life a brilliant reputation. By close study he had penetrated the meaning of the three *Pitakas,* and investigated the four truths. Hearing that Madhava discussed on the most mysterious and subtle questions, he desired to humble him by overcoming him (*in argument*). He ordered one of his followers to carry a letter thus written (*to Madhava*): "I have heard with all respect of Madhava's virtuous ease. You must now, without thought of fatigue, take up

again your ancient studies, for in three years' time I intend to overthrow your brilliant reputation."

And so in the second and third years he sent a messenger with the same tidings; and now when he was about to go to meet him, he again wrote a letter, saying: "The appointed period has expired; your studies, such as they are, I am now coming (*to investigate*); you ought to know the fact."

[Alarmed, Madhava ordered the towns not to entertain any Sramanas. Gunamati found no place to stay, but a novice believer guided him to the palace, where they sought permission to debate with Madhava. The king summoned Madhava]

Madhava hearing this, his heart was very sad, but as he could not well avoid the difficulty, he set out for the hall of discussion, where the king, the ministers, and the people were all assembled desiring to hear this great controversy. Gunamati first laid down the principles of his school, and continued his speech till the setting of the sun. Then Madhava excusing himself on account of his age and infirmities, to defer his answer, asked permission to retire and meditate. He would then return and answer every objection (*difficulty*) in order. At the early morn he returned and ascended the throne, and so they went on to the sixth day, but on that day he vomited blood and died. When on the point of death he gave this command to his wife, "You have high talent; do not forget the affront paid to me." When Madhava was dead, she concealed the fact and had no funeral ceremonies; and clothing herself in shining apparel, she entered forthwith the assembly where the discussion was held, and a general clamour was raised as the people said one to another, "Madhava, who boasted to his talents, is unable to reply to Gunamati, and so he sends his wife to make up for his deficiency."

Gunamati, addressing the wife, said, "He who could bind you, has been bound by me."

Madhava's wife seeing the difficulty, retired. The king then said, "What secret words are these at which she remains silent?"

Gunamati said, "Alas! Madhava is dead! And his wife desires to come and discuss with me!"

The king said, "How do you know this? Pray explain it to me."

Then Gunamati said, "When the wife came her face was pale as death, and her words were toned in bitter enmity. I knew therefore that Madhava is

dead! ‘Able to bind you,’ is a phrase applicable to her husband.”

The king having sent a messenger to verify the statement, he found it even so; then the king in gratitude said, “The law of Buddha is a mysterious one! Eminent sages succeed one another without interruption; with no personal object they guard themselves in wisdom and use their secret knowledge for the purpose of converting (*transforming the world*). According to the old rules of the country the praises of such a sage (*or,* of your virtue) should be ever celebrated.”

Gunamati replied, “Whatever poor talents I have, I reserve them for the benefit of all that lives; and when I would draw them to the truth first of all I subdue their pride, then use the influences of converting power. Now then, in this case, O king, let the descendants of Madhava’s territory for a thousand generations employ themselves in the service of a *sangharama.* Your instructions will extend, then, from age to age, and your reputation will be immortal. Persons of a pure faith, conscious of protection, their religious merit will benefit the country for ages. They will be nourished as the priests are, and so the faithful will be encouraged to honour their virtue.”

On this he founded the *sangharama* to celebrate the victory.

The Brahmin Silabhadra converts after meeting Dharmapala Bodhisattva; defeats other heretics:

South-west of the convent of Gunamati about 20 *li* we come to a solitary hill on which is a convent called (*the sangharama of*) Silabhadra (*Shi-lo-po-t’o-lo*). This is the convent which the master of *sastras* after his victory caused to be built out of the funds of a village which were given up. It stands by the side of a single sharp crag like a *stupa*. It contains some sacred relics of Buddha. This master of *sastras* belonged to the family of the king of Samatata (*San-mo-ta-ch’a*), and was of the Brahman caste. He loved learning and had gained a wide reputation. Travelling through the Indies to examine into and seek after religious truth, he came to this kingdom, and in the *sangharama* of Nalanda (*Na-lan-t’o*) he encountered Dharmapala Bodhisattva (*Hu-fa-pu-sa*). Hearing him explain the law, his understanding was opened, and he requested to become a disciple. He inquired into the most subtle questions, and investigated the way of

deliverance to its conclusion; and thus having reached the highest point of intelligence, he established his fame over men of his time, even to distant countries.

There was a heretic of South India who delighted in examining profound questions and searching out hidden matters, in penetrating obscure and abstruse points of doctrine. Hearing of Dharmapala's fame, the pride of self rose up within him, and, moved by profound envy, he passed over mountains and rivers in order to sound the drum (*challenge*) and seek discussion. He said, "I am a man of Southern India. It is reported that in the king's country there is a great master of *sastras,* I am but ignorant, yet I would wish to discuss with him."

[The king requested Dharmapala to engage with the ascetic, but Silabhadra, then 30 years old, begged to conduct the debate]:

On the day of discussion the people came together from far and near; both old and young in numbers assembled. Then the heretical teacher on his part laid open his case with great emphasis, and penetrated to the utmost the abstruse points (*of his argument*). Silabhadra followed his arguments (*principles*), and refuted them by profound and subtle allegations. The heretic, his words being exhausted, was covered with shame and retired.

The king, in order to reward the virtue (*of Silabhadra*), gave him the revenues of this town as a bequest. The master of *sastras,* declining the offer, said, "A master who wears the garments of religion (*dyed garments*) knows how to be contented with little and to keep himself pure. What would he do with a town?"

The king in reply said, "The King of the Law has passed into the obscure (*abode*), and the vessel of wisdom has been engulfed in the stream. If there are no distinctions now made (*between the learned and ignorant*), then no encouragement is given to the scholar to press forward in the attainment of religion. Pray, of your pity, accept my offering."

The doctor, not persisting in his refusal, accepted the town and built this *sangharama,* vast and magnificent, and endowed it with the revenues of the town, as a means of providing it with the offerings necessary for religious service.

The famous Bodhi tree and the end of the Dhamma:

Going south-west from Mount Pragbodhi about 14 or 15 *li*, we come to the Bodhi tree. It is surrounded by a brick wall of considerable height, steep and strong. It is long from east to west, and short from north to south. It is about 500 paces round. Rare trees with their renowned flowers connect their shade and cast their shadows; the delicate *sha* (*cyperus iria*) herb and different shrubs carpet the soil. The principal gate opens to the east, opposite the Nairanjana river. The southern gate adjoins a great flowery bank. The western side is blocked up and difficult of access (*steep and strong*). The northern gate opens into the great *sangharama.* Within the surrounding wall the sacred traces touch one another in all directions. Here there are *stupas,* in another place *viharas.* The kings, princes, and great personages throughout all Jambudvipa, who have accepted the bequeathed teaching as handed down to them, have erected these monuments as memorials.

In the middle of the enclosure surrounding the *Bodhi* tree is the diamond throne (*Vajrasana*). In former days, when the Bhadra-kalpa was arriving at the period of perfection (*vivartta*), when the great earth arose, this (*throne*) also appeared. It is in the middle of the great chiliocosm*;* it goes down to the limits of the golden wheel (*gold circle*), and upwards it is flush with the ground. It is composed of diamond. In circuit it is 100 paces or so. On this the thousand Buddhas of the Bhadra-kalpa have sat and entered the diamond *Samadhi;* hence the name of the diamond throne. It is the place where the Buddhas attain the holy path (*of Buddhahood*). It is also called the *Bodhimanda*. When the great earth is shaken, this place alone is unmoved. Therefore when Tathagata was about to reach the condition of enlightenment, and he went successively to the four angles of this enclosure, the earth shook and quaked; but afterwards coming to this spot, all was still and at rest. From the time of entering on the concluding portion of the *kalpa*, when the true law dies out and disappears, the earth and dust begin to cover over this spot, and it will be no longer visible.

After the *Nirvana* of Buddha, the rulers of the different countries having learned by tradition the measurement of the diamond throne, decided the limits from north to south by two figures of *Kwan-tsz'-tsai* (Avalokitesvara) Bodhisattva, there seated and looking eastward.

The old people say that "as soon as the figures of this Bodhisattva sink in the ground and disappear, the law of Buddha will come to an end." The

figure at the south angle is now buried up to its breast. The *Bodhi* tree above the diamond throne is the same as the *Pippala* tree. In old days, when Buddha was alive, it was several hundred feet high. Although it has often been injured by cutting, it still is 40 or 50 feet in height. Buddha sitting under this tree reached perfect wisdom, and therefore it is called the (*Samyak sambodhi*) tree of knowledge (*Pu-ti-Bodhi*). The bark is of a yellowish-white colour, the leaves and twigs, of a dark green. The leaves wither not either in winter or summer, but they remain shining and glistening all the year round without change. But at every successive *Nirvana-day* (*of the Buddhas*) the leaves wither and fall, and then in a moment revive as before. On this day the princes of different countries and the religious multitude from different quarters assemble by thousands and ten thousands unbidden, and bathe (*the roots*) with scented water and perfumed milk; whilst they raised the sounds of music and scatter flowers and perfumes, and whilst the light of day is continued by the burning torches, they offer their religious gifts.

King Asoka tries to destroy the Bodhi tree, but repents:

After the *Nirvana* of Tathagata, when Asoka-raja began to reign, he was an unbeliever and he desired to destroy the bequeathed traces of Buddha; so he raised an army, and himself taking the lead, he came here for the purpose of destroying (*the tree*). He cut through the roots; the trunk, branches, and leaves were all divided into small bits and heaped up in a pile a few tens of paces to the west of the place. Then he ordered a Brahman who sacrificed to fire to burn them in the discharge of his religious worship. Scarcely had the smoke cleared away, when lo! A double tree burst forth from the flaming fire, and because the leaves and branches were shining like feathers, it was called the “ashes bodhi tree”. Asoka-raja, seeing the miracle, repented of his crime. He bathed the roots (*of the old tree*) with perfumed milk to fertilise them, when lo! on the morning of the next day, the tree sprang up as before. The king, seeing the miraculous portent, was overpowered with deep emotion, and himself offered religious gifts, and was so overjoyed that he forgot to return (*to the palace*). The queen, who was an adherent of the heretics, sent secretly a messenger, who, after the first division of night, once more cut it down. Asoka-raja in the morning coming again to worship

at the tree, seeing only the mutilated trunk, was filled with exceeding grief. With the utmost sincerity he prayed as he worshiped; he bathed the roots with perfumed milk, and in less than a day again the tree was restored. The king, moved by deep reverence at the prodigy, surrounded the tree with a stone (*brick*) wall above 10 feet, which still remains visible. In late times Sasanka-raja (*She-shang-kia*), being a believer in heresy, slandered the religion of Buddha, and through envy destroyed the convents and cut down the *Bodhi* tree, digging it up to the very springs of the earth; but yet he did not get to the bottom of the roots. Then he burnt it with fire and sprinkled it with the juice of the sugar-cane, desiring to destroy it entirely, and not leave a trace of it behind.

Purnavarma revives the Bodhi tree:

Some months afterwards, the king of Magadha, called Purnavarma (*Pu-la-na-fa-mo*), the last of the race of Asoka-raja, hearing of it, sighed and said, "The sun of wisdom having set, nothing is left but the tree of Buddha, and this they now have destroyed, what source of spiritual life is there now?" He then cast his body on the ground overcome with pity; then with the milk of a thousand cows he again bathed the roots of the tree, and in a night it once more revived and grew to the height of some 10 feet. Fearing lest it should be again cut down, he surrounded it with a wall of stone 24 feet high.

The Nyagrodha tree:

At the south-east angle of the wall of the *Bodhi* tree is a *stupa* by the side of a Nyagrodha (*ni-ken-liu*) tree. Beside it there is a *vihara* in which is a sitting figure of Buddha. This is the spot where the great Brahmadeva exhorted Buddha, when he had first acquired enlightenment, to turn the wheel of the excellent law.[365]

The Naga king Muchilinda:

To the east of the pond which Sakra caused to appear, in the midst of a wood, is the lake of the Naga king Muchilinda (*Mu-chi-lin-t'o*). The water of this lake is of a dark blue colour, its taste is sweet and pleasant; on the

west bank is a small *Vihara* in which is a figure of Buddha. Formerly, when Tathagata first acquired complete enlightenment, he sat on this spot in perfect composure, and for seven days dwelt in ecstatic contemplation. Then this Muchilinda Naga-raja kept guard over Tathagatha; with his folds seven times round the body of Buddha, he caused many heads to appear, which over-shadowed him as a parasol; therefore to the east of this lake is the dwelling of the Naga.

How the Mahabodhi vihara was built by the king of Ceylon:

Outside the northern gate of the wall of the *Bodhi* tree is the Mahabodhi *sangharama.* It was built by a former king of Simhala (*Ceylon*, Sri Lanka). This edifice has six halls, with towers of observation of three storeys; it is surrounded by a wall of defence thirty or forty feet high. The utmost skill of the artist has been employed; the ornamentation is in the richest colours (*red and blue*). The statue of Buddha is cast of gold and silver, decorated with gems and precious stones. The *stupas* are high and large in proportion, and beautifully ornamented; they contain relics of Buddha. The bone relics are as great as the fingers of the hand, shining and smooth, of a pure white colour and translucent. The flesh relics are like the great true pearl, of a bluish-red tint. Every year on the day of the full moon of (*the month when*) Tathagata displayed great spiritual changes, they take these relics out for public exhibition. On these occasions sometimes a bright light is diffused, sometimes it rains flowers. The priests of the convent are more than 1000 men; they study the Great Vehicle and belong to the Sthavira (*Shang-tso-pu*) school. They carefully observe the *Dharma Vinaya,* and their conduct is pure and correct.

In old days there was a king of Ceylon, which is a country of the southern sea, who was truthful and a believer in the law of Buddha. It happened that his brother, who had become a disciple of Buddha, thinking on the holy traces of Buddha, went forth to wander through India. At all the convents he visited, he was treated with disdain as a foreigner (*a frontier countryman*). On this he returned to his own country. The king in person went out to a distance to meet him, but the Sramana was so affected that he could not speak. The king said, “What has so afflicted you as to cause this excessive grief?” The Sramana replied, “I, relying on the dignity of your Majesty’s

kingdom, went forth to visit the world, and to find my way through distant regions and strange cities. For many years all my travels, during heat and cold, have been attended with outrage, and my words have been met with insults and sarcasm. Having endured these afflictions, how can I be light-hearted?"

The king said, "If these things are so, what is to be done?"

He replied, "In truth, I wish your Majesty in the field of merit would undertake to build convents throughout all India. You would thus signalise the holy traces, and gain for yourself a great name; you would show your gratitude for the advantage derived from your predecessors, and hand down the merit thereof to your successors."

He replied, "This is an excellent plan; how have I but just heard of it?"

Then he gave in tribute to the king of India all the jewels of his country. The king having received them as tribute, from a principle of duty and affection to his distant ally, he sent messengers to say, "What can I now do in return for the decree?"

The minister said, "The king of Simhala salutes the king of India (*Maha Sri raja*). The reputation of the Maharaja has spread far and wide, and your benefits have reached to distant regions. The Sramanas of this inferior country desire to obey your instructions and to accept your transforming influences. Having wandered through your superior country in visiting the sacred traces, I called at various convents and found great difficulty in getting entertainment, and so, fatigued and very much worn by affronts, I returned home. I have therefore formed a plan for the benefit of future travellers; I desire to build in all the Indies a convent for the entertainment of such strangers, who may have a place of rest between their journey there and back. Thus the two countries will be bound together and travellers be refreshed."

The king said, "I permit your royal master to take (*for this purpose*) one of the places in which Tathagata has left the traces of his holy teaching."

On this the messenger returned home, having taken leave of the king, and gave an account of his interview. The ministers received him with distinction and assembled the Sramanas and deliberated as to the foundation of a convent. The Sramanas said, "The (*Bodhi*) tree is the place where all the past Buddhas have obtained the holy fruit and where the future ones will obtain it. There is no better place than this for carrying out the project."

Then, sending all the jewels of the country; they built this convent to entertain priests of this country (*Ceylon*), and he caused to be engraved this proclamation on copper, "To help all without distinction is the highest teaching of all the Buddhas; to exercise mercy as occasion offers is the illustrious doctrine of former saints. And now I, unworthy descendant in the royal line, have undertaken to found this *sangharama,* to enclose the sacred traces, and to hand down their renown to future ages, and to spread their benefits among the people. The priests of my country will thus obtain independence, and be treated as members of the fraternity of this country. Let this privilege be handed down from generation to generation without interruption."

BOOK IX

The Second Part of the Country of Magadha

King Bimbisara visits Buddha:

To the south-east of the Yashtivana about six or seven *li* we come to a great mountain. Before a cross-ridge of this mountain is a *stupa.* Here in old days Tathagata explained the law during the three months of rain for the benefit of men and Devas. Then Bimbisara-raja (*Pin-pi-so-lo*) wished to come to hear the law. He cut away the mountain, and piled up the stones to make steps in order to ascend. The width is about twenty paces and the length 3 or 4 *li*.[366]

Rajagriha (royal residence) - and its beauty:

… we arrive at the city Kusagara-pura (*Kiu-she-kie-lo-pu-lo*), or "the royal city of best grass (*lucky grass*)." This is the central point of the kingdom of Magadha. Here the former kings of the country fixed their capital. It produces much of the most excellent, scented, fortunate grass, and therefore it is called "the city of the superior grass." High mountains surround it on each side, and form as it were its external walls.[367] On the west it is approached through a narrow pass, on the north there is a passage through the mountains. The town is extended from east to west and narrow from north to south. It is about 150 *li* in circuit. The remaining foundations

of the wall of the inner city are about 30 *li* in circuit. The trees called *Kie-ni-kia* (Kanakas) border all the roads, their flowers exhale a delicious perfume, and their colour is of a bright golden hue. In the spring months the forests are all of a golden colour.

The story of Sariputra and his attainment of Arhatship:

[North-east of the north gate of the palace] … is a *stupa.* This is where Sariputra (*She-li-tseu*) heard Asvajita (*O-shi-p'o-shi*) the Bhikshu declare the law, and by that means reached the fruit (*of an Arhat*). At first Sariputra was a layman; he was a man of distinguished ability and refinement, and was highly esteemed by those of his own time. At this time, with other students, he accepted the traditional teaching as delivered to him. On one occasion, being about to enter the great city of Rajagriha, the Bhikshu Asvajita (*Ma-shing*) was also just going his round of begging. Then Sariputra, seeing him at a distance, addressed his disciples, saying, "Yonder man who comes, so full of dignity and nobleness, if he has not reached the fruit of sanctity (*Arhatship*), how is he thus composed and quiet? Let us stop awhile and observe him as he approaches." Now as Asvajita Bhikshu had reached the condition of an Arhat, his mind was self-possessed, his face composed and of an agreeable refinement; thus, holding his religious staff, he came along with a dignified air. Then Sariputra said, "Venerable sir! Are you at ease and happy? Pray, who is your master, and what the system you profess, that you are so gladsome and contented?"

Asvajita answering him said, "Know you not the royal prince, the son of Suddhodana-raja, who gave up the condition of a Chakravarttin monarch, and from pity to the six kinds of creatures for six years endured penance and reached the condition of *Sambodhi,* the state of perfect omniscience? This is my master! As to his law, it has respect to a condition including the absence of existence, without nonentity; it is difficult to define; only Buddhas with Buddhas can fathom it; how much less can foolish and blind mortals, such as I, explain its principles. But for your sake I will recite a stanza in praise of the law of Buddha." Sariputra having heard it, obtained forthwith the fruit of Arhatship.

Vulture peak and king Bimbisara:

To the north-east of the palace city going 14 or 15 *li*, we come to the southern Gridhrakuta (*Ki-li-tho-kiu-ch'a*). Touching the southern slope of the northern mountain, it rises as a solitary peak to a great height, on which vultures make their abode. It appears like a high tower on which the azure tints of the sky are reflected, the colours of the mountain and the heaven being commingled.

When Tathagata had guided the world for some fifty years, he dwelt much in this mountain, and delivered the excellent law in its developed form (*kwang*).[368] Bimbisara-raja, for the purpose of hearing the law, raised a number of men to accompany him from the foot of the mountain to its summit. They levelled the valleys and spanned the precipices, and with the stones made a staircase about ten paces wide and 5 or 6 *li* long. In the middle of the road there are two small *stupas*, one called "Dismounting from the chariot" (*Hia-shing*), because the king when he got here, went forward on foot. The other is called "Sending back the crowd" (*Tui-fan*), because the king, separating the common folk, would not allow them to proceed with him. The summit of this mountain is long from the east to the west and narrow from north to south. There is a brick *vihara* on the borders of a steep precipice at the western end of the mountain. It is high and wide and beautifully constructed. The door opens to the east. Here Tathagata often stopped in old days and preached the law. There is now a figure of him preaching the law of the same size as life.

To the east of the *vihara* is a long stone, on which Tathagata trod as he walked up and down for exercise. By the side of it is a great stone about fourteen or fifteen feet high and thirty paces round. This is the place where Devadatta (cousin and mortal enemy of Buddha) flung a stone from a distance to strike Buddha.

South of this, below the precipice, is a *Stupa.* Here Tathagata, when alive in old time, delivered the *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra.*

To the south of the *vihara,* by the side of a mountain cliff, is a great stone house. In this Tathagata, when dwelling in the world long ago, entered *Samadhi.*

Mara frightens Ananda; Buddha reassures him:

To the north-west of the stone house and in front of it is a great and extraordinary stone. This is the place where Ananda (*O-nan*) was frightened by Mara. When the venerable Ananda had entered *Samadhi* in this place, Mara-raja, assuming the form of a vulture, in the middle of the night, during the dark portion of the month, took his place on this rock, and flapping his wings and uttering loud screams, tried to frighten the venerable one. Ananda, filled with fear, was at a loss to know what to do; then Tathagata, by his spiritual power, seeing his state, stretched out his hand to compose him. He pierced the stone wall and patted the head of Ananda, and with his words of great love he spoke to him thus: "You need not fear the assumed form which Mara has taken." Ananda in consequence recovered his composure, and remained with his heart and body at rest and in peace.

Although years and months have elapsed since then, yet the bird traces on the stone and the hole in the rock still remain visible.

Asoka rebuilds Ajatasatru's stupa:

To the east of the Karandavenuvana is a *stupa* which was built by Ajatasatru-raja. After the *Nirvana* of Tathagata the kings divided the relics (*she-li*); the king Ajatasatru returned then with his share and from a feeling of extreme reverence built (*a stupa*) and offered his religious offerings to it. When Asoka-raja (*Wu-yau*) became a believer, he opened it and took the relics, and in his turn built another *stupa*. This building constantly emits miraculous light.

Relics of Ananda:

By the side of the *stupa* of Ajatasatru-raja is another *stupa* which encloses the relics of half of the body of Ananda. Formerly, when the saint was about to reach *Nirvana,* he left the country of Magadha and proceeded to the town of Vaisali (*Fei-she-li*). As these two countries disputed (*about him*) and began to raise troops, the venerable one, from pity, divided his body into two parts. The king of Magadha, receiving his share, returned and offered to it his religious homage, and immediately prepared in this renowned land, with great honour, to raise a *stupa.* By the side of this building is a place where Buddha walked up and down.

First Buddhist Council called by Kasyapa to settle the doctrine after seeing Buddha's Nirvana through divine sight; Ananda is initially excluded:

To the south-west of the bamboo garden (Venuvana) about 5 or 6 *li*, on the north side of the southern mountain, is a great bamboo forest. In the middle of it is a large stone house. Here the venerable Kasyapa with 999 great Arhats, after Tathagata's *Nirvana,* called a convocation (*to settle*) the three *Pitakas*.[369] Before it is the old foundation-wall. King Ajatasatru made this hall[370] for the sake of accommodating the great Arhats who assembled to settle the *Dharma-pitaka.*

At first, when Maha Kasyapa was seated in silent (*study*) in the desert (*mountain forests*), suddenly a bright light burst forth, and he perceived the earth shaking. Then he said, "What fortunate change of events is there, that this miracle should occur?" Then exerting his divine sight, he saw the Lord Buddha between the two trees entering *Nirvana.* Forthwith he ordered his followers to accompany him to the city of Kusinagara (*Ku-shi*). On the way they met a Brahman holding in his hands a divine flower. Kasyapa, addressing him, said, "Whence come you? Know you where our great teacher is at present?" The Brahman replied and said, "I have but just come from yonder city of Kusinagara, where I saw your great master just entered into *Nirvana.* A vast multitude of heavenly beings were around him offering their gifts in worship, and this flower, which I hold, I brought thence."

Kasyapa having heard these words said to his followers, "The sun of wisdom has quenched his rays. The world is now in darkness. The illustrious guide has left us and gone, and all flesh must fall into calamity."

Then the careless Bhikshus said one to another with satisfaction, "Tathagata has gone to rest. This is good for us, for now, if we transgress, who is there to reprove or restrain us?"

Then Kasyapa, having heard this, was deeply moved and afflicted, and he resolved to assemble (*collect*) the treasure of the law (*Dharma-pitaka*) and bring to punishment the transgressors. Accordingly he proceeded to the two trees, and regarding Buddha, he offered worship.

And now the King of the Law having gone from the world, both men and Devas were left without a guide, and the great Arhats, moreover, were cleaving to (*the idea of their*) *Nirvana.* Then the great Kasyapa reflected

thus: “To secure obedience to the teaching of Buddha, we ought to collect the *Dharma-pitaka.”* On this he ascended Mount Sumeru and sounded the great gong (*ghanta*), and spake thus: “Now then, in the town of Rajagriha there is going to be a religious assembly. Let all those who have obtained the fruit (*of arhatship*) hasten to the spot.”

In connection with the sounding of the gong the direction of Kasyapa spread far and wide through the great chiliocosm, and all those possessed of spiritual capabilities, hearing the instructions, assembled in convocation. At this time Kasyapa addressed the assembly and said, “Tathagata having died (*attained Nirvana*), the world is empty. We ought to collect the *Dharma-pitaka,* in token of our gratitude to Buddha. Now then, being about to accomplish this, there should be profound composure (*quiet*). How can this be done in the midst of such a vast multitude? Those who have acquired the three species of knowledge (*trividya*), who have obtained the six supernatural faculties (*shadabhijnas*), who have kept the law without failure, whose powers of discrimination (*dialectic*) are clear, such superior persons as these may stop and form the assembly. Those who are learners with only limited fruit, let such depart to their homes.”

On this 999 men were left; but he excluded Ananda, as being yet a learner. Then the great Kasyapa, calling him, addressed him thus: “You are not yet free from defects; you must leave the holy assembly.” He replied, “During many years I have followed Tathagata as his attendant; every assembly that has been held for considering the law, I have joined; but now, as you are going to hold an assembly after his death (*wai*), I find myself excluded; the King of the Law having died, I have lost my dependence and helper.”

Kasyapa said, “Do not cherish your sorrow! You were a personal attendant on Buddha indeed, and you therefore heard much, and so you loved (*much*), and therefore you are not free from all the ties that bind (*the soul*).”

Ananda, with words of submission, retired and came to a desert place, desiring to reach a condition “beyond learning;” he strove for this without intermission, but with no result. At length, wearied out, he desired one day to lie down. Scarcely had his head reached the pillow when lo! he obtained the condition of an Arhat.

He then went to the assembly, and knocking at the door, announced his arrival. Kasyapa then asked him, saying, “Have you got rid of all ties? In that case exercise your spiritual power and enter without the door being

opened!" Ananda, in compliance with the order, entered through the keyhole, and having paid reverence to the priesthood, retired and sat down.

At this time fifteen days of the summer rest (*Varsavasana*) had elapsed. On this Kasyapa rising, said, "Consider well and listen! Let Ananda, who ever heard the words of Tathagata, collect by singing through the *Sutra-pitaka.* Let Upali (*Yeu-po-li*), who clearly understands the rules of discipline (*Vinaya*), and is well known to all who know, collect the *Vinaya-pitaka;* and I, Kasyapa, will collect the *Abhidharma-pitaka.*" The three months of rain being past, the collection of the *Tripitaka* was finished. As the great Kasyapa was the president (*Sthavira*) among the priests, it is called the Sthavira (*Chang-tso-pu*) convocation.[371]

The assembly of those excluded by Kasyapa:

[to the west] … is the spot where the "great assembly" (*Mahasangha*) formed their collection of books. Those who had not been permitted to join Kasyapa's assembly, whether learners or those above learning (*Arhats*), to the number of 100,000 men, came together to this spot and said, "Whilst Tathagata was alive we all had a common master, but now the King of the Law is dead it is different. We too wish to show our gratitude to Buddha, and we also will hold an assembly for collecting the scriptures." On this the common folk with the holy disciples came to the assembly, the foolish and wise alike flocked together and collected the *Sutra-pitaka,* the *Vinaya-pitaka,* the *Abhidharma-pitaka*, the miscellaneous *Pitaka* (*Khuddakanikaya*),[372] and the *Dharani-pitaka.* Thus they distinguished five *Pitakas*. And because in this assembly both common folk and holy personages were mixed together, it was called "the assembly of the great congregation" (*Mahasangha*).[373]

Bimbisara and the destruction of old city of Rajagriha by frequent fires:

… we come to the town of Rajagriha (*Ho-lo-shi-ki-li-hi*). The outer walls of this city have been destroyed, and there are no remnants of them left; the inner city (*walls*) although in a ruined state, still have some elevation from the ground, and are about 20 *li* in circuit.[374] In the first case, Bimbisara-raja

established his residence in Kusagara; in this place the houses of the people, being close together, were frequently burned with fire and destroyed. When one house was in flames, it was impossible to prevent the whole neighbourhood sharing in the calamity, and consequently the whole was burned up. Then the people made loud complaints, and were unable to rest quietly in their dwellings. The king said, "By my demerit the low people are afflicted; what deed of goodness can I do in order to be exempt from such calamities?" His ministers said, "Maharaja, your virtuous government spreads peace and harmony, your righteous rule causes light and progress. It is by want of due attention on the part of the people that these calamities of fire occur. It is necessary to make a severe law to prevent such occurrences hereafter. If a fire breaks out, the origin must be diligently sought for, and to punish the principal guilty person, let him be driven into the cold forest. Now this cold forest (*sitavana*) is the place of corpses abandoned there. Every one esteems it an unlucky place and the people of the land avoid going there and passing through it. Let him be banished there as a cast-out corpse. From dread of this fate, the people will become careful and guard (*against outbreak of fire*)." The king said, "It is well; let this announcement be made, and let the people attend to it."

And now it happened that the king's palace was the first to be burned with fire. Then he said to his ministers, "I myself must be banished;" and he gave up the government to his eldest son in his own place. "I wish to maintain the laws of the country; I therefore myself am going into exile."

At this time the king of Vaisali hearing that Bimbisara-raja was dwelling alone in the "cold forest," raised an army and put it in movement to invade (*make a foray*) when nothing was ready (*to resist him*). The lords of the marches (*frontiers*), hearing of it, built a town, and as the king was the first to inhabit it, it was called "the royal city" (Rajagriha). Then the ministers and the people all flocked there with their families.

It is also said that Ajatasatru-raja first founded this city, and the heir-apparent of Ajatasatru having come to the throne, he also appointed it to be the capital, and so it continued till the time of Asoka-raja, who changed the capital to Pataliputra, and gave the city of Rajagriha to the Brahmans, so that now in the city there are no common folk to be seen, but only Brahmans to the number of a thousand families.

Nalanda vihara and the prophecy of the Nirgrantha:

Going north from this 30 *li* or so, we come to Nalanda *sangharama*.[375] The old accounts of the country say that to the south of this *sangharama,* in the middle of an Amra (*An-mo-lo*) grove, there is a tank. The Naga of this tank is called Nalanda. By the side of it is built the *sangharama,* which therefore takes the name (*of the Naga*). But the truth is that Tathagata in old days practiced the life of a Bodhisattva here, and became the king of a great country, and established his capital in this land. Moved by pity for living things, he delighted in continually relieving them. In remembrance of this virtue he was called "charity without intermission;" and the *sangharama* was called in perpetuation of this name. The site was originally an Amra garden. Five hundred merchants bought it for ten *kotis* of gold pieces and gave it to Buddha. Buddha preached the law here during three months, and the merchants and others obtained the fruit of holiness. Not long after the Nirvana of Buddha, a former king of this country named Sakraditya (*Shi-kia-lo-'o-' tie-to*) respected and esteemed the one vehicle and honoured very highly the three treasures. Having selected by augury a lucky spot, he built this *sangharama.* When he began the work he wounded, in digging, the body of the Naga. At this time there was a distinguished soothsayer belonging to the heretical sect of the Nirgranthas. He having seen the occurrence, left this record: "This is a very superior site. If you build here a *sangharama,* it must of necessity become highly renowned. Throughout the five Indies it will be a model. For a period of a thousand years it will flourish still. Students of all degrees will here easily accomplish their studies. But many will spit blood because of this wound given to the Naga."

Chinese monks visit the assembly called by Baladitya; he renounces the throne, but not desire:

Baladitya-raja (*P'o-lo-' o-tie-lo*) succeeded to the empire. On the north-east side he built a *sangharama.* The work being done, he called together an assembly for congratulation. He respected equally the obscure and the renowned, and invited common folk and men of religion (*holiness*) without distinction. The priests of all India came together for the distance of 10,000 *li*. After all were seated and at rest, two priests arrived. They led them up the three-storeyed pavilion. Then they asked them, saying, "The king, when

about to call the assembly, first asked men of all degrees (*common and holy*). From what quarter do your reverences come so late?" They said, "We are from the country of China. Our teacher was sick. Having nourished him, we set out to accept the king's far-off invitation. This is the reason why we have arrived so late."

The assembly hearing this, were filled with astonishment, and proceeded at once to inform the king. The king knowing that they were holy persons, went himself to interrogate them. He mounted the pavilion, but he knew not where they had gone. The king then was affected by a profound faith; he gave up his country and became a recluse. Having done so, he placed himself as the lowest of the priests, but his heart was always uneasy and ill at rest. "Formerly (*he said*) I was a king, and the highest among the honourable; but now I have become a recluse, I am degraded to the bottom of the priesthood." Forthwith he went to the priests, and said words to the above effect. On this the *sangha* resolved that they who had not received the full orders should be classed according to their natural years of life. This *sangharama* is the only one in which this law exists.[376]

Stupa of Mudgalaputra in village Kulika (kiu-li-kia):

[Built by Asoka-raja]. This is where the venerable Mudgalaputra (*Mo-te-kia-lo-tseu*) was born. By the side of the village is a *stupa.* This is where the Venerable One reached complete *Nirvana,* and in it are placed the remains of his bequeathed body. The venerable (Maha-mudgalaputra) was of a great Brahman family, and was an intimate friend of Sariputra when they were young. This Sariputra was renowned for the clearness of his dialectic skill; the other for his persevering and deep penetration. Their gifts and wisdom were alike, and moving or standing they were always together. Their aims and desires from beginning to end were just the same. They had together left the world from distaste to its pleasures, and as hermits had followed Sanjaya (*Shen-she-ye*) as their master. Sariputra having met Asvajita (*Ma-shing*) the Arhat, hearing the law, understood its holy (*meaning*). On returning he repeated what he had heard for the sake of the venerable (Mudgalaputra). On this he understood the meaning of the law and reached the first fruit. Then with 250 followers he went to the place where Buddha was. The Lord of the World, seeing him at a distance, pointing him out, said

to his disciples, “That one coming here will be the first among my followers in the exercise of spiritual faculties (*miraculous powers*).” Having reached the place where Buddha was, he requested to enter the law (*the society*). The Lord replying, said, “Welcome, O Bhikshu; carefully practice a pure life; and you shall escape this limits of sorrow.” Hearing this, his hair fell off, and his common robes were changed into others. Observing in their purity the sections of the rules of moral discipline, and being in his exterior behaviour faultless, after seven days, getting rid of all bonds of sin, he reached the condition of an Arhat and the supernatural powers.

Gautam visits Magadha after becoming Buddha; Bimbisara leads the welcome:

East of the old village of Mudgalaputra, going 3 or 4 *li*, we come to a *stupa*. This is the place where Bimbisara raja went to have an interview with Buddha. When Tathagata first obtained the fruit of a Buddha, knowing that the hearts of the people of Magadha were waiting for him athirst, he accepted the invitation of Bimbisara-raja, and early in the morning, putting on his robes, he took his begging-dish, and with a thousand Bhikshus around him, on the right hand and the left (*he advanced*). In front and behind these there were a number of aged Brahmans who went with twisted hair (*jalina*), and being desirous of the law, wore their dyed garments (*chivara*). Followed by such a throng, he entered the city of Rajagriha.

Then Lord Sakra (*Ti-shih*), king of Devas, changing his appearance into that of a Manava (*Ma-na-p’o*) youth, with a crown upon his head and his hair bound up, in his left hand holding a golden pitcher and in his right a precious staff, he walked above the earth four fingers high, leading Buddha along the road in front, in the midst of the vast assembly. Then the king of the Magadha country, Bimbisara (*Pin-pi-lo*) by name, accompanied by all the Brahman householders within the land, and the merchants (*ku-sse*), 100,000 myriads in all, going before and behind, leading and following, proceeded from the city of Rajagriha to meet and escort the holy congregation.

Sariputra’s birthplace; his mothers’ dream; he became the first to seek nirvana before Buddha:

South-east from the spot where Bimbisara-raja met Buddha, at a distance of about 20 *li*, we come to the town of Kalapinaka (*Kia-lo-pi-na-kia*). In this town is a *stupa* which was built by Asoka-raja. This is the place where Sariputra, the venerable one, was born. The well[377] of the place still exists. By the side of the place is a *stupa.* This is where the venerable one obtained *Nirvana;* the relics of his body, therefore, are enshrined therein. He also was of a high Brahman family. His father was a man of great learning and erudition; he penetrated thoroughly the most intricate questions. There were no books he had not thoroughly investigated. His wife had a dream and told it to her husband. "Last night," said she, "during my sleep my dreams were troubled by a strange man whose body was covered with armour; in his hand he held a diamond mace with which he broke the mountains; departing, he stood at the foot of one particular mountain." "This dream," the husband said, "is extremely good. You will bear a son of deep learning; he will be honoured in the world, and will attack the treatises of all the masters and break down their teaching (*schools*). Being led to consider, he will become the disciple of one who is more than human."

And so in due course she conceived a child. All at once she was greatly enlightened. She discoursed in high and powerful language, and her words were not to be overthrown. When the venerable one began to be eight years old, his reputation was spread in every direction. His natural disposition was pure and simple, his heart loving and compassionate. He broke through all impediments in his way, and perfected his wisdom. He formed a friendship when young with Mudgalaputra, and being deeply disgusted with the world, and having no system to adopt as a refuge, he went with Mudgalaputra to the heretic Sanjaya's abode, and practiced (*his mode of salvation*). Then they said together, "This is not the system of final deliverance, nor is it able to rescue us from the trammels of sorrow. Let us each seek for an illustrious guide. He who first obtains *sweet dew*,[378] let him make the taste common to the other."[379]

At this time the great Arhat Asvajita, holding in his hand his proper measure bowl (*patra*), was entering the city begging for food.

Sariputra seeing his dignified exterior and his quiet and becoming manner, forthwith asked him, "Who is your master?" He answered, "The prince of the Sakya tribe, disgusted with the world, becoming a hermit, has reached

perfect wisdom. This one is my master." Sariputra added, "And what doctrine does he teach? May I find a way to hear it?" He said, "I have but just received instruction, and have not yet penetrated the deep doctrine." Sariputra said, "Pray tell me what you have heard." Then Asvajita, so far as he could, explained it and spoke. Sariputra having heard it, immediately reached the first fruit, and went forthwith with 250 of his followers to the place where Buddha was dwelling.

The Lord of the World seeing him afar off, pointing to him and addressing his followers, said, "Yonder comes one who will be most distinguished for wisdom among my disciples." Having reached the place, he bent his head in worship and asked to be permitted to follow the teaching of Buddha. The Lord said to him, "welcome, O Bhikshu."

Having heard these words, he was forthwith ordained. Half a month after, hearing Buddha preach the law on account of a Brahman[380] called "Long-nails" (*Dirghanakha*), together with other discourses, and understanding them with a lively emotion, he obtained the fruit of an Arhat. After this, Ananda hearing Buddha speak about his *Nirvana,* it was noised abroad and talked about (*by the disciples*). Each one was affected with grief. Sariputra was doubly touched with sorrow, and could not endure the thought of seeing Buddha die. Accordingly, he asked the Lord that he might die first. The lord said, "Take advantage of your opportunity."

He then bade adieu to the disciples and came to his native village. His followers, the Sramaneras, spread the news everywhere through the town and villages. Ajatasatru-raja and his people hastened together as the wind, and assembled in clouds to the assembly, whilst Sariputra repeated at large the teaching of the law. Having heard, it, they went away. In the middle of the following night, with fixed (*correct*) thought, and mind restrained, he entered the *Samadhi* called "final extinction." After awhile, having risen out of it, he died.

BOOK X

Chen-Po- (Champa)

Origin of government in Jambudvipa:

This country (Champa)[381] is about 4000 *li* in circuit. The capital is backed to the north by the river Ganges, it is about 40 *li* round. The soil is level and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and productive; the temperature is mild and warm; the manners of the people simple and honest. There are several tens of *sangharamas,* mostly in ruins, with about 200 priests. They follow the teaching of the Little Vehicle. There are some twenty Deva temples, which sectaries of every kind frequent. The walls of the capital are built of brick, and are several "tens of feet" high. The foundations of the wall are raised on a lofty embankment, so that by their high escarpment, they can defy the attack of enemies. In old times at the beginning of the *kalpa*, when things (*men*) first began, they inhabited dens and caves of the desert. There was no knowledge of dwelling houses. After this, a Devi (*divine woman*) descending in consequence of her previous conduct, was located amongst them. As she sported in the streams of the Ganges, she was affected by a spiritual power, and conceiving, she brought forth four sons, who divided between them the government of Jambudvipa. Each took possession of a district, founded a capital, built towns, and marked out the limits of the frontiers. This was the capital of the country of one of them, and the first of all the cities of Jambudvipa.

Spiritual power of a Hindu temple and cave dwellings:

To the east of the city 140 or 150 *li*, on the south of the river Ganges, is a solitary detached rock,[382] craggy and steep, and surrounded by water. On the top of the peak is a Deva temple; the divine sprits exhibit many miracles (*spiritual indications*) here. By piercing the rock, houses have been made; by leading the streams (*through each*), there is a continual flow of water. There are wonderful trees (*forming*) flowering woods; the large rocks and dangerous precipices are the resort of men of wisdom and virtue; those who go there to see the place are reluctant to return.

KIE-CHU-HOH-KHI-LO (KAJUGHIRA OR KAJINGHARA)

A deserted country, taken over by Siladitya-raja:

This kingdom[383] is about 2000 *li* or so in circuit. The soil is level and loamy; it is regularly cultivated, and produces abundant crops; the temperature is warm; the people are simple in their habits. They greatly esteem men of high talent, and honour learning and the arts. There are six or seven *sangharamas* with about 300 priests; and there are some ten Deva temples frequented by sectaries of all sorts. During the last few centuries the royal line has died out, and the country has been ruled by a neighbouring state, so that the towns are desolate, and most of the people are found scattered in villages and hamlets. On this account, Siladitya-raja, when roaming through Eastern India, built a palace in this place, in which he arranged the affairs of his different states. It was built of branches and boughs for a temporary residence, and burnt on his departure. On the southern frontiers of the country are many wild elephants.

PUN-NA-FA-TAN-NA (PUNDRAVARDDHANA)

A district rich in produce; people revere learning; Jaina monks most numerous:

This country[384] is about 4000 *li* in circuit. Its capital is about 30 *li* round. It is thickly populated. The tanks and public offices and flowering woods are regularly connected at intervals. The soil is flat and loamy, and rich in all kinds of grain-produce. The *Panasa*[385] (*Pan-na-so*) fruit, though plentiful, is highly esteemed. The fruit is as large as a pumpkin. When it is ripe it is of a yellowish-red colour. When divided, it has in the middle many tens of little fruits of the size of a pigeon's egg; breaking these, there comes forth a juice of a yellowish-red colour and of delicious flavour. The fruit sometimes collects on the tree-branches as other clustering fruits, but sometimes at the tree-roots, as in the case of the earth-growing *fu-ling*.[386] The climate is temperate; the people esteem learning. There are about twenty *sangharamas*, with some 3000 priests; they study both the Little and Great Vehicle. There are some hundred Deva temples, where sectaries of different schools congregate. The naked Nirgranthas are the most numerous.

To the west of the capital 20 *li* or so is the *Po-chi-p'o sangharama.* Its courts are light and roomy; its towers and pavilions are very lofty. The priests are about 700 in number; they study the law according to the Great Vehicle. Many renowned priests from Eastern India dwell here…

A spiritually powerful Bodhisattva image:

Not far from this there is a *vihara* in which is a statue of *Kwna-tsz'-tsai* Bodhisattva. Nothing is hid from its divine discernment; its spiritual perception is most accurate; men far and near consult (*this being*) with fasting and prayers.

KIA-MO-LU-PO (KAMARUPA)

A predominantly Hindu country; not a single vihara:

The country of Kamarupa[387] is about 10,000 *li* in circuit. The capital town is about 30 *li*. The land lies low, but is rich, and is regularly cultivated. They cultivate the *Panasa* fruit and the *Na-lo-ki-lo* (*Narikela*)[388] fruit. These trees, though numerous, are nevertheless much valued and esteemed. Water led from the river or from banked-up lakes (*reservoirs*) flows round the towns. The climate is soft and temperate. The manners of the people simple and honest. The men are of small stature, and their complexion a dark yellow. Their language differs a little from that of Mid-India. Their nature is very impetuous and wild; their memories are retentive, and they are earnest in study. They adore and sacrifice to the Devas, and have no faith in Buddha; hence from the time when Buddha appeared in the world even down to the present time there never as yet has been built one *sangharama* as a place for the priests to assemble. Such disciples as there are of a pure faith, say their prayers (*chant the name of Buddha*) secretly, and that is all. There are as many as 100 Deva temples, and different sectaries to the number of several myriads.

Bhaskara-varman patronises the learned; calls the Chinese pilgrim to court:

The present king belongs to the old line (*tso yan)* of Narayana-deva. He is of the Brahman caste. His name is Bhaskara-varman, his title Kumara (*Keu-mo-lo*). From the time that this family seized the land and assumed the government till the present king, there have elapsed a thousand successions (*generations*). The king is fond of learning, and the people are so likewise in imitation of him. Men of high talent from distant regions aspiring after office visit his dominions as strangers. Though he has no faith in Buddha, yet he much respects Sramanas of learning. When he first heard that a Sramana from China had come to Magadha to the Nalanda *sangharama* from such a distance, to study with diligence the profound law of Buddha, he sent a message of invitation by those who reported it as often as three times, but yet the Sramana (Yuan Chwang) had not obeyed it. Then Silabhadra (*Shi-lo-po-‘ t’o-lo*), master of *sastras,* said, “You desire to show your gratitude to Buddha; then you should propagate the true law; this is your duty. You need not fear the long journey. Kumara-raja’s family respect the teaching of the heretics, and now he invites a Sramana to visit him. This is good indeed! We judge from this that he is changing his principles, and desires to acquire merit (*or,* from merit acquired) to benefit others. You formerly conceived a great heart, and made a vow with yourself to travel alone through different lands regardless of life, to seek for the law for the good of the world. Forgetful of your own country, you should be ready to meet death; indifferent to renown or failure, you should labour to open the door for the spread of the holy doctrine, to lead onwards the crowds who are deceived by false teaching, to consider others first, yourself afterwards; forgetful of renown, to think only of religion.”

Yuan Chwang is reluctant, but goes after Silabhadra’s exhortation; Bhaskara-varman asks about the Tsin king:

On this, with no further excuses, he hastened in company with the messengers to present himself to the king. Kumara-raja said, “Although I am without talents myself, I have always been fond of men of conspicuous learning. Hearing, then, of your fame and distinction, I ventured to ask you here to visit me.”

He replied, “I have only moderate wisdom, and I am confused to think that you should have heard of my poor reputation.”

Kumara-raja said, “Well, indeed! From regard for the law and love of learning to regard oneself as of no account, and to travel abroad regardless of so great dangers, to wander through strange countries! This is the result of the transforming power of the king’s government, and the exceeding learning, as is reported, of the country. Now, through the kingdoms of India there are many persons who sing about the victories of the Tsin king of the Mahachina country. I have long heard of this. And is it true that this is your honourable birthplace?”

He said, “It is so. These songs celebrate the virtues of my sovereign.”

He (the king) replied, “I could not think that your worthy self was of this country. I have ever had esteem for its manners and laws. Long have I looked towards the east, but the intervening mountains and rivers have prevented me from personally visiting it.”

In answer I said, “My great sovereign’s holy qualities are far renowned, and the transforming power of his virtue reaches to remote districts. People from strange countries pay respect at the door of his palace, and call themselves his servants.”

Kumara-raja said, "If his dominion is so great (*covering thus his subjects*), my heart strongly desires to bear my tribute to his court. But now Siladitya-raja is in the country of Kajughira (*Kie-chu-hoh-khi-lo*), about to distribute large alms and to plant deeply the root of merit and wisdom. The Sramans and Brahmans of the five Indies, renowned for their learning, must needs come together. He has now sent for me. I pray you go with me!"

On this they went together.

SAN-MO-TA-CHA (SAMATATA)

A prosperous and cultured district; mixed population; Jainas dominant:

This country (Eastern Bengal) is about 3000 *li* in circuit and borders on the great sea. The land lies low and is rich. The capital is about 20 *li* round. It is regularly cultivated, and is rich in crops, and the flowers and fruits grow everywhere. The climate is soft and the habits of the people agreeable. The men are hardy by nature, small of stature, and of black complexion; they are fond of learning, and exercise themselves diligently in the acquirement of it. There are professors both of false and true doctrines. There are thirty or so *sangharamas* with about 2000 priests. They are all of the Sthavira (*Shang-tso-pu*) school. There are some hundred Deva temples, in which sectaries of all kinds live. The naked ascetics called Nirgranthas (*Ni-kien*) are most numerous.

Not far from this, in a *sangharama,* is a figure of Buddha of green jade. It is eight feet high, with the marks on its person perfectly shown, and with a spiritual power which is exercised from time to time.

TAN-MO-LI-TI (TAMRALIPTI)

Rich country and mixed population:

This country[389] is 1400 or 1500 *li* in circuit, the capital about 10 *li*. It borders on the sea. The ground is low and rich; it is regularly cultivated, and produces flowers and fruits in abundance. The temperature is hot. The manners of the people are quick and hasty. The men are hardy and brave. There are both heretics and believers. There are about ten *sangharamas,*

with about 1000 priests. The Deva temples are fifty in number, in which various sectaries dwell mixed together. The coast of this country is formed by (or in) a recess of the sea; the water and the land embracing each other.[390] Wonderful articles of value and gems are collected here in abundance, and therefore the people of the country are in general very rich.

KIE-LO-NA-SU-FA-LA-NA (KARNASUVARNA)

Rich country and mixed population; people love learning:

This kingdom is about 1400 or 1500 *li* in circuit; the capital is about 20 *li*. It is thickly populated. The householders are very (*rich and in ease*). The land lies low and is loamy. It is regularly cultivated, and produces an abundance of flowers, with valuables numerous and various. The climate is agreeable; the manners of the people honest and amiable. They love learning exceedingly, and apply themselves to it with earnestness. There are believers and heretics alike amongst them. There are ten *sangharamas* or so, with about 2000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle of the Sammatiya (*Ching-tiang-pu*) school. There are fifty Deva temples. The heretics are very numerous. Besides these there are three *sangharamas* in which they do not use thickened milk (*u lok*), following the directions of Devadatta (*Ti-p'o-ta-to*).[391]

By the side of the capital is the *sangharama* called *Lo-to-wei-chi* (*Raktaviti*, 'red mud'), the halls of which are light and spacious, the storeyed towers very lofty. In this establishment congregate all the most distinguished, learned, and celebrated men of the kingdom. They strive to promote each other's advancement by exhortations, and to perfect their character.

U-cha (UDRA)

Rich country, uncivilised people, but dedicated to learning:

This country (Utkal, Orissa) is 7000 *li* or so in circuit; the capital city[392] is about 20 *li* round. The soil is rich and fertile, and it produces abundance of grain, and every kind of fruit is grown more than in other countries. It

would be difficult to name the strange shrubs and the famed flowers that grow here. The climate is hot; the people are uncivilised, tall of stature, and of a yellowish black complexion. Their words and language (*pronunciation*) differ from Central India. They love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission. Most of them believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred *sangharamas,* with 10,000 priests. They all study the Great Vehicle. There are fifty Deva temples in which sectaries of all sorts make their abodes. The *stupas*, to the number of ten or so, point out spots where Buddha preached. They were all founded by Asoka-raja.

In a great mountain on the south-west frontiers of the country is *sangharama* called Pushpagiri (*Pu-se-po-k'i-li*);[393] the stone *stupa* belonging to it exhibits very many spiritual wonders. On fast-days it emits a bright light. For this cause believers from far and near flock together here and present as offerings beautifully embroidered canopies; they place these underneath the vase at the top of the cupola, and let them stand there fixed as needles in the stone. To the north-west of this, in a convent on the mountain, is a *stupa* where the same wonders occur as in the former case. These two *stupas* were built by the demons,[394] and hence are derived the extraordinary miracles.

KONG-U'T'O (Konyodha?)

A predominantly Hindu land:

This kingdom[395] is about 1000 *li* in circuit; the capital is 20 *li* round. It borders on a bay. The ranges of mountains are high and precipitous. The ground is low and moist. It is regularly cultivated and productive. The temperature is hot, the disposition of the people brave and impulsive. The men are tall of stature and black complexioned and dirty. They have some degree of politeness and are tolerably honest. With respect to their written characters, they are the same as those of Mid-India, but their language and mode of pronunciation are quite different. They greatly respect the teaching of heretics and do not believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred Deva temples, and there are perhaps 10,000 unbelievers of different sects.

Within the limits of this country there are several tens of small towns which border on the mountains and are built contiguous to the sea. The cities themselves are strong and high; the soldiers are brave and daring; they rule by force the neighbouring provinces, so that no one can resist them. This country, bordering on the sea, abounds in many rare and valuable articles. They use cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. The great greenish-blue elephant comes from this country. They harness it to their conveyances and make very long journeys.

KIE-LING-KIA (KALINGA)

Land and people, most Hindus and Jainas:

This country is 5000 *li* or so in circuit; its capital is 20 *li* or so round. It is regularly cultivated and is productive. Flowers and fruits are very abundant. The forests and jungle are continuous for many hundred *li*. It produces the great tawny wild elephant, which are much prized by neighbouring provinces. The climate is burning; the disposition of the people vehement and impetuous. Though the men are mostly rough and uncivilised, they still keep their word and are trustworthy. The language is light and tripping, and their pronunciation distinct and correct. But in both particulars, that is, as to words and sounds, they are very different from Mid-India. There are a few who believe in the true law, but most of them are attached to heresy. There are ten *sangharamas,* with about 500 priests, who study the Great Vehicle according to the teaching of the Sthavira school. There are some 100 Deva temples with very many unbelievers of different sorts, the most numerous being the Nirgranthas (Jainas).

KIAO-SA-LO (KOSALA)

Land, people, and Bodhisattva Nagarjuna:

This country[396] is about 5000 *li* in circuit; the frontiers consist of encircling mountain crags; forests and jungle are found together in succession. The capital is about 40 *li* round; the soil is rich and fertile, and yields abundant crops. The towns and villages are close together, the population is very dense. The men are tall and black complexioned. The

disposition of the people is hard and violent; they are brave and impetuous. There are both heretics and believers here. They are earnest in study and of a high intelligence. The king is of the Kshattriya race; he greatly honours the law of Buddha, and his virtue and love are far renowned. There are about one hundred *sangharamas,* and somewhat less than 10,000 priests: they all alike study the teaching of the Great Vehicle. There are about seventy Deva temples, frequented by heretics of different persuasions.

Not far to the south of the city is an old *sangharama,* by the side of which is a *stupa* that was built by Asoka-raja. In this place Tathagata, of old, calling an assembly, exhibited his supernatural power and subdued the unbelievers. Afterwards Nagarjuna Bodhisattva (*Longmeng-p'u-sa*) dwelt in the *sangharama.* The king of the country was then called Sadvaha. He greatly prized and esteemed Nagarjuna, and provided him with a city-gate hut.

On the mystical powers of Nagarjuna and his longevity:

Nagarjuna Bodhisattva was well practiced in the art of compounding medicines; by taking a preparation he nourished the years of life for many hundreds of years,[397] so that neither the mind nor appearance decayed. Sadvaha-raja had partaken of this mysterious medicine, and his years were already several hundred in number. The king had a young son who one day addressed his mother thus, "When shall I succeed to the royal estate?" His mother said, "There seems to me to be no chance of that yet; your father the king is now several hundred years old, his sons and grandsons are many of them dead and gone through old age. This is the result of the religious power of Nagarjuna, and the intimate knowledge he has of compounding medicines. The day the Bodhisattva dies the king will also succumb. Now the wisdom of this Nagarjuna is great and extensive, and his love and compassion very deep; he would give up for the benefit of living creatures his body and life. You ought, therefore, to go, and when you meet him, ask him to give you his head. If you do this, then you will get your desire."

The king's son, obedient to his mother's instructions, went to the gate of the convent. The doorkeeper, alarmed, ran away, and so he entered at once. Then Nagarjuna Bodhisattva was chanting as he walked up and down. Seeing the king's son he stopped, and said, "It is evening time now; why do

you at such a time come so hastily to the priests' quarters? Has some accident happened, or are you afraid of some calamity that you have hastened here at such a time?"

He answered, "I was considering with my dear mother the words of different *sastras,* and the examples (*therein*) of sages who had forsaken the world, and I was led to remark on the great value set on life by all creatures, and that the scriptures, in their examples given of sacrifice, had not enforced this duty of giving up life readily for the sake of those who desired it. Then my dear mother said, "Not so; the Sugatas (*shen shi*) of the ten regions, the Tathagatas of the three ages, whilst living in the world and giving their hearts to the objects, have obtained the fruit. They diligently sought the way of Buddha; practicing the precepts, exercising patience, they gave up their bodies to feed wild beasts, cut their flesh to deliver the dove. Thus Raja Chandraprabha (*Yueh-kwang*) gave up his head to the Brahman; Maitribala (*Ts'e li)* raja fed the hungry Yaksha with his blood. To recite every similar example would be difficult, but in searching through the history of previous sages, what age is there that affords not examples? And so Nagarjuna Bodhisattva is now actuated by similar high principles; as for myself, I have sought a man who for my advantage would give me his head, but have never yet found such a person for years. If I had wished to act with violence and take the life of a man (*commit murder*), the crime would have been great and entailed dreadful consequences. To have taken the life of an innocent child would have been infamous and disgraced my character. But the Bodhisattva diligently practices the holy way and aspires after a while to the fruit of the Buddha. His love extends to all beings and his goodness knows no bounds. He esteems life as a bubble, his body as decaying wood. He would not contradict his purpose in refusing such a gift, if requested."

Nagarjuna agrees to relinquish his life for the king's son:

Nagarjuna said, "Your comparisons and your words are true. I seek the holy fruit of a Buddha. I have learnt that a Buddha is able to give up all things, regarding the body as an echo, a bubble, passing through the four forms of life,[398] continually coming and going in the six ways.[399] My constant vow has been not to oppose the desires of living things. But there is one difficulty in the way of the king's son, and what is that? If I were to

give up my life your father also would die. Think well of this, for who could then deliver him."

Nagarjuna, irresolute, walked to and fro, seeking for something to end his life with; then taking a dry reed leaf, he cut his neck as if with a sword, and his head fell from his body.

Having seen this, he (*the prince*) fled precipitately and returned. The guardian of the gate informed the king of the event from first to last, who whilst listening was so affected that he died.

T'O-NA-KIE-TSE-KIA (DHANAKATAKA)

This country is about 6000 *li* in circuit, and the capital (Bejwada) some 40 *li* round. The soil is rich and fertile, and is regularly cultivated, affording abundant harvests. There is much desert country, and the towns are thinly populated. The climate is hot. The complexion of the people is a yellowish black, and they are by nature fierce and impulsive. They greatly esteem learning. The convents (*sangharamas*) are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved there are about twenty, with 1000 or so priests. They all study the law of the Great Vehicle. There are 100 Deva temples, and the people who frequent them are numerous and of different beliefs.

Bhavaviveka awaits Maitreya Bodhisattva; fails to discourse with Dharmapala:

To the south[400] of the city a little way is a great mountain cavern. It is here the master of *sastras P'o-pi-fei-kia* (Bhavaviveka) remains in the palace of the Asuras (*'O-ssu-lo*), awaiting the arrival of Maitreya Bodhisattva as perfect Buddha. This master of *sastras* was widely renowned for his elegant scholarship and for the depth of his vast attainments (*virtue*). Externally he was a disciple of Kapila (Sankhya), but inwardly he was fully possessed of the learning of Nagarjuna. Having heard that Dharmapala (*Hu-fa-p'u-sa*) of Magadha was spreading aboard the teaching of the law, and was making many thousand disciples, he desired to discuss with him. He took his religious staff in hand and went. Coming to Pataliputra (*Po-ch'a-li*) he ascertained that Dharmapala Bodhisattva was dwelling at the *Bodhi* tree. Then the master of *sastra*s ordered his disciples thus: "Go you to the place

where Dharmapala resides near the *Bodhi* tree, and say to him in my name, 'Bodhisattva (i.e. Dharmapala) published abroad the doctrine (*of Buddha*) bequeathed to the world: he leads and directs the ignorant. His followers look up to him with respect and humility, and so it has been for many days; nevertheless his vow and past determination have borne no fruit! Vain is it to worship and visit the *Bodhi* tree. Swear to accomplish your object, and then you will be in the end guide of gods and men."[401]

Dharmapala Bodhisattva answered the messenger thus: "The lives of men (*or, generations of men*) are like a phantom; the body is as a bubble. The whole day I exert myself; I have no time for controversy; you may therefore depart – there can be no meeting."

The master of *sastras* having returned to his own country, led a pure (*quiet*) life and reflected thus: "In the absence of Maitreya as a Buddha, who is there that can satisfy my doubts?" Then in front of the figure of the Bodhisattva *Kwan-tsz'-tsai*,[402] he recited in order the *Sin-to'-lo-ni* (*Hridaya-dharani*), abstaining from food and drink. After three years *Kwan-tsz'-tsai* Bodhisattva appeared to him with a very beautiful body, and addressed the master of *sastras* thus: "What is your purpose (*will*)?" He said, "May I keep my body till Maitreya comes." *Kwan-tsz'-tsai* Bodhisattva said, "Man's life is subject to many accidents. The world is as a bubble or a phantom. You should aim at the highest resolve to be born in the Tushita heaven, and there, even now, to see him face to face and worship."

The master of *sastras* said, "My purpose is fixed; my mind cannot be changed." Bodhisattva said, "If it is so, you must go to the country of Dhanakataka, to the south of the city, where in a mountain cavern a diamond-holding (*Vajrapani*) spirit dwells, and there with the utmost sincerity reciting the *Chi-king-kang-t'o-lo-ni (Vajrapanidharani),* you ought to obtain your wish."

On this the master of *sastras* went and recited (the *dharani).* After three years the spirit said to him, "What is your desire, exhibiting such earnest diligence?" The master of *sastras* said, "I desire that my body may endure till Maitreya comes, and Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva directed me to come here to request the fulfilment (*of my desire*). Does this rest with you, divine being?"

The spirit then revealed to him a formula and said, “There is an Asura’s palace in this mountain; if you ask according to the rule given you, the walls will open, and then you may enter and wait there till you see (*Maitreya*).” “But,” said the master of *sastras*, “dwelling in the dark, how shall I be able to see or know when the Buddha appears?” Vajrapani said, “When Maitreya comes into the world, I will then advise you of it.” The master of *sastras* having received his instruction, applied himself with earnestness to repeat the sentences, and for three years, without any change of mind, he repeated the words to a nicety (*perfectly*). Then knocking at the rock-cavern, it opened out its deep and vast recesses. Then an innumerable multitude appeared before him looking about them, but forgetful of the way to return. The master of *sastras* passed through the door, and addressing the multitude said, “Long have I prayed and worshipped with a view to obtain an opportunity to see Maitreya. Now, thanks to the aid of a spiritual being, my vow is accomplished. Let us therefore enter here, and together await the revelation of this Buddha.”

Those who heard this were stupefied, and dared not pass the threshold. They said, “This is a den of serpents; we shall all be killed.” Thrice he addressed them, and then only six persons were content to enter with him. The master of *sastras* turning himself and advancing, then all the multitude followed him with their gaze as he entered. After doing so the stone wall closed behind them, and then those left without chided themselves for neglecting his words addressed to them.

CHU-LI-YE (CHULYA OR CHOLA)

Not a great place at the time of the pilgrim:

The country of Chulya (Chola) is about 2400 or 2500 *li* in circuit; the capital is about 10 *li* round. It is deserted and wild, a succession of marshes and jungle. The population is very small, and troops of brigands go through the country openly. The climate is hot; the manners of the people dissolute and cruel. The disposition of the men is naturally fierce; they are attached to heretical teaching. The *sangharamas* are ruined and dirty as well as the priests. There are some tens of Deva temples, and many Nirgrantha heretics.

TA-LO-PI-CH’A (DRAVIDA)

Speaks highly of character and learning of the people; birthplace of Dharmapala Bodhisattva:

This country is about 6000 *li* in circuit; the capital of the country is called Kanchipura (Kanjivaram, *Kin-chi-pu-lo*), and is about 30 *li* round. The soil is fertile and regularly cultivated, and produces abundance of grain. There are also many flowers and fruits. It produces precious gems and other articles. The climate is hot, the character of the people courageous. They are deeply attached to the principles of honesty and truth, and highly esteem learning; in respect of their language and written characters, they differ but little from those of Mid-India. There are some hundreds of *sangharamas* and 10,000 priests. They all study the teaching of the Sthavira (*Chang-tso-pu*) school belonging to the Great Vehicle. There are some eighty Deva temples, and many heretics called Nirgranthas. Tathagata in olden days, when living in the world, frequented this country much; he preached the law here and converted men, and therefore Asoka-raja built *stupas* over all the sacred spots where these traces exist. The city of Kanchipura is the native place of Dharmapala Bodhisattva. He was the eldest son of a great minister of the country. From his childhood he exhibited much clearness, and as he grew up it increased and extended. When he became a young man, the king and queen condescended to entertain him at a (*marriage*) feast. On the evening of the day his heart was oppressed with sorrow, and being exceedingly afflicted, he placed himself before a statue of Buddha and engaged in earnest prayer. Moved by his extreme sincerity, the spirits removed him to a distance, and there he hid himself. After going many hundred *li* from this spot he came to a mountain convent, and sat down in the hall of Buddha. A priest happening to open the door, and seeing this youth, was in doubt whether he was a robber or not. After interrogating him on the point, the Bodhisattva completely unbosomed himself and told him the cause; moreover he asked permission to become a disciple. The priests were much astonished at the wonderful event, and forthwith granted his request. The king ordered search to be made for him in every direction, and at length finding out that Bodhisattva had removed to a distance from the world, driven by the spirit (*or,* spirits), then he redoubled his deep reverence and admiration for him. From the time that Dharmapala assumed the robes of a recluse, he applied himself with unflagging earnestness to learning.

MO-LO-KIU-CH'A (MALAKUTA)

This country is about 5000 *li* in circuit; the capital is about 40 *li*. The land and fields are impregnated with salt, and the produce of the earth is not abundant. All the valuables that are collected in the neighbouring islets are brought to this country and analysed. The temperature is very hot. The men are dark complexioned. They are firm and impetuous in disposition. Some follow the true doctrine, others are given to heresy. They do not esteem learning much, but are wholly given to commercial gain. There are the ruins of many old convents, but only the walls are preserved, and there are few religious followers. There are many hundred Deva temples, and a multitude of heretics, mostly belonging to the Nirgranthas.

The camphor and other trees:

On the south of this country, bordering the sea, are the *Mo-la-ye* mountains,[403] remarkable for their high peaks and precipices, their deep valleys and mountain torrents. Here is found the white sandal-wood tree and the *Chan-t'an-ni-p'o* (*Chandaneva*, like sandalwood) tree. These two are much alike, and the latter can only be distinguished by going in the height of summer on the top of some hill, and then looking at a distance, great serpents may be seen entwining it: thus it is known. Its wood is naturally cold, and therefore serpents twine round it. After having noted the tree, they shoot an arrow into it to mark it. In the winter, after the snakes have gone, the tree is cut down. The tree from which *Kie-pu-lo* (*Karpura*, camphor) scent is procured, is in trunk like the pine, but different leaves and flowers and fruits. When the tree is first cut down and sappy, it has no smell; but when the wood gets dry, it forms into veins and splits; then in the middle is the scent, in appearance like mice, of the colour of frozen snow. This is what is called (in Chinese) *long-nao-hiang,* the dragon-brain scent.

BOOK XI

SANG-KIA-LO (SIMHALA)

On the mission of Asoka's brother, Mahendra:

The kingdom of Simhala formerly was addicted to immoral religious worship, but after the first hundred years following Buddha's death the younger brother of Asoka-raja, Mahendra by name, giving up worldly desires, sought with ardour the fruit of Arhatship. He gained possession of the six supernatural powers and the eight means of liberation; and having the power of instant locomotion, he came to this country. He spread the knowledge of the true law and widely diffused the bequeathed doctrine. From his time there has fallen on the people a believing heart, and they have constructed 100 convents, containing some 20,000 priests. They principally follow the teaching of Buddha, according to the *dharma* of the Sthavira (*Shang-ts'o-pu*) school of the Mahayana sect. When 200 years had elapsed,[404] through discussion, the one school was divided into two. The former, called the Mahaviharavasinas (*Mo-ho-pi-ho-lo-chu-pu*),[405] was opposed to the Great Vehicle and adhered to the teaching of the Little Vehicle; the other was called Abhayagirivasinas (*O-p'o-ye-k'i-li-chu-pu*);[406] they studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the *Tripitakas*. The priests attended to the moral rules, and were distinguished for their power of abstraction and their wisdom. Their correct conduct was an example for subsequent ages; their manners grave and imposing.

By the side of the king's palace is the *vihara* of Buddha's tooth, several hundred feet high, brilliant with jewels and ornamented with rare gems. Above the *vihara* is placed an upright pole on which is fixed a great Padma raja (*ruby*) jewel. This gem constantly sheds a brilliant light, which is visible night and day for a long distance, and afar off appears like a bright star. The king three times a day washes the tooth of Buddha with perfumed water, sometimes with powdered perfumes. Whether washing or burning, the whole ceremony is attended with a service of the most precious jewels.

KONG-KIN-NA-PU-LO (KONKANAPURA)

This country is about 5000 *li* in circuit. The capital is 3000[407] *li* or so round. The land is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated, and produces large crops. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people ardent and quick. Their complexion is black, and their manners fierce and uncultivated. They love learning, and esteem virtue and talent. There are about 100

sangharamas, with some 10,000 priests. They study both the Great and the Little Vehicle. They also highly reverence the Devas, and there are several hundred temples in which many sectaries dwell together.

By the side of the royal palace is a great *sangharama* with some 300 priests, who are all men of distinction. This convent has a great *vihara,* a hundred feet and more in height. In it is a precious tiara belonging to Sarvarthasidda (*Yih-tsai-i-sh'ing*) the prince. It is somewhat less than two feet in height, and is ornamented with gems and precious stones. It is kept in a jewelled casket. On fast-days it is brought out and placed on a high throne. They offer to it flowers and incense, on which occasions it is lit up with radiance.

Tala tree leaves used for writing:

To the north of the city not far is a forest of *Tala* trees about 30 *li* round. The leaves are long and broad, their colour shining and glistening. In the countries of India these leaves are everywhere used for writing on. In the forest is a *stupa*. Here the four former Buddhas sat down and walked for exercise, and traces of them still remain. Beside this is a *stupa* containing the bequeathed relics of the Arhat Srutavimsatikoti.

MO-HO-LA-CH'A (MAHARASHTRA)

Strong character of the people:

This country is about 5000 *li* in circuit. The capital[408] borders on the west on a great river. It is about 30 *li* round. The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of stature, and of a stern, vindictive character. To their benefactors they are grateful; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (*spears*). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man down (*who submits*). If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is

driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth they beat drums before them. Moreover, they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and, taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them.

King Pulakesi - Siladitya could not subjugate him:

The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kshattriya caste, and his name is Pulakesi (*Pu-lo-ki-she*). His plans and undertakings are wide-spread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Siladitya Maharaja (of Kanauj) has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops.

So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning, and study both heretical and orthodox (*books*). There are about 100 *sangharamas,* with 5000 or so priests. They practice both the Great and Small Vehicle. There are about 100 Deva temples, in which very many heretics of different persuasions dwell.

On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled-up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a *sangharama* constructed, in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (*or* open into the) face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley.[409]

This convent was built by the Arhat Achara (*O'che-lo*).[410] This Arhat was a man of Western India. His mother having died, he looked to see in what condition she was re-born. He saw that she had received a woman's body in

this kingdom. The Arhat accordingly came here with a view of convert her, according to her capabilities of receiving the truth. Having entered a village to beg food, he came to the house where his mother had been born. A young girl came forth with food to give him. At this moment the milk came from her breasts and trickled down. Her friends having seen this considered it an unlucky sign, but the Arhat recounted the history of her birth. The girl thus attained the holy fruit (*of Arhatship*). The Arhat, moved with gratitude for her who had borne and cherished him, and remembering the end of such (*good*) works, from a desire to requite her, built this *sangharama.* The great *vihara* of the convent is about 100 feet or so in height; in the middle is a stone figure of Buddha about 70 feet or so high. Above it is a stone canopy of seven stages, towering upwards apparently without support. The space between each canopy[411] is about three feet. According to the old report, this is held in its place by the force of the vow of the Arhat. They also say it is by the force of his miraculous powers; others say by the virtue of some magical compound; but no trustworthy account has yet explained the reason of the wonder. On the four sides of the *vihara,* on the stone walls, are painted different scenes in the life of Tathagata's preparatory life as a Bodhisattva: the wondrous signs of good fortune which attended his acquirement of the holy fruit (*of a Buddha*), and the spiritual manifestations accompanying his *Nirvana*. These scenes have been cut out with the greatest accuracy and fineness (*in the Ajanta frescoes*). On the outside of the gate of the *sangharama,* on the north and south side, at the right hand and the left, there is a stone elephant.[412] The common report says that sometimes these elephants utter a great cry and the earth shakes throughout. In old days Jina (*or* Channa) Bodhisattva often stopped in this *Sangharama*.

MO-LA-P'O (MALAVA)

The great learning of the people:

This country is about 6000 *li* in circuit. The capital is some 30 *li* round. It is defended by the Mahi river on the south and east (Dongarpur or Dharanagara). The soil is rich and fertile, and produces abundant harvests. Shrubs and trees are numerous and flourishing. Flowers and fruit are met with in great quantities. The soil is suitable in an especial manner for winter

wheat. They mostly eat biscuits and (*or,* made of) parched corn-flour. The disposition of the men is virtuous and docile, and they are in general of remarkable intelligence. Their language is elegant and clear, and their learning is wide and profound.

Two countries in India, on the borders, are remarkable for the great learning of the people, viz., Malava on the south-west, and Magadha on the north-east. In this they esteem virtue and respect politeness. They are of an intelligent mind and exceedingly studious; nevertheless the men of this country are given to heretical belief as well as the true faith, and so live together. There are about 100 *sangharamas* in which some 2000 priests dwell. They study the Little Vehicle, and belong to the Sammatiya school. There are 100 Deva temples of different kinds. The heretics are very numerous, but principally the Pasupatas (*ash-covered*).

Siladitya raja of Malava:

The records of the country state: Sixty years before this flourished Siladitya, a man of eminent wisdom and great learning; his skill in literature was profound. He cherished and protected the four kinds of creatures, and deeply respected the three treasures. From the time of his birth to his last hour, his face never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injure a living thing. His elephants and horses drank water that had been strained, after which he gave it them, lest any creature living in the water should be injured. Such were his love and humanity. During the fifty years and more of his reign, the wild beasts became familiar with men, and the people did not injure or slay them. By the side of his palace he built a *vihara.* He exhausted the skill of the artists, and used every kind of ornament in decorating it. In it he put images of the seven Buddhas, Lords of the World. Every year he convoked an assembly called *Moksha mahaparishad,* and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them "the four things" in religious charity; he also gave them sets of three garments used in their religious services, and also bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety. This meritorious custom has continued in practice without interruption till now.

'O-CH'A-LI (ATALI)

Commerce, not agriculture, mainstay of people; no faith in Buddha:

This country is about 6000 *li* in circuit; the capital of the country is about 20 *li* or so in circuit. The population is dense; the quality of gems and precious substances stored up is very great; the produce of the land is sufficient for all purposes, yet commerce is their principal occupation. The soil is salt and sandy, the fruits and flowers are not plentiful. The country produces the *hutsian* tree. The leaves of this tree are like those of the Sz'chuen pepper (*Shuh tsiau*); it also produces the *hiun-lu* perfume tree, the leaf of which is like the *thang-li*. The climate is warm, windy, and dusty. The disposition of the people is cold and indifferent. They esteem riches and despise virtue. Respecting their letters, language, and the manners and figures of the people, these are much the same as in the country of Malava. The greater part of the people have no faith in the virtue of religious merit; as to those who do believe, they worship principally the spirits of heaven, and their temples are some thousand in number, in which sectaries of different characters congregate.

FA-LA-PI (VALABHI)

Rich country, mixed population:

This country is 6000 *li* or so in circuit, the capital about 30 *li*. The character of the soil, the climate, and manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Malava. The population is very dense; the establishment rich. There are some hundred houses (*families*) or so, who possess a hundred lakhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities. There are some hundred *sangharamas,* with about 6000 priests. Most of them study the Little Vehicle, according to the Sammatiya school. There are several hundred Deva temples with very many sectaries of different sorts.

King Dhruvapata, nephew of Siladitya-raja of Malava, believes in Buddha:

The present king is of the Kshattriya caste, as they all are. He is the nephew of Siladitya-raja of Malava, and son-in-law of the son of Siladitya, the present king of Kanyakubja. His name is Dhruvapata (*T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu*).

He is of a lively and hasty disposition, his wisdom and statecraft are shallow. Quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to faith in the three "precious ones." Yearly he summons a great assembly, and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, exquisite meats, and on the priests he bestows in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalent in value, and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given these in charity, he redeems them at twice their price. He esteems virtue and honours the good; he reverences those who are noted for their wisdom. The great priests who come from distant regions he particularly honours and respects.

Not far from the city is a great *sangharama* which was built by the Arhat Achara (*'O-che-lo*);[413] here the Bodhisattvas Gunamati and Sthiramati (*Kien-hwui*)[414] fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown.

SU-LA-CH'A (SURASHTRA)

Population mixed; people do not care for learning:

This country is 4000 *li* or so in circuit, the capital about 30 *li*. On the west the chief town borders on the Mahi river; the population is dense, and the various establishments (*families*) are rich. The country is dependent on Valabhi. The soil is impregnated with salt; flowers and fruit are rare. Although the climate is equable, yet there is no cessation of tempests. The manners of the people are careless and indifferent; their disposition light and frivolous. They do not love learning and are attached both to the true faith and also to heretical doctrine. There are some fifty *sangharamas* in this kingdom, with about 3000 priests; they mostly belong to the Sthavira school of the Great Vehicle. There are a hundred or so Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of various sorts. As this country is on the western sea route, the men all derive their livelihood from the sea and engage in commerce and exchange of commodities.

Not far from the city is a mountain called *Yuh-chen-to* (Ujjanta),[415] on the top of which is a *sangharama.* The cells and galleries have mostly been excavated from the mountain-side. The mountain is covered with thick

jungle and forest trees, whilst streams flow round its limits. Here saints and sages roam and rest, and Rishis embued with spiritual faculties congregate here and stay.

KIU-CHE-LO (GURJJARA)

Rich country; mostly Hindu:

This country is 5000 *li* or so in circuit, the capital, which is called *Pi-lo-mo-lo*,[416] is 30 *li* or so round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people resemble those of Surashtra. The population is dense; the establishments are rich and well supplied with materials (*wealth*). They mostly are unbelievers; a few are attached to the law of Buddha. There is one *sangharama,* with about a hundred priests; they are attached to the teaching of the Little Vehicle and the school of the Sarvastivadas. There are several tens of Deva temples, in which sectaries of various denominations dwell. The king is of the Kshattriya caste. He is just twenty years old; he is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha; and highly honours men of distinguished ability.

U-SHE-YEN-NA (UJJAYANI)

This country (Avanti, Malava) is about 6000 *li* in circuit; the capital is some 30 *li* round. The produce and manners of the people are like those of the country of Surashtra. The population is dense and the establishments wealthy. There are several tens of convents, but they are several tens of Deva temples, occupied by sectaries of various kinds. The king belongs to the Brahman caste. He is well versed in heretical books, and believes not in the true law.

MO-HI-SHI-FA-LO-PU-LO (MAHESVARAPURA)

This kingdom is about 3000 *li* in circuit; the capital city is some 30 *li* round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Ujjayani. They greatly esteem the heretics and do not reverence the law of Buddha. There are several tens of Deva temples, and

the sectaries principally belong to the Pasupatas. The king is of the Brahman caste; he places but little faith in the doctrine of Buddha.

From this, going in a backward direction to the country of *Kiu-che-lo* (Gurjjara) and then proceeding northward through wild deserts and dangerous defiles about 1900 *li*, crossing the great river *Sin-tu*, we come to the kingdom of *Sin-tu* (Sindh).

SIN-TU (SINDH)

The different types of salt; Buddhist land:

This country is about 700 *li* in circuit; the capital city, called *P'i-shen-p'o-pu-lo*, is about 30 *li* round. The soil is favourable for the growth of cereals and produces abundance of wheat and millet. It also abounds in gold and silver and native copper. It is suitable for the breeding of oxen, sheep, camels, mules, and other kinds of beasts. The camels are small in size and have only one hump. They find here a great quantity of salt, which is red like cinnabar; also white salt, black salt and rock salt. In different places, both far and near, this salt is used for medicine. The disposition of the men is hard and impulsive; but they are honest and upright, they quarrel and are much given to contradiction. They study without aiming to excel; they have faith in the law of Buddha. There are several hundred *sangharamas*, occupied by about 10,000 priests. They study the Little Vehicle according to the Sammatiya school. As a rule, they are indolent and given to indulgence and debauchery. Those who are very earnest as followers of the virtue of the sages live alone in desert places, dwelling far off in the mountains and forests. There night and day they exert themselves in aiming after the acquirement of the holy fruit (*of Arhatship*). There are about thirty Deva temples, in which sectaries of various kinds congregate.

The king is of the Sudra (*Shu-t'o-lo*) caste. He is by nature honest and sincere, and he reverences the law of Buddha.

Upagupta, the great Arhat, sojourned very frequently in this kingdom, explaining the law and convincing and guiding men. The places where he stopped and the traces he left are all commemorated by the building of *sangharamas* or the erection of *stupas*.

Violent people:

By the side of the river Sindh, along the flat marshy lowlands for some thousand *li*, there are several hundreds of thousands of families settled. They are of an unfeeling and hasty temper, and are given to bloodshed only. They give themselves exclusively to tending cattle, and from this derive their livelihood. They have no masters, and, whether men or women, have neither rich nor poor; they shave their heads and wear the *kashaya* robes of Bhikshus, whom they resemble outwardly, whilst they engage themselves in the ordinary affairs of lay life. They hold to their narrow (*little*) views and attack the Great Vehicle.

The old reports state that formerly these people were extremely hasty (*impatient*), and only practiced violence and cruelty. At this time there was an Arhat, who, pitying their perversity, and desiring to convert them, mounted in the air and came amongst them. He exhibited his miraculous powers and displayed his wonderful capabilities. Thus he led the people to believe and accept the doctrine, and gradually he taught them in words; all of them joyfully accepted his teaching and respectfully prayed him to direct them in their religious life. The Arhat perceiving that the hearts of the people had become submissive, delivered to them the three "Refuges" and restrained their cruel tendencies; they entirely gave up "taking life", they shaved their heads, and assumed the soiled robes of a Bhikshu, and obediently walked according to the doctrine of religion. Since then, generations have passed by and the changed times have weakened their virtue, but as for the rest, they retain their old customs. But though they wear the robes of religion, they live without any moral rules, and their sons and grandsons continue to live as worldly people, without any regard to their religious profession.

MU-LO-SAN-P'U-LU (MULASTHANAPURA)

This country (Multan) is about 4000 *li* in circuit; the capital town is some 30 *li* round. It is thickly populated. The establishments are wealthy. This country is in dependence on the kingdom of Cheka (*Tse-kia*). The soil is rich and fertile. The climate is soft and agreeable; the manners of the people are simple and honest; they love learning and honour the virtuous. The greater part sacrifice to the spirits; few believe in the law of Buddha. There

are about ten *sangharamas,* mostly in ruins; there are a few priests, who study indeed, but without any wish to excel. There are eight Deva temples, in which sectaries of various classes dwell. There is a temple dedicated to the sun (famous Sun Temple), very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-deva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. This custom has been continued from the very first. The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (*to this Deva*). They have founded a house of mercy in which they provide food, and drink, and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and sustenance. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so. On the four sides of the temple are tanks with flowering groves where one can wander about without restraint.

PO-FA-TO (PARVATA)

This country (in the Punjab) is 5000 *li* or so in circuit, its capital is about 20 *li*. It is thickly populated, and depends on the country of Cheka (*Tse-kai*). A great deal of dry-ground rice is here grown. The soil is also fit for beans and wheat. The climate is temperate, the disposition of the people honest and upright. They are naturally quick and hasty; their language is low and common. They are well versed in composition and literature. There are heretics and believers in common. There are some ten *sangharamas* with about 1000 priests; they study both the Great and Little Vehicle. There are four *stupas* built by Asoka-raja. There are also some twenty Deva temples frequented by sectaries of different sorts.

By the side of the chief town is a great *sangharama* with about 100 priests in it; they study the teaching of the Great Vehicle. It was here that Jinaputra, a master of *sastras*, composed the *Yogacaryabhumi Sastrakarika;* here also Bhadraruchi and Gunaprabha, masters of *sastras,* embraced the religious life. This great *sangharama* has been destroyed by fire, and is now waste and ruined.

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THE LIFE OF HSUAN-TSANG[416]

BOOK II

Yuan Chwang learns from Samghakirti in Kashmir:

He reached the country of Kashmira (modern Hazara). Finally he reached a monastery by the name of Huskara, in which he spent the night. In the course of a few days the Master approached the royal capital, and had reached a guest-house a distance of about one *yojana* from the city. The king and his ministers and the monks in the capital came to the guest-house to welcome him.

Having arrived at the capital the Master stayed in the Jayendra Monastery (built by the king's maternal uncle). On the following day he was invited to the palace to receive offerings, and many virtuous monks, Samghakirti and others were invited to accompany him. After the meal the king requested him to preach the Law and to start a discussion, regarding which the king was highly pleased.

Moreover, as he had come from a distant land to study and there was no written book for him to read, the king ordered twenty copyists to copy the scriptures and commentaries for him. Five men were appointed to be his attendants, and whatever he needed was provided by the king.

The reverend teacher Samghakirti was a man of high virtues who observed the *vinaya* rules very strictly. He was a deep thinker, learned and had great talents. He loved sages and respected scholars, and since the Master was a royal guest, he treated him with special favour. The Master also learned from him whole-heartedly both day and night without feeling tired, and requested him to expound the various *Sastras*.

The teacher, being nearly seventy years old, was very feeble, but he was glad to have met an intelligent pupil and so, with great effort, he exerted himself to teach him. In the mornings he expounded the *Abhidharma-kosa Sastra* and in the afternoons he explained the *Abhidharma-nyayanusara Sastra,* while after the first part of the night, he taught him the *Hetuvidya Sastra* and the *Sabdavidya Sastra*.

Thus the Master stayed in this country for two years to learn the scriptures and commentaries and to visit the holy places.

Learning from a Brahmin disciple of Nagarjuna:

(Yuan Chwang) reached the eastern part of the country of Cheka and arrived at a big city. To the west of the city and by the northern side of the road, was a large mango grove, in which lived a Brahmin 700 years old. He visited him and saw that he looked like a man of thirty with a strong body and clear mentality. He was learned in the *Madhyamika Sastra* and the *Sata Sastra,* as well as in the *Vedas*. He had two attendants, both of whom were over 100 years old. When he saw the Master, he received him with great pleasure, and on hearing that he had been robbed, the old teacher sent one of his attendants to the city to ask the Buddhist followers to prepare food for the Master.

The Master stayed here for one month to study the *Sata Sastra* and the *Sata-Sastra-vaipulya.*

This old man was a disciple of Nagarjuna, and as he had received his learning from his teacher personally, his expositions were clear and easy to understand.

Visits to Buddhist monasteries in north India:

(Yuan Chwang) reached the Tamasavana Monastery, in which lived more than 300 monks who studied the teachings of the Sarvastivadin School. The one thousand Buddhas of the *Bhadra-kalpa* will all come to this place to preach the Law for men and heavenly beings. In the 300th year after the *Nirvana* of the Sakyamuni Buddha, the *Sastra*-master Katyayana had composed the *Abhidharma-jnana-prasthana Sastras* in this monastery.

From here north-east 140 or 150 *li* was the country of Jalandhara. Here, the Master went to the Nagaradhana Monastery, in which lived a virtuous monk named Chandravarma, who was well learned in the *Tripitaka*. He stayed for four months to study the *Abhidharma-prakaranapada-vibhasa Sastra.*

Stupas of Buddha's disciples still surviving:

Eastward 500 *li* from Paryatra was the country of Mathura. Here were *stupas* for the remains of Sariputra and the other holy disciples of the Sakya Tathagata. The stupas for Sariputra and Maudgalyayanaputra and the others were still in existence, and there were also *stupas* for Maitrayaniputra,

Upali, Ananda, Rahula and Manjusri. Each year on the days of performing meritorious deeds, the monks came together to make offerings to the different stupas in accordance with their different studies. The monks who studied *Abhidharma* made offerings to Sariputra, the *Samadhists* to Maudgalyayanaputra, the *Sutraists* to Maitrayaniputra, the *Vinayists* to Upali, the *Bhiksunis* to Ananda, the *Sramaneras* to Rahula, and the *Mahayanists* to the various Bodhisattvas.

At the Ganga; studying *Vibhasa Sastra:*

Still going eastward, after travelling 800 *li*, he reached the source of the Ganges (possibly Hardwar where the Ganga emerges into the plains), which was three or four *li* wide and flowed towards the south-east. The mouth of the river was more than ten *li* wide. The water was sweet, and fine sands came down with the current. It was said in the books of the country that the Ganges was a "river of felicity"; that those who bathed in it would be purified of all sins; that those who washed their mouths with the water would be saved from calamities; that those who were drowned in it would be reborn to heaven to enjoy happiness. Thus ignorant men and women flocked to the bank of the river. But all this was a wrong belief of heretics, without reality. Later the Deva Bodhisattva came and showed them the truth, and they stopped their practices.[417]

In this country was a virtuous monk named Jayagupta, who was well learned in the *Tripitaka*. The Master stayed during the winter and half of the following spring in order to study the *Vibhasa Sastra* of the Sautrantika School.

Crossing the river to the eastern bank, he reached the country of Matipura (identified with Madawar in western Rohilkhand, near Bijnor). The king was of the Sudra caste. Here were ten monasteries with 800 monks, who studied the teachings of the Hinayana Sarvastivadin School.

In Harsha's Kanauj:

Going north-west for 200 *li*, the Master reached Kanyakubja (modern Kanauj)… The Master went to the Bhadra Monastery in which he lived for three months, and studied Buddhadasa's *Vibhasa Sastra* and Suryavarman's *Vibhasa Sastra* under the learned teacher Viryasena.

BOOK III (‘*LIFE*’)[418]

Yuan Chwang on a theological controversy in the Dhamma:

From here travelling towards the east for 500 *li*, the Master reached the country of Visoka (on the northern bank of Gomati river, north of Lucknow) in which were 20 monasteries with 3,000 monks, who studied the teaching of the Hinayana Sammatiya school. In a large monastery on the east side of the road south-east of the capital, the Arhat Devasarman composed the *Vijnana-kayapada Sastra* in which he denied the existence of ego and non-ego, and the Arhat Gopa wrote the *Treatise on the Essential Realities of Buddhism*, affirming the existence of ego and non-ego. Thus serious controversies arose between the followers of these two opposite doctrines. It was also the place where the Dharmapala Bodhisattva defeated 100 Hinayana *Sastra*-masters in seven days. Beside it stood the place where the Tathagata had preached the Law for six years.

Sravasti:

North-east again for another 500 *li*, and the Master reached the country of Sravasti (the old site is said to be in Sahet-Mahet district north west of Patna, but according to others district Khajura in Nepal). It was more than 6,000 *li* in circuit with several hundred monasteries and several thousand monks who studied the teaching of the Sammatiya School. During the Buddha’s time, this was the capital of King Prasenajit. In the city could be seen the ruins of the King’s palace, and not far to the east, the ruins of the Great Preaching Hall which King Prasenajit had built for the Buddha. A stupa was built over the site. There were other stupas at the place of the nunnery of Prajapati (Buddha’s aunt), on the ruins of Sudatta’s residence, and on the spot which marked where Angulimalya had given up his heretical views.

Ruins of Jetavana:

The Jetavana, which was the garden of Anathapindaka, lay five or six *li* to the south of the city. Formerly a monastery had been on the site but it is now in ruins. On the left and right sides of the eastern gate were two stone

pillars, 70 feet high, erected by King Asoka. All the buildings were dilapidated, with the exception of one brick house, which contained a golden image of the Buddha. When the Buddha had ascended to the heaven to preach the Law for his mother, King Prasenajit desired to see him, and on hearing that King Udayana had carved an image of the Buddha with sandalwood, he made also this image.

Conspiracy against the Buddha:

In a place not far behind the monastery some heretical *brahmacarins* had slain a harlot in order to bring reproach on the Buddha. One hundred paces to the east of the monastery a deep pit indicated the place where Devadatta, trying to kill the Buddha by poison, fell alive into hell. To the south another pit marked where *Bhikshu* Kokalika, having slandered the Buddha, fell alive into hell. 800 paces to the south, still another pit marked where Chandamana, a Brahmin woman, having slandered the Buddha, fell alive into hell. All three pits were so deep that one could not see the bottom.

The sala grove of Buddha's pari-nirvana:

Three or four *li* to the north-west of the city, he crossed the Ajitavati River, and not far along, by the side of the river, he reached the Sala Grove. The *sala* trees were like the oak with a greenish bark and white leaves which were very smooth. There were four pairs of *sala* trees of the same height at the place where the Tathagata entered Nirvana. In a large brick temple was an image of the Tathagata in the posture of entering Nirvana, with its head lying towards the north. Beside the temple was a large stupa, more than 200 feet high, built by king Asoka. He also erected a stone pillar on which was inscribed the event of the Buddha's *Nirvana*, but no date was recorded on it. It was said in tradition that the Buddha lived for eighty years and entered *Nirvana* on the 15th day of the second half of the month *Vaisakha*, corresponding with the 15th day of the 2nd month of our calendar, but the Sarvastivadins held that the Buddha entered *Nirvana* on the 8th day of the second half of the month *Karttika*, corresponding with the 8th day of the 9th month of our calendar. It had been 1,200 years since the Buddha's *Nirvana*, while some people said that it had been 1,500 years, and still others said that it had been over 900 but less than 1,000 years.

Collecting manuscripts:

In the south of Vaisali the Master crossed the Ganges and after having travelled for more than 100 *li*, he reached the city of Svetapura (a monastery) where he obtained a copy of the *Bodhisattva pitaka.*

At Nalanda; meeting with the Venerable Silabhadra:

On the tenth day the people of the Nalanda monastery sent four monks of great virtue to welcome the Master, and he went with them.

When he had reached the monastery, all the monks assembled to meet him, and a special seat was prepared for him by the side of the abbot. When the monks had seated themselves, the director of duties, beating a bell, announced that the Master was to live in the monastery and that he might use all the utensils and implements of the monastery with the other monks. Then a number of twenty monks, who were neither too old nor too young, well learned in the *Tripitaka* and good in manners, were ordered to accompany the Master to see the Right Dharma Keeper, *I.E.*, the Venerable Silabhadra. Out of respect the monks did not call him by his name but mentioned him as the Right Dharma Keeper. The Master went with the monks to see him, and having seen him, worshipped him as a teacher with utmost respect.

After they had seated themselves, he asked the Master: "Where do you come from?"

In reply, the Master said, "I came from China to learn the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* from the teacher."

On hearing this, the Right, Dharma Keeper shed tears and called for his disciple Buddhabhadra, who was his nephew, more than seventy years old, thoroughly learned in the *Tripitaka* and eloquent in discussion. He said to him: "You may tell the monks how I suffered from illness three years ago."

On hearing this, Buddhabhadra dried his tears and related the event, saying: "The teacher used to suffer from rheumatism and each time when it relapsed he fell into convulsions and felt pain as sharp as if he were burned by fire or pricked by a knife. This illness troubled him for a period of more than twenty years; he sometimes recovered, sometimes relapsed. Three years ago the pain was aggravated to such an extent that the teacher became tired of his body and wished to end his life by starvation. One night he saw

in a dream three heavenly beings, of whom one was golden yellow in colour, one was green and the other one silver white in colour. They had good features and were well-dressed, and they came and asked the teacher: 'Do you intend to give up your body? It is said in the scriptures that this body is an object of suffering, but it is not taught to give up one's body. You were once a king in one of your past lives and caused much pain to the people, and thus you are suffering your retribution now. You should meditate on your past evil deeds with a sincere mind of repentance. Be patient with the pain and preach the scripture and commentaries diligently, and then it will disappear. By giving up your body, you can never end your pains.'

"Upon hearing this, the teacher respectfully worshipped them, and the golden figure, pointing at the green person, said to the teacher: 'Do you recognise him? He is the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva.' He then pointed at the silvery person and said: 'This is the Maitreya Bodhisattva.' The teacher then worshipped the Maitreya Bodhisattva and asked: 'I have always wished to be reborn in your palace, but I do not know whether I shall be able to realize my wish.' In reply, the Bodhisattva said: 'If you widely spread the Right Law, you will be able to be reborn there.' Then the golden figure said: 'I am the Manjusri Bodhisattva. As we saw that you intended to abandon your body without any advantageous purpose, we have come to give you some advice. You should act according to my words to propagate the Right Law and preach the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* and the other books to those people who have not yet heard about them. You will then gradually recover from your illness and you need not worry about it. A Chinese monk who wishes to learn the great Law will come to study from you. You may wait to teach him.' Upon hearing this Right Dharma Keeper worshipped them and said: 'I will act according to your instructions.'

When he had said so, the Bodhisattvas disappeared. Since then, the teacher is relieved of his painful illness."

The Master felt both excited and happy, and he again worshipped the teacher, saying: "since such is the case as has been said, I will study with utmost effort. May you be kind enough to accept me as a pupil."

The Right Dharma Keeper asked again: "How many years did you spend on the way?"

"Three years," replied the Master.

Since the time coincided with his dream, the teacher said many pleasant things to please the Master, in order to show his affection as a teacher to a pupil.

After the interview the Master took his leave. He was lodged on the fourth storey of Buddhabadra's house in the courtyard of King Baladitya. After having been entertained for seven days, he was lodged in a guest-house, to the north of the house of the Dharmapala Bodhisattva, and his daily requisites were increased.

He was attended by one servant and one Brahman and was exempted from ordinary monastic duties, and when he went out he had an elephant to ride on. Of a total number of 10,000 host and guest monks of the Nalanda Monastery, only ten persons, including the Master, enjoyed such privileges. Wherever he travelled the Master was always treated with respect like this.

Nalanda means "insatiable of giving". It was said in tradition that there was a pond in the mango grove to the south of the monastery. In the pond was a dragon by the name of Nalanda, and as the monastery was built beside it, it was called by this name. It was also said that when the Tathagata was a king during the time when he pracitsed the ways of a Bodhisattva, he founded his capital at this place, and as he often gave alms to the poor and the lonely with a mind of compassion, the people named this place as "insatiable of giving" in gratitude for his favours. This place was originally the garden of the elder Amra, and five hundred merchants bought it over with ten million golden coins to offer to the Buddha, who preached the Law at this place for three months and many of the merchants realised sainthood. After the Buddha's *Nirvana* a former king of this country, Sakraditya, built this monastery in memory of the Buddha. After the death of the king, his son, King Buddhagupta, succeeded him and built another monastery to the south. His son, King Tathagata, also built a monastery at the east. His son, King Baladitya, again built another monastery to the north-east, and when he saw that a holy monk had come from China and stayed in his monastery, he was so pleased that he abdicated and became a monk himself. His son, Vajra, succeeded him and built another monastery at the north. Afterwards a king of Central India built a monastery beside it. Thus six kings built as many monasteries one after the other, and an enclosure was made with bricks to make all the buildings into one monastery with one entrance for them all.

The Hamsa-stupa:

Several *li* towards the east, a *stupa* marked the place where the King Bimbisara and hundreds and thousands of his people welcomed the Buddha when he was coming to Rajagrha after he had attained enlightenment. Thirty *li* further was Indrasailaguha. In front of the monastery on the east peak of the mountain, was a stupa called the "*Hamsa-stupa*." Formerly the monks of this monastery ate the three kinds of pure meat according to the "gradual teaching" of the Hinayana School. Once this kind of food could not be purchased, and the monk in charge did not know what to do. When he saw a flock of wild geese flying in the sky, he said jokingly: "Today the monks are short of food, and the Mahasattva should know that this is the proper time to make a sacrifice."

When he had said so, the goose that led the others in the flight, returned and dropped from the high clouds to the ground. On seeing this the monk was frightened and felt ashamed. He informed the monks, and those who heard of it shed tears of regret. They said, "This is a bodhisattva, and who are we to dare to eat his flesh?

The Tathagata has taught the 'gradual teaching' for us to advance gradually, but we grasped what he has taught at the beginning as his final teaching. It is owing to our stupidity without trying to correct our error that caused this disaster. From now onwards we should act according to the Mahayana teachings and never eat the three kinds of pure meat again."

Thereupon they built a *stupa* to bury the dead goose in memory of its spirit of self-sacrifice, and this was the *stupa* that they had built for that purpose.

Studying the Sastras for five years at Nalanda:

In the Monastery the Master attended the lectures on the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* for three times, the *Abhidharma-nyayanusara*, the *Prakaranaryavaca Sastra* and the *Abhidharma-samuccaya-vyakhya* each for one time, the *Hetuvidya Sastra*, the *Sabdavidya Sastra* and the *Samuccaya-pramana Sastra* each for two times, the *Madhyamika Sastra* and the *Sata Sastra* each for three times. As regards the *Abhidharma-kosa Sastra*, the *Vibhasa Sastra*, the six *Abhidharma-pada Sastras*, etc. which he

had already learned in Kasmira and the other countries, he merely clarified the doubtful points that he had found in them.

He also studied the Brahmanic book, and this Indian Brahmanic book was known as the *Mnemonic Treatise*, the origin and author of which were unknown. It was first taught by Brahma to the *devas* at the beginning of each *kalpa*, and as it was taught by Brahma, it was called the Brahmanic Book. It is a voluminous work, having one million stanzas, which was translated in old times as the *Pi-chieb-lo Sastra,* but the spelling was incorrect. Its proper name is *Vyakarana*, meaning a mnemonic treatise on the science of words. It is so called because it deals extensively with the words that convey all the *dharmas*.

Formerly at the beginning of the Constructive *Kalpa*, Brahma first taught it in one million stanzas, and later at the beginning of the Duration *Kalpa*, Indra abridged it to one hundred thousand stanzas. Still later the *Rsi* Panini of Salatura City of Gandhara in North India, again reduced it to eight thousand stanzas, and this was the text which was prevalent in India. Recently a Brahman of South India again shortened it to two thousand and five hundred stanzas for the king of south India, but this text was prevalent only in the frontier countries and the learned scholars of India never studied it.

The Master thoroughly understood this language and was able to discuss the holy scriptures with the people of India. Thus he studied the scriptures of the various schools and the Brahmanic books for a period of five years (at Nalanda).

The Kapota (Pigeon) Monastery:

From here he went again to the country of Hiranyaparvata (modern Monghyr). On his way he reached the Kapota Monastery.

An image of the Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva carved from sandalwood stood in the central temple. It was particularly miraculous, and always before it were several tens of people fasting for seven or even fourteen days, praying for the fulfilment of their wishes. Those who were most devout might behold the Bodhisattva coming out of the sandalwood image in a stately manner with a brilliant light, to console them and grant their

wishes. Many people saw the Bodhisattva in such a way and thus more and more devotees came to worship him.

The man who attended the image feared that the visitors might soil it, and so he enclosed it with a wooden railing on the four sides at about seven steps from it. The people who came to worship the image did so outside the railings and could not go near it. Offerings to it of incenses and flowers were scattered at a distance. When the flowers rested on the hand or hung upon the arm of the image, it was regarded as auspicious and that one's wishes would be fulfilled.

Wishing to pray before the image, the Master brought different flowers and made some garlands with them. On approaching the image, he worshipped and praised it with a sincere mind. Then he knelt and made three wishes, saying: "First, may the flowers rest on your hand if I may safely return to my own country after I have completed my studies here; second, may the flowers hang upon your arms if I may be reborn to the Tusita Heaven to serve the Maitreya Bodhisattva by the merit and wisdom which I have cultivated; third, as it is taught in the holy teachings that a part of the sentient beings do not possess the Buddha-nature, I am now in doubt, not knowing whether I have it or not – may the flowers hang upon your neck if I have the Buddha-nature and may become a Buddha in the future."

Having said so, he scattered the flowers at a distance and they all stayed at the places as he had wished. Having fulfilled his wishes, he was greatly delighted, and on seeing this event the people who worshipped together with him and the keeper of the temple snapped their fingers and stamped their feet on the ground, saying that it was an unprecedented affair, and they suggested that the Master on account of this event should come to save them first when he should become a Buddha in the future.

Studying the holy books:

From the monastery the Master continued to the country of Hiranyaparvata.

Two great teachers, Tathagatagupta and Ksantisimha, dwelt here both of whom were well versed in the teachings of the Sarvastivadin School. The master stayed for one year to study from them the *Vibhasa Sastra* and the *Abhidharma-nyayanusara* and some other books.

BOOK IV (‘*LIFE*’)

En route to Sri Lanka (Ceylon, Simhala):

At that time the Master heard that there was the country of Simhala situated in the sea, and that there were people who were learned in the *Tripitaka* of the Sthavira School and understood the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra*. One had to sail over the sea for 700 *yojanas* before one could reach that country. Before he started the voyage, he met a monk of South India, who advised him, saying: “If you want to go to the Country of Lions, you need not take the sea route, as there are always tempests and the trouble of *Yaksas* in the sea. You may go from the south-east corner of South India and reach that country after a voyage of only three days. You will have to climb over mountains and go across rivers, but it will be much safer for you, and moreover you may go to visit the holy places in the country of Uda and in the other countries.”

Thus the Master proceeded towards the south-west to the country of Uda. In its 100 monasteries 10,000 monks studied the teachings of Mahayana Buddhism. There were also heretical *deva*-temples; and the Buddhists and non-Buddhists lived together. Ten *stupas*, all built by King Asoka, often had miraculous manifestations.

From Kalinga the Master proceeded north-west for 1,800 *li* to the country of South Kosala (ancient Vidarbha or Berar). The king was a Ksattriya by birth, and he respected Buddhism and loved the arts and learning. The country had 100 monasteries with 10,000 monks. Heretics, who worshipped in *deva*-temples, were also numerous. Not far to the south of the city was an old monastery, beside it a *stupa*, built by King Asoka. Formerly the Tathagata subdued the heretics at this place with his great supernatural powers, and afterwards the Nagarjuna Bodhisattva lived in this monastery. At that time the king of this country, named Satavahana, respected Nagarjuna and provided him with rich offerings.

The Deva Bodhisattva came from the country of Simhala, wishing to have a discussion with Nagarjuna. He requested to be admitted. The door-keeper reported to Nagarjuna, who, having heard the fame of the visitor, filled a bowl with water and asked his disciple to show it to him. On seeing the water Deva silently dropped a needle into it, and the disciple took it back to

his teacher. Nagarjuna was greatly pleased by this and said with delight: "The bowl filled with water signifies my learning, and his dropping of the needle means that he could fathom the depth of my knowledge. With such a man I could discuss the mysterious teachings and to whom I may hand down the lamp of learning."

Thus he gave the order to admit him, and when they had seated themselves, they talked and discussed to their mutual delight and were as happy as a fish put in water. Nagarjuna said: "I am old and feeble, and it will depend on you to make the Sun of Wisdom shine."

Deva stood up and saluted Nagarjuna at his feet, saying: "Although I am stupid, I will be glad to receive your kind instructions."

In this country a certain Brahmin was well versed in *Hetuvidya*, and the Master stayed there for more than a month to study the *Samuccaya-pramana Sastra*.

From this place the Master travelled south-east through a big forest 900 *li* to the country of Andhra (modern Telingana). Beside the city stood a large monastery, a magnificent construction of a beautiful and stately appearance. In front of it stood a stone *stupa*, several hundred feet high, built by the Arhat Acara. At a distance of 20 *li* to the south west for the arhat's monastery, on an isolated hill, was a stone *stupa*, built at the place where the Dinnaga Bodhisattva composed the *Hetuvidya Sastra.*

Going south 1,000 *li* the Master reached the country of Dhanakataka (modern Bezwada on the Kistna river).

In this country the master met two monks. One was named Subhuti and the other one, Surya. They were well versed in the *Tripitaka* of the Mahasamghika School. He stayed for several months to study the *Mulabhidharma Sastra* and some other books of the Mahasamghika school from them, while they also studied the various *Mahayana Sastras* from the Master. Then they travelled together to visit and worship the holy places.

Birthplace of Dharmapala Bodhisattva:

From Culya the Master went through a big forest towards the south for 1,500 or 1,600 *li* to the country of Dravida (modern Nagapatam). The capital of this country was Kancipura, which was the birthplace of the Dharmapala Bodhisattva. This bodhisattva was the son of a minister of this

country and was very intelligent since his youth. When he had come to age, the king admired his talents and wanted to marry the princess to him. But as the Bodhisattva had practiced celibacy for a long time, he had no desire to be attached by marriage, and he was greatly worried on the night of the wedding. Wishing to escape from his trouble he prayed before an image of the Buddha. In response to his earnest prayers, a great king of gods bore him out and sent him to the shrine hall of a monastery on a hill at a distance of several hundred *li* from the capital. When the monks came and saw him, they took him to be a thief. The Bodhisattva told them of his dilemma, and those who heard it were amazed and respected him for his sublime ambition. Thus he renounced his home and became a monk. Afterwards he devoted himself to the study of the Right Law and thoroughly mastered all the scriptures of the different categories and wrote many books. He composed the *Sabdavidya-samyukta Sastra* in 25,000 stanzas and also wrote several tens of books in exposition of the *Sata-Sastra-vaipulya*, the *Vijnaptimatra-siddhi Sastra*, the *Hetuvidya Sastra* and some other works. All his books were widely read, and there was a special biography of him detailing his rich virtues and high talents.

Simhala monks arrive in Kancipura:

The city of Kancipura was a seaport of South India, and starting from here one could reach the country of Simhala after a voyage of three days. Before the Master started his voyage, the king of that country had died and a severe famine occurred in that land. More than 300 learned monks, headed by *Bodhimedhesvara* and *Abhayadanstra*, came to India and arrived at Kancipura. Having met the monks, the Master asked them: “As I know that the learned monks of your country are well versed in the *Tripitaka* of the Sthavira School and in the *Yogacarvya-bhumi Sastra,* I am prepared to go there. How is it that you teachers have come here?”

In reply they said: “As the king of our country has died and the people are suffering from famine, we have nobody to depend upon. We have heard that Jambudvipa is a rich and happy country in which one could live in safety, and moreover it is the land in which the Buddha was born and there are many holy places. Therefore we have come here. As regards those knowing

the *Dharma*, none surpassed us in our country, and if your reverence has any doubtful questions, you may inquire of us as you please."

The Master then quoted some important passages of the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* for elucidation, but they could not give a better explanation than Silabhadra.

Sandal and camphor trees:

The Master had heard that at a distance of more than 3,000 *li* was the country of Malakuta (including modern Tanjore and Madura on the east, and Coimbatore, Cochin and Travancore on the west). It was situated by the seaside and was rich in unusual jewels. To the east of the capital was a *stupa*, built by King Asoka. Formerly the Tathagata preached the Law and exhibited great supernatural powers to convert countless people at this place. In the south by the seaside was the Malaya Mountain which had lofty peaks and deep valleys. On the mountain were many white *candana* and *candaneva* trees. The latter resembled the poplar and its wood was cool by nature, and thus serpents used to twine around these trees till the winter when they went away to hibernate. By this way the *candaneva* trees were distinguished from the *candana* trees. There were also fragrant *karpura* trees, which looked like the pine, but had a different kind of leaf and their flowers and fruits also were different. When the wood of these trees was sappy, it had no scent, but when it was dried it produced a kind of fragrant substance resembling mica with a snow-white colour. This is what we call camphor.

Crown of prince Sarvasiddhartha:

From Dravida the Master travelled back towards the north-west with more than 70 monks from the country of Simhala to visit and worship the holy places. After more than 2,000 *li* he reached the country of Konkanapura (Annagundhi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra river was its capital). It had 100 monasteries with more than 10,000 monks who studied the teachings of both the Mahayana and Hinayana Schools. Numerous heretics worshipped in *deva*-temples. Beside the king's palace city was a large monastery in which lived 300 monks, all well learned scholars. In the monastery the precious crown of prince Sarvasiddhartha, which was less

than two feet high, was kept in a precious casket. On festival days it was displayed on a high terrace, and those who worshipped it with a sincere mind might cause it to emit a wonderful light. The monastery beside the palace city had a shrine hall, in which an image of the Maitreya Bodhisattva carved in sandalwood, more than ten feet high, also often emitted a bright light. It was said that this image was made by the Arhat Sronakotivimsa.

Tala trees:

To the north of the city was a wood of *tala*-trees, 30 *li* in circuit. The leaves of these trees were oblong with a bright colour, and they were the most valuable material for writing in the various countries.

In Maharastra:

Proceeding towards the north-west through a big forest infested with wild beasts, and after travelling for 2,400 or 2,500 *li*, the Master reached the country of Maharastra (Nasik capital of this ancient land). The people of this country preferred death to disloyalty, and the king, being a Ksattriya by birth, was warlike and loved military arts. Thus the troops of this country were well disciplined under strict military rules. When his generals went to fight with his enemies and were defeated in battle, they were not inflicted with any punishment, but were simply ordered to wear women's dress in order to humiliate them. Many of them, filled with shame, committed suicide. The king kept a number of several thousand brave men and several hundred wild elephants. As the time of battle approached he gave them much wine to drink, and they were sent to the front when they were almost drunk. Thus they would dash forward and break up the enemy's line. Depending on his military strength, the king was arrogant and regarded with contempt his enemies in the neighbouring counties. King Siladitya, who was sure of his own strategic talents and military strength, came to attack this country personally, but failed to subjugate it.

More than 100 Monasteries existed with 5,000 monks who studied the teachings of both the Mahayana and Hinayana Schools. In the country were also *deva*-temples of the heretics who smeared dust on their bodies. The five *stupas* inside and outside the capital city were all several hundred feet

high. These were places where the four past Buddhas had visited, and the *stupas* were built by King Asoka.

About Buddha in Sindh:

Again north-east for 300 *li*, to the country of Avanda (Middle Sindh). In the big forest to the north-east of the capital, were the old foundations of a monastery, in which the Buddha had formerly permitted the monks to wear leather sandals. Beside a *stupa* built by King Asoka was a temple, in which stood an image of the Buddha made of blue stone, which often issued a bright light. Further to the south in the big forest at a distance of more than 800 paces was another *stupa* which was built by King Asoka. This was the place where the Tathagata had formerly spent a night, and as it was cold he covered himself with three robes at the same time. Thus in the following morning, he permitted the monks to wear double robes.

From here the Master went east for more than 700 *li* to the country of Sindh. This land produced gold, silver, bronze, oxen, sheep and camels, as well as red, white and black salt, which the people of other places used as medicine.

Multan's Sun temple:

Continuing east 900 *li*, he crossed the river to the eastern bank and reached the country of Morasampuru (modern Multan). The people worshipped the *devas* in a magnificent temple, in which there was an image of Surya which was cast in gold and adorned with the various kinds of gems. The people of the different countries often came to pray before this image. All around the temple were flowers, trees, ponds and terraces connected with one another, and those who visited the place would feel delighted with its scenery.

Studying in Parvata:

Going north-east for 700 *li*, the Master reached the country of Parvata. In a large monastery lived more than 100 monks, who all studied Mahayana teachings. This was the place where the *Sastra*-master Jinaputra composed the *Commentary* on the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra,* and it was also the place where the *Sastra*-masters Bhadraruci and Gunaprabha renounced their

home to become monks. As there were two or three well-learned teachers under whom one might study, the Master stayed here for two years to learn the *Mulabhidharma* of the Sammatiya School, the *Sadharma-Samparigraha Sastra* and the *Prasiksa-satya Sastra*.

Return to Nalanda and further studies with Prasenajit:

He returned from Parvata to the Nalanda monastery in Magadha. After having paid homage to the Right Law Keeper, he heard that at a distance of three *yojanas* to the west of the monastery was the Tiladaka Monastery, in which lived a learned monk named Prajnabhadra, who was a native of Balapati and had become a monk of the Sarvastivadin School. He was well versed in the *Tripitaka* of his own school, as well as in *Sabdavidya* and *Hetuvidya*.

After staying two months to solve some doubtful points that he had in his mind, he again went to the Staff-forest Hill to visit the hermit *Sastra*-master Prasenajit. Prasenajit was a native of Suratha and a Ksatriya by birth. He had loved learning since his youth, and studied at first *Hetuvidya* from the *Sastra*-master Bhadraruci and learned *Sabdavidya* and the various *Sastras* of both Mahayana and Hinayana Schools under the Sthitamati Bodhisattva. He also learned the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* from the venerable Silabhadra, and he thoroughly mastered all the non-Buddhist books, such as the Four *Vedas*, astronomy, geography, medicine and mathematics, of which he had a deep understanding in their full details. Since he was well-learned in both Buddhist and non-Buddhists knowledges and was respected by the people for his virtue, King Purnavarman of Magadha, who respected sages and scholars, was quite pleased to hear his name and sent an envoy to invite him to be the royal teacher with a conferment of twenty villages as his fief. But the *Sastra*-master declined the offer. King Siladitya then invited him to be his teacher with a conferment of eighty large villages in the country of Uda as his fief, but the *Sastra*-master also declined this offer. The king insisted on his invitation again and again, but Prasenajit refused with determination to accept it. He said to the king: “I have heard that if one accepted the gifts of others, one would have to share their responsibilities. Now as I am urgently engaged in my work for the liberation of rebirth, how can I have time to attend to the king’s affairs?”

Saying so, he saluted the king and went away, and so the king could detain him no more. Since then he had always lived on the Staff-forest Hill teaching pupils and expounding Buddhist scriptures.

The Master stayed with him for two years to learn the *Explanatory Treatise on the Vijnaptimatrasiddhi Sastra,* the *Treatise on Doctrinal Theories,* the *Abhaya-siddhi Sastra,* the *Treatise on Non-attachment of Nirvana,* the *Treatise on the Twelve Nidanas* and the *Mahayana-Sutralamkara Sastra*, and he also solved some doubtful points in the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* and the *Hetuvidya Sastra*.

Prophecy of the fall of Nalanda:

When the Master had completed his studies, he dreamed one night that the buildings of the Nalanda Monastery were deserted and in a dirty condition with some buffaloes tied in the houses. He entered the monastery through the western gate of King Baladitya's Court and saw a golden figure on the fourth storey, who had a stately appearance and whose light filled the room. With a happy mind he desired to ascend to the storey, and as he could not find the way, he requested the golden figure to lead him. But the figure said: "I am the Manjusri Bodhisattva. Owing to your karmic force, you cannot come up here." Then he pointed at the outside of the monastery and said: "Look there!"

The Master looked and saw that a great fire consumed all the villages and towns outside the monastery. The golden figure said to him: "You may return home at an early time, as after ten years King Siladitya of this country will die and India will be in a state of famine and disorder, and the evil people may hurt you. You ought to know this."

Having said so the golden figure disappeared.

When the Master awoke, he thought the dream very strange and told it to Prasenajit, who said to him: "It may be true, as the three Realms are indeed a place of insecurity. Since you have been told so, you may make your own decision."

Later at the end of the period of Yung Hui (AD 650-655), King Siladitya actually died and India fell into a state of famine and disorder, just as had been foretold. Wang Hsuan-tse, the imperial envoy to India, witnessed all these events…

The Master expounds the Law:

The *Sastra*-master Silabhadra asked the Master to expound the *Mahayana-samgraha Sastra* and the *Explanatory Treatise on the Vijnaptimatrasiddhi Sastra* for the monks. The learned teacher, Simhaprabha, had previously expounded the *Madhyamika Sastra* and the *Sata Sastra* for the four groups of followers,[419] in refutation of the teachings of the Yoga School. Being well versed in the *Madhyamika Sastra* and the *Sata Sastra,* as well as in the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra*, the Master considered that the saints established their teachings in accordance with their particular views without contradiction. If one did not thoroughly understand the teachings and said that they were contradictory, it was but the fault of the student and had nothing to do with the Law. Having pity for his narrow-mindedness, the Master went to interrogate him several times, but he was unable to give adequate replies. Thus his pupils gradually dispersed and came to study under the Master.

The Master told him that the teachings of the *Madhyamika Sastra* and the *Sata Sastra* only refuted the theory which regarded the seeming to be real, but did not mention about the nature of dependant arising and the nature of absolute reality. Simhapraha could not comprehend this, but asserted that the theory concerning the nature of absolute reality as advocated by the *Yogacarya* School should also be discarded, as it was taught in the *Sastras* that everything was void without a true nature. Thus he often expressed his opinion in his sayings. In order to harmonise the teachings of the two schools without any contradiction, the Master composed the *Treatise on the Harmony of Teachings* in 3,000 stanzas. When it was completed, he presented it to Silabhadra and all the monks, who praised it as a good work and declared that it should be studied by all.

Feeling ashamed of himself, Simhaprabha went away to the Bodhi monastery and asked Candrasimha of East India, who was his schoolmate, to come and raise a debate with the Master in order to erase his humiliation. But when that man came, he felt so awed in the presence of the Master that he could not utter a word. Thus the Master's reputation rose still higher.

King Siladitya accepts a challenge:

Before Simhaprabha went away, King Siladitya had constructed a bronze temple over a hundred feet high beside the Nalanda Monastery, and this bronze temple was well-known in the various countries. Afterwards the king went to conquer Konyodha and arrived in the country of Uda on his way. The monks of this country all studied Hinayana teachings and did not believe in Mahayana Buddhism, which, they said, was the teaching of the Sunyapuspa heretics and was not taught by the Buddha. On seeing the king they said to him with derision: "We have heard that Your Majesty has constructed a bronze temple beside the Nalanda Monastery, which is indeed a grand and magnificent work. But why did Your Majesty choose to build it there and not beside some heretical temple of the Kapalikas?"

The king said: "what do you mean by saying so?"

They replied: "because the monks of the Nalanda Monastery are Sunyapuspa heretics and are just the same as the Kapalikas."

Formerly an old Brahmana named Prajnagupta, who was the Master conducting the coronation ceremony of the king of South India and was well-learned in the teachings of the Sammatiya School, composed a treatise in 700 stanzas for the refutation of Mahayana Buddhism. The Hinayana teachers were all delighted with the work, and they showed it to the king, saying: "This is the teaching of our school. Could there be any Mahayanist who could refute a single word of it?"

The king said: "That will not be difficult."

He wrote a letter on that day and dispatched a messenger to send it to the venerable Silabhadra, the Keeper of the Right Law, of the Nalanda Monastery.

"…I am writing this to inform you of the above and wish you would send four virtuous monks who are well versed in the teachings of both Mahayana and Hinayana Schools, as well as in non-Buddhist knowledge, to come to the country of Uda where I am staying."

On receiving this letter, the Keeper of the Right Law assembled the monks to select the competent persons, and he appointed Sagarajnana, Prajnaprabha, Simhaprabha and the Master as the four persons to comply with the king's order. Sagarajnana and the other two monks were quite worried, but the Master said to them: "I have learned the whole *Tripitaka* of the various sects of Hinayana Buddhism while I was in my own country and when I was staying in Kasmira, and thus I thoroughly understand their

teachings. It is impossible for them to refute Mahayana teachings with their own theories: although I am not deeply learned with but little wisdom, I shall be able to deal with them, and therefore you need not worry about it. If I am defeated in the debate, it will be the failure of a Chinese monk and will have nothing to do with you."

On hearing this, the other monks were pleased.

But afterwards King Siladitya sent another letter to them, saying that the virtuous monks whom he had invited previously, need not go immediately, but should wait for further notifications before they started. …

At the time when the Master intended to visit Uda, he obtained a copy of the Hinayana treatise composed in 700 stanzas in refutation of Mahayana teachings. He read through the composition and found several doubtful points in it. Thus he asked the Brahmana (his slave after defeat in an oral contest) whom he had defeated in the debate: "Have you studied this treatise before?"

He replied: "I have studied it five times."

The Master desired him to explain it for him, but he said: "Being a slave of yours, how can I explain anything to your reverence?"

The Master said: "This is the theory of some other school, which I have not heard before. You may explain it for me without scruple."

In the night the Master sent away all the people and asked the Brahmana to expound the treatise once, and he grasped the essential principles of the treatise. Having found out all the fallacious points in the work, he composed the *Refutation of Evil Views* in 1,600 stanzas to refute them all with the teachings of Mahayana Buddhism. He presented his work to the venerable Silabhadra and showed it to his students, who all praised him, saying: "With his profound wisdom, he has no opponent whom he cannot vanquish!"

This treatise is preserved somewhere else.

Then he said to the Brahmana: "You have been sufficiently humiliated to be my slave after you were defeated in the debate. Now I give you freedom and let you go wherever you like."

The Brahmana was highly pleased, and taking leave of the Master, he went to the country of Kamarupa (present western Assam) in East India, where he talked with King Kumara about the virtue and righteousness of

the Master. The king was delighted to hear this and immediately sent an envoy to invite the Master to go to his country.

BOOK V (‘*LIFE*’)

Prophecy of a Jaina saint:

Before the arrival of the envoy of King Kumara, one day a certain naked Nirgrantha, named Vajra, came into the chamber of the Master. Having heard that the Nirgranthas were good at divining, the Master asked him to take a seat and requested him to solve some of his doubts, saying: “Being a Chinese monk I have come here to study for so many years. Now I intend to return home, but I do not know whether I shall be able to reach my native country. Moreover, which would be better for me – staying in this country or going home? And I wish to know the length of my life. Will you please divine these matters for me?”

The Nirgrantha then asked for a piece of white stone and used it to draw lines on the ground for divination. He said to the Master: “It will be good for you to stay, as the religious people and laymen of the five Indias will all treat you with respect. If you return home, you will be able to reach your home safely and will also be treated with respect, but it will not be as good as staying here. As regards the length of your life, you will live for ten more years from now on, but if you perform meritorious deeds to prolong your life, then it is beyond my knowledge.”

The Master then stated that, as he was desirous of returning, he did not know whether he was able to carry home the great amount of scriptures and images of the Buddha.

The Nirgrantha replied: “Don’t worry about that. King Siladitya and King Kumara will appoint men to send you back and you can reach home without difficulty.”

The Master said: “As I have never seen these two kings, how can they grant me such favours?”

The Nirgratha said: “King Kumara has already sent an envoy to come to invite you and he will be here in two or three days. After having seen King Kumara, you will also see King Siladitya.”

Yuan Chwang prepares to return home:

The Master then made arrangements about his scriptures and images of the Buddha, preparing for his homeward journey. Having heard of this, the monks all came to advise him to stay, saying: "India is the country where the Buddha was born. Although the Great Saint has passed away, the holy traces left by him are still in existence, and it will be quite delightful for you to go round and pay homage to them. Why do you want to go away after having come to this country? Moreover, China is but a border-land where good people are not respected and the *Dharma* is despised. Therefore the Buddhas are never born in that country, and as the people are narrow-minded with deep impurities, the saints and holy men will never go there. The climate is cold there and the road is dangerous. Why do you think of going back?"

The Master replied: "When the Buddha founded his teaching he meant them to be propagated. How can I forget about those who have not heard the Law, while I have been benefitted by it? Moreover China is a highly civilised country where the people have a high standard of behaviour, the emperor is sagacious. And his ministers are loyal, and the father is kind towards his son while the son is filial towards his father. Kindness and righteousness are esteemed and the aged and the wise, respected. They are moreover able to discern what is subtle and profound, and their wisdom is corresponding with that of the gods. They act in accordance with the law of nature, and the seven planets could not overshadow their cultural brilliance. They have invented the device for the division of time and created the musical instruments of six notes. They are able to enslave the birds and beasts, inspire the ghosts and spirits and employ the principles of negativity and positivity (*yin* and *yang*) for the benefit of all creatures. Since the Buddha's bequeathed Law was introduced to the East, they have believed in Mahayana Buddhism. They practice meditation as tranquilly as a pond of clear water, and they observe the *Vinaya* rules in a manner as lovely as the fragrance of flowers. They cherish the mind to practice the deeds of a Bodhisattva with the wish to attain the Ten Stages, (of development to the Bodhisattva stage) and they cultivate spiritual perfection with joined palms in order to realize the Three Bodies of a Buddha (the *Dharmakaya* or body of *Dharma* which is the reality of everything; the *Sambhogakaya* or body of

reward; and the *Nirmanakaya* or body of transformation). Great saints have always appeared in that land to edify the people, who have heard their wonderful teachings with their own ears and witnessed their golden features with their own eyes. They are just like a carriage drawn by two horses – how far it could travel you can never know. How can you despise that land simply because the Buddha was not born there?"

Seeing that the Master would not accept their advice, the monks asked him to go with them to see the Venerable Silabhadra to whom they expressed their wishes. Silabhadra inquired to the Master: "what is your decision?"

The Master said in reply: "As this is the country where the Buddha was born, I am certainly not unwilling to stay here. But I came here with the intention to acquire the great Law for the benefit of all living beings. Since my arrival I have been privileged to learn the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* from your Reverence, and thus all my doubts have been solved. I have visited the various holy places and studied the teachings of the different schools to my great content that I feel I have not come in vain. Now I wish to return home to translate the books that I have learned into Chinese, so that those who have the good chance may also study them. In this way I wish to repay the kindness of my teacher, and that is why I do not wish to linger here any longer."

Silabhadra was quite pleased to hear this and said: "This is indeed the wish of a Bodhisattva and it is also what I expect of you. Let him make the necessary arrangements and you people need not try to detain him any more."

Two days afterwards the envoy of King Kumara of East India arrived with a letter for Silabhadra, in which the king said: "Your disciple wishes to see the venerable monk of China. May the teacher be kind enough to let him come so as to satisfy my wish."

After receiving the letter, Silabhadra said to the monks: "King Kumara desires to invite Hsuan-tsang to his country. But he has already been appointed by the community to go to King Siladitya to debate with the Hinayanists. If he goes now where shall we find him again, should King Siladitya send for him? We should not let him go."

Then he said to the envoy: "The Chinese monk is preparing to return to his own country and has no time to accept the king's invitation."

When the envoy returned home, the king send him again with the messages, saying: “Even if the teacher is intending to go back to his own country, it will not be difficult for him to come to my place for sometime before he leaves. May you comply with my request and do not decline my invitation again.”

But Silabhadra still would not let him go, and thus the king was greatly enraged [threatened to destroy the Nalanda Monastery…]

Yuan Chwang goes to meet King Kumara:

On receiving this letter Silabhadra said to the Master.

“You had better go to him since we renounced our homes for the benefit of others and this is the right time to carry out our duties. It is like cutting a tree – you just break the root and the branches will wither by themselves. You may go there and make the king a Buddhist, and then this people will follow his example. If you do not accept his invitation, something disastrous might happen. I wish you will not refuse the trouble of going there.”

Thus the Master took leave of his teacher and went away with the king’s envoy.

The Master stayed there for more than a month.

When King Siladitya returned from his campaign in Konyodha, he heard that the Master was at Kumara’s place.

King Siladitya sends for Yuan Chwang:

He sent an envoy to King Kumara, asking him to send the Chinese monk to him immediately. But king Kumara said: “You could have my head, but I will not let the Master come immediately.” (Siladitya responded that the king may send his head back with his envoy…)

King Kumara feared that he had spoken wrongly, and he immediately gave order to arrange 20,000 elephant troops in 30,000 boats and sailed together with the Master along the Ganges to the place of King Siladitya. When they reached the country of Kajangala (probably situated at Sicligully or Rajmahal, or in their vicinity) they met King Siladitya.

Before he started the voyage, King Kumara had sent his men to prepare a temporary palace at the northern side of the Ganges. On the day of his

arrival he crossed the river and reached his temporary palace, and after having lodged the Master in his palace, he and his ministers went to see King Siladitya at the southern side of the river.

It was the custom of King Siladitya that wherever he went a number of several hundred golden drums were beaten to keep time with his pace and this was called as the "pace-rhythm drum". Only King Siladitya enjoyed such a privilege and no other kings had the same honour.

When he had arrived, he worshipped the Master at his feet and scattered flowers with adoration. After having praised the Master with numerous eulogistic stanzas, he said to him: "How is it that you did not come when I previously invited you?"

The Master replied: "I came from a distant land to seek for Buddhism and to learn the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra*. When I received your order I was just in the midst of learning the *Sastra* and so I was unable to come to pay my respect".

The king asked again: "You came from China, and I have heard that you have a musical composition called as the '*Triumph of the Prince of Chin*' in your country. I do not know who this Prince of Chin is and what meritorious deeds he has done so as to earn such praises for himself."

The master said: "It is the custom of my country that the people composed songs in praise of that sagacious and virtuous person who could suppress evil powers for the people and be advantageous to all. These songs are either sung on ceremonial occasions in the ancestral temple, or sung by the common people as folk-songs. The prince of Chin is the present emperor of China, and he was made the Prince of Chin before he ascended the throne. At that time the whole country was in a condition of complete tumult without a lord to rule over the people. Human corpses piled high in the wild fields and human blood flowed in the rivers. Evil stars appeared in the sky at night and an ominous atmosphere condensed during the day. The three rivers were suffering under avaricious pigs and the four seas were troubled by poisonous snakes. Being a son of the emperor, the prince led his troops personally and suppressed the rebellious forces, in compliance with the order of Heaven. With his military power he established peace in the whole country and restored tranquillity in the universe, making the sun, the moon and the stars shine brightly again. As the people in the whole country felt grateful to him, they composed that music in praise of him."

The king remarked: “Such a man is indeed sent by Heaven to be the ruler of men!”

In the morning of the following day an envoy of King Siladitya arrived, and so the Master and King Kumara went together to King Siladitya. When they had reached the side of King Siladitya’s palace, the king and more than twenty of his personal teachers came out to receive the Master and invited him to take a seat in his palace.

After having entertained him with the performance of music and delicious food, and after having scattered flowers, the king said: “I have heard that the teacher has composed the *Refutation of Evil Views*. Where is the book now?”

The Master said that it was in hand and presented it to the king. After reading the treatise, the king was quite delighted and said to his personal teachers: “I have heard that when the sun is shining, the light of a candle is dimmed, and when the heaven thunders, the noise of a hammer is muffled. Now he has refuted all the theories which you teachers have always adhered to. Would you try to save them?”

But none of the monks dared to say anything.

King Siladitya arranges debate between Hsuan-tsang and the Hinayana monks:

The king said: “Your treatise is excellent. I and my teachers here all believe in it. But as I fear that the Hinayanists and heretics of the other countries may still keep their ignorant views, I wish to hold a meeting for you at Kanyakubja and invite all the monks and Brahmanic heretics of the five Indias to come, so as to show them the wonderful and subtle teachings of Mahayana Buddhism in order to prevent them from slandering it, as well as to exhibit your rich virtues in order to subjugate their arrogance.”

At the beginning of the eleventh month, the Master sailed together with the king up the Ganges and arrived at the place of meeting in the twelfth month. Eighteen kings of the five Indias were present in the meeting, and a number of more than 3,000 monks who were learned in both Mahayana and Hinayana teachings, more than 2,000 Brahmanic and Nirgrantha heretics and more than 1,000 monks of the Nalanda Monastery had also come to the assembly. All these scholars were widely learned and talented in debate,

and they all came to attend the meeting with the desire to hear the Law. They had attendants and came either by elephants or by carriages, and they were surrounded by pennants or banners in a great congregation, overcrowding in an area of several tens of *li* just like a conglomeration of clouds.

The king had beforehand ordered his people to construct two thatched halls at the place of meeting to install the Buddha's image and to accommodate the monks. When he reached there, both of the two halls had already been built. They were spacious, each being capable of containing 1,000 men. The king's temporary palace was at a distance of five *li* to the west of the place of meeting.

The king made a golden image of the Buddha in his palace, and he caparisoned a large elephant. On the elephant, behind precious curtains, was installed the Buddha's image. King Siladitya dressed himself like Indra, and holding a white duster he attended at the right side, while King Kumara dressed himself like Brahma, and holding a precious umbrella he attended at the left side. Both of them, wearing heavenly crowns, were adorned with garlands and strings of pearls and jade. Two other caparisoned elephants carried flowers and followed behind the Buddha's image. The flowers were scattered as the elephants went along the road. The Master and the king's personal teachers rode on different elephants and followed behind the kings. The kings, ministers and monks of great virtue of the various countries rode on three hundred large elephants that walked by the side of the road, and chanted praise as they proceeded. They dressed themselves in the morning and, starting from the king's temporary palace, they proceeded towards the place of meeting.

They alighted from the elephants when they reached the gate of the courtyard, and carried the Buddha's image into the hall, in which it was placed on a precious throne.

After the meal he offered to the Buddha's image one golden tray, seven golden bowls, one golden bathing-jar, one golden religious staff, three thousand golden coins and three thousand robes made of the finest felt. The Master and the other monks all received different offerings.

When the offerings had been made, the Master was invited to sit on a specially decorated seat to be the chairman of the meeting to propagate Mahayana Buddhism and to expound the meaning of his treatise. The

Venerable Vidyabhadra, a monk of the Nalanda Monastery, was appointed to read out the treatise to the audience, while a written copy of the same was hung outside the gate of the place of meeting for the public to read, with the announcement that if one single word in the treatise was found illogical and refutable, the writer would cut his head in apology. But, till as late as nightfall, nobody had ventured to raise an objection. Being greatly delighted, King Siladitya adjourned the meeting and returned to his palace. The other kings and monks all returned to their different places, and the Master, accompanied by King Kumara, returned to the palace.

Attempt to murder Yuan Chwang:

In the morning of the following day they assembled again, carrying the Buddha's image in a procession in the same way as on the previous day. Five days afterwards the Hinayanists and the heretics, seeing that the Master had destroyed their doctrines, tried to murder him with a feeling of hatred.

Being informed of this intrigue, the king issued an order, saying: "… Anyone among the congregation who dares to injure the Master will be beheaded, and anyone who insults him will have his tongue cut off. But those who wish to argue with him in defence of their doctrines are not prohibited from doing so."

Thenceforward the evil people were subdued, and for a period of eighteen days nobody was able to raise an objection in debate. In the evening when the meeting was to be dispersed, the Master furthermore praised Mahayana Buddhism and extolled the merits of the Buddha, making numerous people give up what was wrong and accept what was right, and converting them from Hinayana teachings to Mahayana Buddhism. Thus King Siladitya respected him all the more and presented him with 10,000 golden coins, 30,000 silver coins and 100 robes made of the finest felt. The eighteen kings also offered him different jewels and precious articles. But the Master accepted none of the offerings.

The king ordered his attending ministers to decorate a large elephant with tapestries and invited the Master to ride on it and go through the crowd, accompanied and protected by his noble ministers, to announce that he had

established his theories unchallenged. It was the custom in the western countries that the winner in debate was always honoured in this way.

The Master declined the honour and would not go, but the king said: "This is an ancient custom and we should not act against it."

Then the Master's robe was placed on the elephant and a man announced to the public, saying: "The Chinese teacher has established the teachings of Mahayana Buddhism and has refuted the various heterodox views. For a period of eighteen days, none has ventured to raise an objection in debate. Let all the people be informed of this fact."

As the Master had already taken leave of the virtuous monks of the Nalanda Monastery and collected his scriptures and images of the Buddha, he desired to take leave of the king and return home on the nineteenth day when the meeting was over. The king said: "Since I ascended the throne to be the lord of the world, it has been more than thirty years. I have always been worried that my felicity and virtue will not increase and that my good causes of the past will not continue. Therefore, I accumulated wealth and valuables and made a great meeting place between the two rivers in the country of Prayaga, (modern Allahabad) and invited all the monks, Brahmanas and the poor and the lonely people to receive my unlimited offerings for a period of seventy-five days in every five years. I have already conducted five such meetings and I am now going to hold the sixth meeting. Would you not like to come and join in the meeting?"

The Master said in reply: "When a Bodhisattva practices the Way, he tries to cultivate both worldly welfare and spiritual wisdom, and when a wise man has obtained the fruit, he never forgets about the tree. If Your Majesty is generous in giving his wealth to the people, why should I not stay here a little longer? Please let me go with you."

Alms-giving by King Siladitya at Prayag:

On the twenty-first day they started for the place of great alms-giving in the country of Prayaga. The Ganges was in the north while the Jumna, in the south, both flowing from the north-west towards the east, met in this country. To the west of the confluence of the two rivers, was a great tableland about fourteen or fifteen *li* in circuit, which was as flat as a mirror. The kings of the past all came to this place to give alms, and so it was

called the place of alms-giving. It was said in tradition that the merit of giving one coin at this place was greater than the merit of giving hundreds or thousands of coins at other places. Thus the people valued this place since the old times.

The king had ordered a meeting place for alms-giving to be built on the tableland, surrounded with a fence of reeds, one thousand paces long on each side. Within the fence were built several tens of thatched halls to store the various sorts of precious articles, such as gold, silver, pearls, red agate, emerald, sapphire, etc. Beside the halls were several hundred rooms in rows to store robes made of silk and spotted felt, gold and silver money, etc. Outside the fence was a separate place for cooking food. In front of the treasure-houses, houses were constructed in more than a hundred rows, resembling the shops in our capital, and each row of the houses was capable of seating more than one thousand men.

The king had beforehand issued an order inviting all the monks, heretics, Nirgranthas, the poor and the lonely of the five Indias to assemble at the place of alms-giving to receive alms. Some of the people who attended the Master's discussion meeting at Kanyakubja did not return home, but went directly to the place of alms-giving. The kings of eighteen countries also followed King Siladitya to that place. When they reached the place of meeting, a number of more than 500,000 men, including monks and laymen, were present. King Siladitya encamped on the northern bank of the Ganges, and King Dhruvabhata of South India encamped at the west side of the confluence, while King Kumara encamped beside a flower forest on the southern bank of the Jumna and the almsmen encamped to the west of King Dhruvabhata's camp.

On the following morning King Siladitya and King Kumara going by warships, and King Dhruvabhata, followed by his elephant troops, went to the place of alms-giving, all attended by properly arranged bodyguards. The kings of eighteen countries and those below in rank accompanied them.

On the first day they installed the Buddha's image in the thatched hall at the place of alms-giving. They offered to it the best of the valuables, and robes and delicious foods, to the playing of music and scattering of flowers, till the evening when they returned to their camps.

On the second day they installed the image of Surya, to which they offered half the amount of valuables and robes as they had offered to the

Buddha's image on the first day.

On the third day they installed the image of Isvaradeva, to which the offerings were the same as those made to the Surya.

On the fourth day alms were distributed to a number of more than 10,000 monks who sat in one hundred rows. Each of them was presented with one hundred golden coins, one piece of pearl, and one suit of felt robe, together with food, drink, incense and flowers. They came out of the place when they had received the offerings.

The fifth group was the Brahmanas. It took more than twenty days to make offerings to them all.

The heretics formed the sixth group. It took ten days to distribute alms to them.

The seventh group consisted of those people who came from distant lands, and ten days were occupied in distributing alms to them all.

The poor and the lonely formed the eighth group. This distribution took one month.

Thus the king exhausted all he had stored in his treasure-house during the last five years, except his elephants, horses and weapons which he kept for the purpose of suppressing rebellions and protecting his ancestral temple. All other valuables including his own garments, pearls, ear-rings, bracelets, jewels, necklace and the precious pearl in his headdress, were given to the people as alms without omitting a single article.

When he had given all his properties, he asked his younger sister to give him some coarse garment to wear, and he saluted all the Buddhas in the ten quarters with a happy mind. With his hands joined palm to palm he said: "Since I accumulated these properties I have always feared that they could not be kept in a strong store-house. Now I have stored them all in the field of good deeds, and they are now really stored in the proper place. I wish that I shall always be able to possess both worldly wealth and the Buddha's Law in all my future lives, so that I may give them to all living beings in order to achieve the Ten Stages of Freedom[420] and the Two Glories."[421]

When the meeting was over, the kings of the various countries gave their different valuables and money to the people to redeem the pearls, the headdress jewel and the royal garment which King Siladitya had given to

them as alms, and presented the same to him. Thus after a few days the king wore his royal garment and his best ornaments as usual.

The Master then desired to take his leave and return home, but the king said: “As I am intending to work with you to spread the bequeathed Law of the Buddha, why do you want to go back so soon?” And so he stayed for another period of more than ten days.

King Kumara also was anxious to detain him and said to the Master: “If you come to stay in my country to receive my offerings, I will build one hundred monasteries for you.”

Yuan Chwang desires to return home:

On seeing that the Kings would not let him go, the Master appealed to them sincerely saying: “China is far away from here and Buddhism was known there at a very late time. Although we knew something about Buddhism, we could not understand its complete teachings. That was why I came here to search for what was unknown to us. It is owing to the sincerity of the sages of my country who longed to study Buddhism that I have been able to fulfill my desires. Therefore, I could never forget them. It is said in the scriptures that those who obstruct the spreading of the Law will be reborn without eyes for many lives in the future. If you keep me in this country, you would deprive many people in that land of the advantage of learning the Law. Wouldn’t it be fearful to suffer the retribution of being born without eyes?”

The Kings facilitate his return:

With his scriptures and Buddha’s images, the Master travelled together with the army of King Udita of North India, and riding on a horse he proceeded onwards. King Siladitya also gave one big elephant, 3,000 golden coins and 10,000 silver coins to King Udita to cover the Master’s travelling expenses. Three days after departure, the king together with King Kumara and King Dhruvapata, each attended by several hundred horsemen, came again to say farewell to him – so greatly did they respect him. He also sent four officials, called Mahataras, to send letters written by the king on white silk and sealed with red seals, to the various countries through which

the Master would pass, requesting the authorities to supply him with horses and escort him until he reached the land of Han.

Starting from the country of Prayaga, he travelled towards the south-west and walking for seven days through a big wild forest, he reached the country of Kausambi. To the south of the city was the garden which was presented to the Buddha by the elder Ghosila. After having paid homage to the holy place, he travelled again with King Udita towards the north-west.

Meeting with Simhaprabha and Simhacandra before departing:

Proceeding further towards the north-west for three *yojanas*, he reached the capital of Vilasana,[422] where he stayed for two months and met with two schoolmates, Simhaprabha and Simhacandra, who were preaching on the *Abhidharma-Kosa Sastra*, the *Mahayana-samgraha Sastra* and the *Vidyamatra-Siddhi Sastra.* Both welcomed him with delight. The Master lectured on the *Yogadharma Sastra* and the *Abhidharma-samuccaya-vyakhya Sastra* for a period of two months, after which he took his leave.

Going north-west for more than a month and passing through several countries, he reached the country of Jalandhara (modern Jalandhar) which was the capital of the king of the North India, where he again stayed for a month. King Udita then appointed men to escort him towards the west. Travelling for twenty days, he reached the country of Simhapura.[423]

Mishap on the return journey:

After staying for seven days, he travelled again towards the north-west for three days and reached the great Indus River, which here was five or six *li* wide. His scriptures and Buddha's images were loaded into a boat with his companions to cross the river, while the Master waded across on his elephant. He had appointed a man to take care of the scriptures and some seeds of rare Indian flowers. When the boat reached the middle of the river, a hurricane suddenly arose shaking the boat and nearly overturned it. The man who looked after the scriptures was so frightened that he fell overboard, but was rescued by the others. Fifty fascicles of scriptures and the flower seeds were lost, while his other things narrowly escaped damage.

The king of Kapisa who was in the city of Udakakhanda (modern Und, north of Attock) hearing of the arrival of the Master, personally came to the riverside to welcome him, and inquired: "I hear that you have lost some scriptures in the river. Did you bring any seeds of Indian flowers or fruits?"

The master replied: "Yes, I did".

The king said: "That was the cause of the hurricane which nearly overturned your boat. Since ancient times anyone who tried to bring flower seeds across the river always met with such an accident."

Then he returned to the city with the Master, who stayed in a monastery for more than fifty days. In order to replace the lost scriptures, he sent some men to the country of Udyana to copy the *Tripitaka* of the Kasyapiya School.

Having heard of the Master's arrival, the king of Kasmira came personally to pay his homage to him, regardless of the long distance, and returned home after spending a whole day with him.

The Master and the king of Kapisa travelled together towards the north-west for more than a month and reached the domain of the country of Lampaka (modern Lamghan near the source of the Kabul River).

Arriving in the capital, the Master stayed in a Mahayana Monastery, and the king convoked a great alms-giving meeting for seventy-five days.

Yuan Chwang continues the journey homeward:

… the Master reached the country of Kustana (modern Khotan, Sinkiang Uighur). A greater part of the country was desert. This country yielded cereals in abundance. It produced rugs and fine felt, and felt makers also weaved silk. The land produced much white jade and black jade. The climate was temperate, and the people were civilised and fond of learning and music. They had a good deportment which was different from the custom of the other Hu peoples. Their system of writing was derived from the Indian language, having only slight variations. They believed in Buddhism and had 100 monasteries with more than 5,000 monks, most of whom studied Mahayana Buddhism.

The king was a brave and warlike man and he respected and loved men of virtue. He claimed to be a descendant of Vaisravana-*deva*. His ancestor was a prince of King Asoka, who lived in the country of Taksasila and was later

exiled to the north of the Snow Mountain to be a shepherd. In the course of looking for water and pasture, he came to this place where he founded his capital. For a long time he did not have a son, and so he prayed for one in the temple of Vaisravana-*deva*, from whose forehead a son was born to him. Moreover the ground in front of the temple produced a kind of wonderful liquid which was as sweet and fragrant as milk. This was brought to feed the child and he gradually grew up. After the death of the king, his son succeeded him, and his political influence reached far and wide and his military strength surpassed all the other countries. The reigning king was a descendant of that king. As his ancestor was brought up with "earth-milk," so the country was called as "Ku-stana" (earth-teat).

… as the Master had lost some scriptures when he was crossing the Indus, he sent some men to Kucha and Kashgar after having arrived in this country, to look for new texts to replace the lost ones.

Yuan Chwang writes to the Chinese emperor:

The king of Kustana invited the Master to stay for some time. As he could not continue his return journey at once, he wrote a letter and asked a young man of Kaochang to go with some traders and send it to the Court of China, informing the emperor that he had gone to the Brahmanic countries to seek for the Law and was now at Kustana on his return journey. The letter said:

"Hsuan-tsang had formerly thought that, although Buddhism which flourished in the western countries, had been introduced to the East, the teachings were far from being complete, in spite of the fact that the holy scriptures had come to us. Thus I had always intended to make further inquirers. And so in the fourth month of the third year of Chen Kuan (AD 629) I started privately for India in violation of the imperial law….

Though I travelled through many different countries and experienced all kinds of hardship, I met with no obstruction on the way owing to the imperial influence of Your Majesty. As I have always been treated with hospitality, I do not feel any tiredness. In fulfilment of my wishes, I have visited the Grdhrakuta Mountain and worshipped the Bodhi-tree. I have seen what I never saw before and have read the scriptures which I never read before. I have seen all the wonders of the universe and have seen the manifestations of nature, and I have also proclaimed the virtue of Your

Majesty so as to win the respect and admiration of the foreign peoples. After having spent seventeen years in my journey, leaving the country of Prayaga, passing through the domain of Kapisa, climbing over the Pamir Ranges and crossing the Pamir Valley, I have now reached Kustana on my return journey. As my elephant has been drowned and I have brought with me a great amount of scriptures for which I have not yet found horses to carry, I have to stop on the way for some time and am unable to hasten to see Your Majesty at an earlier moment. For this I feel deep regret. Now I am sending Ma Hsuan-chih, a layman of Kaochang, to come with some traders to submit this letter to Your Majesty beforehand."

The emperor welcomes the pilgrim:

After the lapse of seven or eight months, the messenger returned with an imperial decree to welcome and console the Master. It said: "I am highly delighted to hear that the teacher is returning home after seeking for the Way in the foreign lands. You may come to see me as quickly as possible, and you may, as well, bring the foreign monks who understand the Sanskrit language and the meanings of the scriptures to come with you. I have already ordered the authorities of Kustana and the other regions to escort you, and so you will not be in want of carriers and horses. I have also instructed the officials of Tunhuang to receive you at the Desert, as well as those of Shanshan to receive you at Chemo."

When he had arrived at Shachou, he wrote another letter to the emperor, who was then in his palace at Loyang. On receiving this letter, the emperor knew that the Master was approaching, and instructed Prime Minister Fang Hsuan-ling, the Duke of Liang Kuo, who was then the Imperial Guard of the Western Capital, to issue orders to the authorities to welcome the Master.

Having heard that the emperor was about to leave on a military expedition for a region near the Liao River, the Master did not wish to delay on the way, but proceeded with double speed and reached the Canal very soon.

BOOK VI ('LIFE')

Yuan Chwang is received with honour:

On the seventh day of the first month in the spring of the nineteenth year of Cheng Kuan (AD 645), Prime Minister Fang Hsuan-ling, who was the Duke of Liang Kuo and the Imperial Guard of the Capital, sent Hou-mochen Shih, the Great General of You Wu Hou, Li Shu-shen, the Governor of Yungchou, and Li Chien-you, the Magistrate of Changan, to receive the Master when he arrived with the scriptures and images of the Buddha.

On that day the authorities instructed the various monasteries to prepare banners and tapestries to send the scriptures and images of the Buddha to the Hung Fu Monastery. The people were glad to make the required arrangements, and on the following day they assembled at the south end of The Red Bird Street. Several hundred receptacles were arranged in rows to receive the scriptures and images of the Buddha which the Master had obtained in the western countries, including 150 grains of red sarira of the Tathagata; one golden replica of the Buddha's shadow-image in the Dragon Cave on the Pragbodhi Mountain in Magadha, three feet and three inches high including the stand; one sandalwood image of the Buddha, three feet and five inches high including the stand, made in imitation of the image of Turning the Wheel of Law at the Deer Park in Benares; one sandalwood image of the Buddha, two feet and nine inches high including the stand, made in imitation of the sandalwood images carved by King Udayana of Kausambi when he was desirous of seeing the Tathagata; one silver image of the Buddha, four feet high including the stand, made in imitation of the image of the Tathagata descending from heaven on the Precious Terrace in Kapitha; one golden image of the Buddha, three feet and five inches high including the stand, made in imitation of the image of the Buddha as preaching the *Saddharmapundarika Sutra,* etc., on the Vulture Peak in Magadha; one sandalwood image of the Buddha, one foot and three inches high including the stand, carved in imitation of the shadow-image of the Buddha as subduing a poisonous dragon in Nagarahara; one sandalwood image of the Buddha as going on his daily round for alms in Vaisali; and some other images of the Buddha.

They also received the scriptures which the Master had obtained in the western countries, namely, 224 books of Mahayana *Sutras*, 192 books of Mahayana *Sastras*, 15 books of the *Tripitaka* of the Sthavira School, 15 books of the *Tripitaka* of the Sammatiya school, 22 books of the *Tripitaka*

of the Mahisasaka School, 17 books of the *Tripitaka* of the Kasyapiya School, 42 books of the *Tripitaka* of the Dharmagupta School, 67 books of the *Tripitaka* of the Sarvastivadin School, 36 books concerning the *Hetuvidya Sastra* and 13 books concerning the *Sabdavidya Sastra,* making a total number of 657 books, bound in 520 cases, being loaded on twenty horses.

For a distance of several tens of *li*, beginning from The Red Bird Street and ending at the main gate of the Hung Fu Monastery, the people of the capital, scholars and imperial and local officials, stood by the sides of the road and looked on the procession with respect. Those who joined in the procession forgot the dust and their tiredness and declared that it was a rare occurrence, and that they were delighted at being present on that rare occasion. As the street was overcrowded, the authorities, fearing that the people might tread upon one another, ordered that they should not move and that they should burn incenses and scatter flowers only at the places where they were standing. Thus the smoke of incense and the voice of praise progressed from place to place.

Yuan Chwang meets the Emperor:

On the first day of the second month the emperor received him in the Yi Luan Palace with great favour. Having sat down the emperor asked: “Why did you go (to India) without telling me?”

The Master replied with apology: “When I was preparing for my journey, I had sent petitions to Your Majesty several times, but as my project was unworthy, I did not enjoy the favour of being granted with an official permission. Because of my utmost sincerity for seeking the Law, I went away privately, for which offence I beg the pardon of Your Majesty.”

The emperor said: “Since you are a monk, you are different from lay people in this matter. I am delighted that you went to seek for the Law at the risk of your life for the benefit of all the people. There is no need to ask my pardon. I wonder how you managed to reach that country at so great a distance beyond mountains and rivers with different people with strange customs.”

The Master said in reply: “I have heard that it is not far to reach the Heavenly Lake for those who could ride on a speedy wind, and it is not

difficult to cross a stormy river, if one sailed in a dragon-boat. Since Your Majesty ascended the throne to rule over the country, your virtue and benevolence prevailed in all the areas, with the wind of morality blowing to the hot countries in the south and your political influence reaching as far as beyond the Pamirs. Therefore, when the sovereigns of the foreign people saw a bird flying from the east, they would suspect it as coming from the supreme country and would bow to it to show their respect, not to say that I am a human being under the protection of Your Majesty. It is owing to the imperial influence of Your Majesty that I have been able to go and return without any difficulty."

The emperor remarked: "You say so out of politeness, and I am not worthy of such praises."

The emperor asks Yuan Chwang to write about his journey:

The emperor said to the Master: "As the Buddhist country is far away from our country and there is no detailed record of the holy places and Buddhist teachings in our historical books, you should write an account of the places which you have visited in person so as to inform those who have not heard of them."

Yuan Chwang unveils his translation project:

The Master said to the emperor: "I have brought back more than 600 volumes of Sanskrit scriptures, of which not a word has been translated into Chinese. I know of the Shao Lin Monastery at the south of the Sung Mountain and the north of the Shao Shih Mountain, situated at a quiet place far from noisy towns and villages. It was built by Emperor Hsiao Wen of the Later Wei dynasty and it was the place where Bodhiruci translated Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. I wish to stay at that place to translate the Sanskrit texts. I am waiting for an imperial approval."

The emperor said: "You need not go to the mountains. After you had gone to the West, I had constructed in memory of my queen mother Mu, the Hung Fu Monastery in the Western Capital (Changan in present-day Shensi Province), which is a quiet place suitable for you to translate the Buddhists scriptures."

The Master responded: “As curious people know that I have returned from the West, they flock together to see me and make my place as noisy as a market. Their behaviour is not only against the law, but it also hinders me in my religious affairs. I hope that gate-keepers will be appointed to prevent them from committing blunders.”

Yuan Chwang moves to the Hung Fu Monastery:

On the first day of the third month the Master returned to Changan from Loyang and lived in the Hung Fu Monastery. Before he started his translation work, he sent a petition to Prime Minister Fang Hsuan-ling, the Imperial Guard of the Capital and the Duke of Liang Kuo, requesting him to provide the necessary assistant translators, grammarians, stenographers and copyists. Fang Hsuan-ling ordered the authorities to make a report to the emperor at Tingchow, who issued a decree to the effect that whatever the Master needed must be provided sufficiently.

On the second day of the sixth month in the summer twelve renowned monks arrived who were well versed in both Mahayana and Hinayana *Sutras* and *Sastras* were appointed to be his assistant translators.

There arrived also nine grammarians, one etymologist, and one Sanskrit scholar.

There arrived also some stenographers and copyists, together with the necessary appliances which the authorities had supplied.

Yuan Chwang begins his work:

On the first day of the seventh month the Master started to translate the palm-leaf Sanskrit scriptures, and at the beginning he translated the *Bodhisattva-pitaka Sutra,* the *Buddha-bhumi Sutra,* the *Sanmukha-dharani Sutra,* and the *Prakaranaryavaca Sastra.* He completed the translation of the *Sanmukha-dharani Sutra* on that same day and finished the translation of the *Buddha-bhumi Sutra* on the fifteenth day. While the *Bodhisattva-pitaka Sutra* and the *Prakaranaryavaca Sastra* were done by the end of the year.

On the first day of the first month in the spring of the twentieth year (AD 646) he again translated the *Mahayanabhidharma-samyuktasangiti Sastra*

and finished it in the second month, after which he again translated the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra*.

On the first day of the seventh month in the autumn the Master presented the translated scriptures to the emperor… and he also completed his *Record of the Western Countries* as was ordered by the emperor when he saw him at Loyang….

In the spring of the twenty-second year (AD 648) the emperor visited the Yu Hua Palace. On the fourteenth day of the fifth month in the summer the Master completed the translation of the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* in 100 volumes.

On the eleventh day of the sixth month the emperor invited the Master to the (Yu Hua) Palace.

The emperor inquired of the Master what scripture he had been translating. In reply the Master said: "I have recently completed the translation of the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* in 100 volumes.

The emperor commented: "That is a voluminous work. Who wrote this book and what is it about?"

The Master replied, saying, "It is taught by Maitreya Bodhisattva in exposition of the seventeen stages of Bodhisattvaship."

The emperor writes the Preface for Yuan Chwang's translated scriptures:

The emperor had earlier consented to compose a preface to the newly translated scriptures, but as he was busily engaged in state affairs, he did not have time to make the composition. The Master requested him again to do it, and so in a short time the emperor wrote the "*Preface to the Holy Teachings of the Tripitaka of the Great Tang Dynasty*" in 781 characters, which he copied with his own hand and ordered to be put at the beginning of the scriptures. In the Ching Fu Palace the emperor, being attended by all his ministers, asked the Master to be seated, and ordered Shangkuan Yi, a scholar of the Imperial Institute, to read the preface which he had composed in the most elegant style with much praise about Buddhism.

BOOK VII ('*LIFE*')

Yuan Chwang continues his work:

…the new translation of the *Vajracchedika-Prajna-paramita-Sutra* was entirely based on the Sanskrit text. When it was reported to the emperor, he was greatly pleased.

In the tenth month in the winter, the emperor returned to the capital, and the Master returned with him. The emperor had previously ordered the authorities to build a house, with the name of the "Hung Fa Court" at the west of the Tzu Wei Palace in the north of the Imperial Residence. On his arrival the Master stayed in this new house, and he was invited to converse with the emperor during the daytime, while he returned to the Hung Fa Court at night to spend his time in translating the scriptures. He completed the translation of the *Mahayana-samgraha Sastra* with commentaries by Asvabhava Bodhisattva in 10 volumes, the same *Sastra* with commentaries by Vasubandhu in 10 volumes, the *Pratitya-samutpada Sutra* in one volume and the *Satadharmavidyanikaya Sastra* in one volume.

Letter from the monks Jnanaprabha and Prajnadeva:

On the twenty-third day of the fifth month in the summer, Jnanaprabha and Prajnadeva, two monks of the Mahabodhi Monastery in Central India, wrote a letter to the master. Jnanaprabha was thoroughly learned in both Mahayana and Hinayana scriptures, as well as in such heretical books as the *Four Vedas* and the treatises of the Five Knowledges. Being a prominent disciple of the Venerable Silabhadra, he was respected by the scholars of the five Indias. Prajnadeva was an expert in the teachings of the eighteen Hinayana Schools and was also respected by the people. When the Master was travelling in the west, he used to discuss Buddhism with them. Although they were well-learned in Hinayana teachings, they did not know much about the Vaipulya doctrines. For their persistence in biased opinions, the Master used to censure them. In the religious meeting held at Kanyakubja they were once again defeated by him in debate, and acknowledged frustration with a sense of shame. Since the Master parted with them, they always remembered him with admiration. So they entrusted Dharmarudha, a fellow-monk of their monastery, with a letter to him to convey their greetings with two rolls of cotton cloth as a token of their deep veneration. In the letter they said:

"The Venerable Prajnadeva, who is surrounded by a group of well-learned scholars, of the Mahabodhi Monastery at the Varjrasana of the Buddha, the Abstruse and Auspicious One, sends his best greetings to the Moksacarya of Maha-Cina who is erudite in the sublime teachings of the *Tripitaka*, and wishes him in his best health.

"I, Bhiksu, Prajnadeva, have composed a stanza in praise of the great divine powers of the Buddha, as well as the *Sutras*, *Sastras* and the Four Noble Truths, which I have entrusted Bhiksu Dharmarudha to send to you.

"The old virtuous Acarya Jnanaprabha of this place whose knowledge is unlimited, also sends his greetings to you, and Upasaka Suryalabdha also pays homage to you.

"We are now sending you two rolls of white cotton cloth to show our remembrance of you. As the way is too far we hope that you will accept it without thinking it is so small a gift. If you are in need of any *Sutra* or *Sastra*, you may just give us a list and we shall make copies of the required books for your use.

"May the Moksacarya note the above."

This shows how the Master was admired by the scholars in the distant lands.

Reply to Jnanaprabha:

In the second month in the spring of the fifth year (of Yung Hui, AD 654), Dharmarudha took his leave to return home and asked the Master to make a reply. The Master wrote a letter in reply and prepared some gifts, which he gave to the messenger after having made a report to the emperor. In the letter he said:

"Bhiksu Hsuan-tsang of the great Kingdom of Tang begs to send his greetings to the Venerable Jnanaprabha, the *Tripitaka*-Master of Magadha in central India. It is more than ten years since we parted, and as we are separated by a long distance, I have scarcely heard of you. My remembrance of you increases as the time passes. When Bhiksu Dharmarudha arrived he conveyed your kind regards to me and informed me that you were in your best health. His information made me feel as if I saw you with my own eyes and my pleasure was indescribable. The season is becoming warmer and I wonder how you are getting on since you wrote

me that letter. Some years ago our envoy returned from India and informed me that the Right Dharma-Keeper had shown the principle of Impermanence, which was indeed sad news for me. The boat on the sea of suffering has sunk and the eyes of *devas* and men have closed. His death is all too soon for us. The Right Dharma-Keeper had cultivated good deeds and performed meritorious acts during a long period in his past lives, and thus he inherited the good nature of equanimity and peace, and was endowed with great and eminent talents. He succeeded Aryadeva and continued the Brilliancy of Nagarjuna. He re-lit the torch of wisdom and re-established the banner of *Dharma*, and thus he quenched the flame of heterodox views and changed the current in the sea of mistaken theories, exhorted the lazy people to go onward to the place of treasure and showed the right direction to those who lost their way. He was a great and magnificent pillar in the gate of Buddhism. Moreover, he was well versed in the teachings of both Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhism, and fully understood the heterodox theories of annihilation and permanence. He could understand the most difficult literature and make abstruse meanings clear to all. Therefore, both Buddhists and non-Buddhists became his pupils and regarded him as a great teacher of India. He taught his students day and night without feeling tired and satisfied them all according to their different requirements. When I was studying in India he enlightened me with his kind instructions, and stupid as I am, I have been highly benefited by his teaching. He gave me special instructions when I left him to return to my own county, and his kind words are still sounding in my ears. I hoped that he would live long to propagate the teachings of the Buddha and never expected that he should have died so soon. It is unbearable for me to think of this sad event of my teacher. You studied under him for a long time and are a great disciple of the teacher. It must be hard for you to suppress your emotion after his death. What can we do? We can't help it since such is the law of impermanence! I hope you will overcome your sad feelings. When the Enlightened One passed away, Mahakasyapa succeeded him in his great task, and after the death of Sanakavasa, Upagupta continued to disseminate his good teachings. Now the teacher is dead and it is your turn to succeed to his post. I hope your eloquence in preaching will always be as fluent as the water in the fours seas, and your adornments of felicity and wisdom will be as permanent as the five mountains. Of the scriptures and commentaries

which I have brought back from India, I have already translated into Chinese the *Yogacarya-bhumi Sastra* and some other books of a total number of more than thirty works. The *Abhidharma-Kosa Sastra* and the *Abhidharma-nyayanusara* are in the course of translation and will be competed in this year. The Emperor of the great Kingdom of Tang, who is in his best health and enjoys all sorts of felicity in a land of peace, and who is spreading the Buddha's teachings with the compassion of a king of Cakravarti, has personally composed an imperial preface to all the Chinese translations of the scriptures and commentaries, and ordered the authorities to copy them for circulation in the whole country as well as in the neighbouring lands. Although we are at the end of the Semblance Period, the brilliant doctrine of Buddhism is still as prosperous as it was taught in the Jetavana Garden in Sravasti. This you may be interested to know. When I was crossing the Indus I lost a horse-load of scriptures in the river, of which I have made the attached list, and I hope you will kindly send the books to me at your convenience. Attached under separate cover is some small gift from me. As the way is far, I could not send more gifts to you, and please accept it without thinking it is too little. Homages from Hsuan-tsang."

Reply to Prajnadeva:

He also wrote a reply to the venerable Prajnadeva as the following:

"Bhiksu Hsuan-tsang of the great Kingdom of Tang begs to send his greetings to the Venerable Prajnadeva of the Mahabodhi Monastery. Since we parted, I have always been thinking of you, and as it is difficult to send you a letter, I could find no means to pay my respects to you. When Bhiksu Dharmarudha arrived he conveyed to me your kind letter, which I received with great delight. I have also received two rolls of fine white cotton cloth and one fascicle of eulogistic stanzas. These are great gifts indeed which I, being a man of little virtue, am unworthy to accept. The season is becoming warmer and I don't know how your health is since you wrote me that letter. I think life must be pleasant for you, since you well understand the theories of a hundred schools and the *Sutras* of the nine divisions. You established the banner of the right *Dharma* to convert people to Buddhism, and beat the drum of victory of vanquish boastful heretics. You are proud in the presence

of kings and nobles and your friends are all learned scholars. Being a man of ordinary ability, I am growing weak, and my remembrance of your virtues and my admiration for your benignity make me think of you all the more. When I was studying in India I had the opportunity to meet your Reverence, and in the meeting of Kanyakubja we had debated together to find out the truth in the presence of the kings and numerous followers of the different schools. It was unavoidable that there had been bitter arguments as one party holding the doctrines of Mahayanism, while the other party the teachings of Hinayanism. Truth was what was sought after, regardless of personal feelings. Thus I had probably offended you during the course of debate, but as soon as the meeting was over, all resentment was cleared immediately. Now the messenger still conveyed to me your apology for that event. How scrupulous you are! You are a good scholar of great eloquence and noble character. The water in the Anavatapta Lake is not comparable to the amount of your knowledge and a pure Mani-pearl cannot exceed the purity of your character. Being a man of high virtue, you are an example to your students, and I hope that you will exert yourself to spread the right *Dharma*. No doctrine is as perfect as Mahayana Buddhism and I regret that you did not have a deep faith in it. It is like those who are content with a sheep or deer cart but give up a bull carriage. One should appreciate crystal instead of a piece of glass. Learned scholar as you are, why are you so persistent in your biased views? This physical body of ours can never last long. It befits you to embrace the right views of Mahayana teaching at an earlier date, so that you will not repent at the moment of death. The messenger is now returning home and I am entrusting him with this letter with my respects to you. Attached is a small gift for you, and it is but a sign of my gratitude, quite inadequate to express my deep admiration of you. This I hope you will note. Formerly I had lost a horse-load of scriptures while I was crossing the Indus on my returning journey. Attached is a list of books, which I hope you will kindly send to me. The other things I am unable to relate in detail in this letter. With homage from Bhisku Hsuan-tsang.

BOOK VIII (‘*LIFE*’)

On the first day of the fifth month in the summer of the sixth year of Yung Hui (AD 655), the Master also translated the *Nyayadvaratataraka Sastra*

besides his regular work. He had previously translated the *Hetuvidya Sastra* while he was living in the Hung Fu Monastery. These two *Sastras* are of one volume each, being works of logic in explanation of the methods of argumentation and refutation by direct knowledge and inference.

BOOK IX (‘*LIFE*’)

As the Master studied strenuously while he was young and owing to the hardships of travelling over icy mountains and snowy ranges to the west, he suffered a kind of “cold disease.” During these paroxysms his heart would be affected. He was much troubled by his illness. For several years he depended on medicines for keeping himself in health.

While the Master was in the capital he had already translated the *Abhidharma-jnana-prasthana* in 30 volumes and had not yet completed the translation of the *Maha-vibhasa Sastra*.

BOOK X (‘*LIFE*’)

On the first day of the first month in the spring of the fifth year (AD 660), he started the translation of the *MahaPrajnaparamita Sutra.* The original Sanskrit text had a total number of 200,000 verses.

He ordered the Venerable Chia-shang to make a list of the *Sutras* and *Sastras* he had translated into Chinese, which amounted to a total number of 74 works in 1,335 volumes. It was also recorded that he had painted one thousand images of the Buddha and one thousand images of *Maitreya*, as well as a million statues of the Buddha. He had also copied the *VajracchedikaPrajnaparamita Sutra*, the *Bhaisajyaguru Sutra*, the *Sanmukhadharani Sutra* and some other *Sutras* each for one thousand copies. He had given alms to more than ten thousand Bhiksus as well as to more than ten thousand poor people, lighted hundreds and thousands of sacrificial lamps and redeemed the lives of tens of thousands of living creatures. When the list had been made he ordered Chia-shang to read it aloud, and he felt glad.

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CHAPTER — 15

I-TSING

I-tsing, one of the three great Chinese pilgrims to India, was born in 635 AD in Fan-yang near Beijing, in the reign of Tai-tsung (627–649 AD). At the age of seven, he went to the teachers Shan-yu and Hui-hsi in a temple on the mountain Tai in Shan-tung. He was admitted to the Order (*Pravragya*) at the age of fourteen, and some years later developed a deep desire to travel to India, which was accomplished at the age of thirty-seven.

He was fully ordained as a monk at the age of twenty (654). His new teacher, Hui-hsi, impressed upon him the importance of holding firm to the Noble Precepts of the Buddha, and the fact that the teaching was becoming misinterpreted. This led I-tsing to study the *Vinaya* text exclusively for five years (654-658), followed by the larger *Sutras*. Encouraged by his teacher, he went to Eastern Wei (in Honan) to study Asanga's two *sastras* belonging to the *Abhidharma-pitaka*; to the Western Capital to study the *Abhidharma-kosa* and *Vidyamatrasiddhi* of Vasubandhu and Dharmapala respectively. At Ch'ang-an, he may have witnessed the 'noble enthusiasm of Yuan Chwang,' and the grand funeral accorded by the emperor as Yuan Chwang died during I-tsing's stay in the capital (664).

I-tsing left for India in AD 671, and arrived in Tamralipti at the mouth of the Hooghly in AD 673. In India, he studied Sanskrit grammar (*Sabdavidya*). While studying in Nalanda, the high seat of Buddhist learning, he collected nearly 400 Sanskrit texts, comprising 500,000 slokas, and procured a real plan of the Diamond Seat (*Vajrasana*) of the Buddha. On his return journey, he stopped for further study at Sribhoga (Sumatra) and translated Buddhist books in Sanskrit or Pali. From Sribhoga he sent home the present work[424] in AD 692, through the Chinese priest Ta-ts'in. Hence the title: '*Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nai-fa-ch'uan'* or '*A Record of the Inner Law sent home from the Southern Sea*.'[425] It is not certain when I-tsing reached Sribhoga and compiled his work, but as he used the dynastic name Chou adopted in AD 690 by the Usurper Queen (reigned AD 684–704), scholars believe his Record was most likely compiled within AD 690–692.

I-tsing returned home in AD 695 after nearly twenty-five years; he was honoured by the ruling empress, Wu-hou of the Chou dynasty. He immersed himself in interpreting Buddhist texts with some nine Indian priests, including Sikshananda and Isvara. He completed fifty-six translations in 230 volumes, AD 700–712. There are besides, five works of compilation, including the *Record* and biographical sketches of Chinese and Korean monks who visited India while he was there (*The Lives of Eminent Monks*). He died in AD 713, aged seventy-nine. His life and works were commended by Emperor Chung-tsung in the preface to the *Tripitaka Catalogue*.

I-tsing visited India to rectify the *Vinaya* rules of his time and refute incorrect beliefs of Chinese Buddhist schools. Hence his focus on the nitty-gritty of monastic discipline, though he sometimes noted facts of significance to students of history. I-tsing's work is critical in the study of the development of the Schools of the Chinese Vinaya, of which little is still known. The present work is an exclusive representation of the Mulasarvastivada School, one of the four chief *Nikayas* prevalent in India, though I-tsing also gives an interpretation of the divisions of Buddhist sects along with their general geographical locations. He relates the orthodox tradition of worship and ritual as he understood it. On the whole, however, among Buddhist pilgrims, I-tsing was poor in recording details of contemporary Indian society. We have selected passages we hope would interest the contemporary reader, based on the Japanese edition, the arrangement of which is more convenient. I-tsing's works as well as the whole canon were preserved in MS (manuscript form) only and not printed till AD 972.

INTRODUCTION

IV. …. According to the noble teaching and the principal customs actually carried on in India, I have carefully written the following articles which are forty in number, and have divided them into four books. This is called '*Nan-hai-chi-kuei-nai-fa-ch'uan*,' i.e. '*The Record of the Sacred Law, sent home from the Southern Sea*.' I am sending you with this another work of mine, '*Ta-t'ang-si-yu-ku-fa-kao-seng-ch'uan*,' i.e. '*Memoirs of Eminent Priests who visited India and Neighbouring Countries to search for the Law*

under the Great Tang Dynasty' (AD 618–907), and several *Sutras* and *Sastras*, in all, ten books.[426] I hope that the venerable priests with mind intent on the promulgation of their religion, without having any prejudice, will act with discrimination and in accordance with the teaching and practice of the Buddha, and that they will not disregard the weighty laws described in this work because they deem the author of no note…

If you read this Record of mine, you may, without moving one step, travel in all the five countries of India, and before you spend a minute you may become a mirror of the dark path for a thousand ages to come. Will you, I pray, read and examine carefully the *Tripitaka* and beat the Ocean of the Law, as it were, to stir up the four waves (all the people); and resting on the authority of the five *skandhas*, launch the ship of compassion to carry across the beings who are plunged into the six desires. Although I have received the personal direction from my teachers, and have fully examined the deep purport of our doctrine, I must, nevertheless, further deepen and expand my knowledge; for if I do not, I am afraid I shall be an object of ridicule in the 'eye of wisdom'…

All the things mentioned in this work are in accordance with the *Aryamulasarvastivadanikaya*, and should not be confounded with the teaching of other schools. The matters contained in this work resemble generally the *Vinaya* of the *Dasadhyaya* (Ten Readings).

There are three subdivisions[427] of the *Aryamulasarvasti-vadanikaya*:

1. The *Dharmagupta*: 2. The *Mahisasaka*; 3. The *Kasyapiya*.

These three do not prevail in India, except in the following places: Udyana, Kharakar, and Kustana, where there are some who practice the rules laid down in these schools.

The *Vinaya* of the so-called *Dasadhyaya* (though not unlike) does not belong to the *Aryamulasarvastivada* school.

CHAPTER IV DISTINCTION BETWEEN PURE AND IMPURE FOOD

I-tsing was meticulous in recording details of proper conduct for priests:

Among the priests and laymen in India, it is customary to distinguish between clean and unclean food. If but a mouthful of the food have been eaten, it becomes unclean (i.e., 'touched'); and the utensils in which food was put are not to be used again. As soon as the meal is finished, the utensils used are removed and piled up in one corner. All the remaining food is given to those who may legally eat such (e.g., birds); for it is very improper to keep the food for further use.

This is the custom among both rich and poor, and is not only a custom observed by us, but even by the Brahmans. It is said in several *Sastras*: 'It is considered to be mean not to use a tooth-wood, and not to wash the hands after evacuation, and not to distinguish between clean and unclean food.' How can we consider it seemly to use again the utensils that have already been touched, to preserve food remaining over in the kitchen, to keep in a jar the rice that has been left from a meal, or to put back the reminder of the soup in a pot? Nor is it right to eat next morning the soup and vegetables that have been left, or to partake later of the remaining cake or fruits…

If they neglect these points, any prayers or charms that they may have offered will have no efficacy, and any offering they may make will not be accepted by the Spirits…

Now the first and chief difference between India of the five regions and other nations is the peculiar distinction between purity and impurity.

Once upon a time when the Mongolians of the North sent men to India, the messengers were despised and ridiculed, as they did not wash themselves after evacuation, and preserved their food in a tray. This was not all; they were scorned and spoken ill of, as they sat together (*on the floor*) at a meal, with their feet straight out, and touching one another's, and they did not keep out of the neighbourhood of pigs and dogs, and did not use a tooth-brush. Therefore those who are practicing the Law of the Buddha ought to be very careful on these points. But in China the distinction of pure and impure food has never been recognised from ancient time.

CHAPTER VII THE MORNING INSPECTION OF WATER AS TO INSECTS

On the principal of respect for the humblest forms of life:

Water must be examined every morning. According as it is found in different places, *I.E.* in jars, in a well, in a pond, or in a river.

The means also of examining it differ. Early in the morning jar-water is first to be examined. After pouring about a handful of it, by inclining the jar, into a pure bronze cup, a ladle made of bronze, a conch-shell, or a plate of lacquer-work, pour it slowly on a brick. Or, by means of a wooden instrument made for this purpose, observe the water for some moments, shutting the mouth with the hand. It is likewise well to examine it in a basin or in a pot. Insects even as small as a hair-point must be protected. If any insects are found, return the water again into the jar, and wash the vessel with other water twice until no insects are left in it. If there is a river or a pond in the neighbourhood, take the jar there and throw away the water containing insects; then put in fresh filtered water. If there is a well, use its water, after filtering it, according to the usual manner…

The Indians use fine white cloth for straining water; and in China fine silk may be used, after having slightly boiled it with rice-cream; for small insects easily pass though the meshes of raw silk…

During the sixth or the seventh month [of the year] the insects are so minute, and different from what they are in the other seasons, that they can pass even through ten folds of raw silk.

Those who wish to protect life should try to set the insect free by some means or other. A plate-like tray may be used for the purpose, but the silk strainer is also very useful. The tray is generally made of copper, in India, in accordance with the rules laid down by the Buddha: one must not neglect these points…

As regards living creatures, an injury to them is a sin, and is prohibited by the Buddha…

It is this prohibition that is the most weighty of all, and an act of injury is placed at the head of the ten sins. One must not be neglectful of this. The filter is one of the six possessions necessary to the priests, and one cannot do without it. One should not go on a journey three or five Chinese miles without a filter. If a priest be aware of the fact that the residents in the temple where he is staying do not strain their water, he must not partake of food there. Even if the traveller die on his way from thirst[428] or hunger, such a deed is sufficient to be looked upon as a splendid example.

CHAPTER IX RULES ABOUT THE RECEPTION AT THE UPAVASATHA DAY

Buddha turns a demoness into the protector of children:

It is never customary to say a prayer before meals. The host, having cleansed his hands and feet, makes an offering to saints (images of *arhats*) at the upper end of the row of seats; then he distributes food to the priests. At the lowest end of the row an offering of food is made to the mother, Hariti.

At the former birth of this mother, she from some cause or other, made a vow to devour all babes at *Rajagriha*. In consequence of this wicked vow, she forfeited her life, and was reborn as a Yakshi; and gave birth to five hundred children. Every day she ate some babes at Rajagriha, and the people informed the Buddha of this fact. He took and concealed one of her own children, which she called Her Beloved Child. She sought for it from place to place, and at last happened to find it near the Buddha. 'Art thou so sorry,' said the World-honoured One to her, 'for thy lost child, thy beloved? Thou lamentest for only one lost out of five hundred; how much more grieved are those who have lost their only one or two children on account of thy cruel vow?' Soon converted by the Buddha, she received the five precepts and become an *Upasika*.[429] 'How shall my five hundred children subsist hereafter?' the new convert asked the Buddha. 'In every monastery,' replied the Buddha, 'where *Bhikshus* dwell, thy family shall partake of sufficient food, offered by them every day.' For this reason, the image of Hariti is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of all Indian monasteries depicting her as holding a babe in her arms, and round her knees three or five children. Every day an abundant offering of food is made before this image. Hariti is one of the subjects of the four heavenly kings.[430] She has a power of giving wealth. If those who are childless on account of their bodily weakness (pray to her for children), making offerings of food, their wish is always fulfilled. A full account of her is given in the *Vinaya*;[431] so I have only given it in brief. The portrait of 'the

demon mother of the children' (*Kuei-tze-mu*) has already been found in China.

The miraculous power of Mahakala in the monasteries:

There is likewise in great monasteries in India, at the side of a pillar in the kitchen, or before the porch, a figure of a deity carved in wood, two or three feet high, holding a golden bag, and seated on a small chair, with one foot hanging down towards the ground. Being always wiped with oil its countenance is blackened, and the deity is called *Mahakala* or the great black deity. The ancient tradition asserts that he belonged to the beings (in the heaven) of the Great god (*Mahesvara*). He naturally loves the Three Jewels, and protects the five assemblies[432] from misfortune. Those who offer prayers to him have their desires fulfilled. At meal-times those who serve in the kitchen offer light and incense, and arrange all kinds of prepared food before the deity. I once visited the *Pan-da-na* monastery (Bandhana, in Kusinagar), a spot where the great *Nirvana* was preached (by Buddha). There, usually more than a hundred monks dine. In spring and autumn, the best seasons for pilgrimages, the monastery is sometimes unexpectedly visited by a multitude (of travellers). Once five hundred priests suddenly arrived there, about midday. There was no time to prepare food for them exactly before noon. The managing priests said to the cooks: 'How shall we provide for this sudden increase?' An old woman, the mother of a monastic servant, replied: 'Be not perplexed, it is quite a usual occurrence.' Immediately she burnt abundant incense, and offered food before the black deity; and invoked him saying: 'Though the Great Sage has gone to *Nirvana* yet beings like thyself still exist. Now (a multitude of) priests from every quarter has arrived here to worship the holy spot. Let not our food be deficient for supplying them; for this is within thy power. May thou observe the time.'

Then all the priests were asked to take seats. The food, provided for only the priests in residence at the monastery, when supplied was sufficient for that great multitude of priests, and there was as much remaining over as usual. All shouted 'Good!' and applauded the power of that deity. I myself went there to worship the spot; consequently I saw the image of that black deity before which abundant offerings of food were made. I asked the

reason, and the above account was related to me. In China the image of that deity has often been found in the districts of Kiang-nan, though not in Huai-poh. Those who ask him (for a boon) find their wishes fulfilled. The efficacy of that deity is undeniable. The Naga (snake) Mahamukilinda[433] of the Mahabodhi monastery (near Gaya) has also a similar miraculous power.

The distances of India:

As to the five countries of India, their boundaries are wide and remote; roughly speaking, the distance from Central India to the limit in each direction (east, west, south, and north) is about 400 *yoganas*,[434] the remote frontier not being counted in this measurement. Although I, myself, did not see all these parts of India, I could nevertheless ascertain anything by careful inquiry.

Food preparations:

All food, both for eating and chewing, is excellently prepared in various ways. In the north, wheat-flour is abundant; in the western district, baked flour (rice, barley) is used above all; in Magadha wheat-flour is scarce, but rice is plentiful: and the southern frontier and the eastern border-land have similar products to those of Magadha.

Abundance of food:

Ghee, oil, milk, and cream are found everywhere. Such things as cakes and fruit are so abundant that it is difficult to enumerate them here. Even laymen rarely have the taste of grease or flesh. Most of the countries have the rice which is not glutinous in abundance; millet is rare, and glutinous millet is not found at all. There are sweet melons; sugar-canes and tubers are abundant, but edible mallows are very scarce. Wan-ching (a kind of turnip) grows in sufficient quantities; there are two kinds of this, one with a white seed, the other with a black seed. This has recently become known as *Chieh-tze* (mustard seed) in China. Oil is extracted from it and used for flavouring purposes; this is done in all countries. In eating leaves of it as a vegetable will find them of the same taste as Wan-ching. But the root is hard, not like the Chinese turnip. The seed is somewhat larger and can no

longer be considered ‘mustard seed.’ The change in the growth of this plant is considered to be something like the change of an orange-tree into a bramble when brought north of the Yang-tze River.

Indian abstinence from onions:

When I was in the Nalanda monastery, I discussed this point with the *Dhyana* master Wu-hing[435], but we were doubtful still and could not exactly distinguish one from the other. None of the people of all the five parts of India eat any kind of onions, or raw vegetables, and therefore they do not suffer from indigestion; the stomach and the intestines are healthy, and there is no trouble in their becoming hard and aching.

Entertainment on a fast day:

In the ten islands of the Southern Sea, the entertainment on the fast-day is made on a grander scale. On the first day the host prepares a *Pin-lang* nut (arecanut), fragrant oil prepared from *Fu-tzu* (*mustaka*, *Cyperus rotundus*), and a small quantity of crushed rice placed on a leaf in a plate; these three items being arranged on a large tablet are covered with a white cloth, water is poured out and kept in a golden jar, and the ground in front of this tablet is sprinkled with water. After these have been prepared, the priests are invited. In the forenoon of the last day, the priests are asked to anoint their bodies and wash and bathe. When the horse-hour (midday) of the second day has passed, a holy image is conveyed (from the monastery) on a carriage or on a palanquin, accompanied by a multitude of priests and laymen, playing or striking drums and musical instruments, making offerings of incense and flowers, and taking banners which shine in the sun, - in this manner it is carried to the courtyard of the house. Under a canopy amply spread, the image of gold or bronze, brilliant and beautifully decorated, is anointed with some aromatic paste, and then put in a clean basin. It is bathed by all those present with perfumed water (*gandhodaka*). After being wiped with a scented cloth, it is carried into the principal hall of the house, where it is received amidst rich offerings of lights and incense, while hymns of praise are sung. Then the priest first in rank (*Sthavira*) recites the *Danagatha* for the host to declare the merit of a religious feast with regard to the future life. Then the priests are led outside the house to

wash their hands and rinse their mouths, and, after this, sugar-water and *Pin-lang* fruits are offered to them in sufficient quantity; then they withdraw from the house. In the forenoon of the third day, the host, going to the monastery, announces to the priests: 'It is the time'. They, after bathing, come to the festal house. This time too the image is set up, and the ceremony of bathing it is held more briefly. But the offerings of flowers and incense and music are twice as grand as on the previous morning. Numerous offerings are arranged orderly before the image, and on both sides of it five or ten girls stand in array; and also some boys, according to convenience. Every one of them either carries an incense-burner, or holds a golden water jar, or takes a lamp or some beautiful flowers, or a white fly-flapper. People bring and offer all kinds of toilet articles, mirrors, mirror-cases, and the like, before the image of the Buddha. 'For what purpose are you doing this?' I once inquired of them. 'Here is the field, and we sow our seed of merit,' they replied; 'if we do not make offerings now, how can we reap our future rewards?' It may be said reasonably that such is also a good action. Next, one of the priests, on being requested, kneels down before the image, and recites hymns in praise of the Buddha's virtues. After this two other priests, being requested, sitting near the image, read a short *Sutra* of a page or a leaf. On such an occasion, they sometimes consecrate idols and mark the eyeballs of them, in order to obtain the best reward of happiness. Now the priests withdraw at pleasure to one side of the room; and, folding up their *kashayas* (yellow robes), and binding their two corners at the breasts, they wash their hands: then they sit down to eat.

As to the processes such as strewing the ground with cow-dung, examining water, or washing the feet, and as to the manner of taking or serving food, all these particulars are much the same as in India, with this addition, that in the islands of the Southern Sea the priests take the three kinds of pure meat[436] also. They frequently use leaves sewn together for plates as capacious as half a mat (on which they sit); and rice-cakes made of one or two *Shang* (a *Shang*=about 2½ qt.) of non-glutinous grains, are prepared in such a plate. Having made similar vessels capable of one or two *Shang* of grains, they bring them and offer them before the priests. Then twenty or thirty kinds of food are served to them. This, however, is the case of an entertainment by comparatively poor people. If it be by kings or rich

men, bronze-plates, bronze-bowls, and leafed plates as large as a mat are distributed; and the number of the several kinds of food and drink amounts to a hundred. Kings on such an occasion disregard their own high dignity, and call themselves servants, and help the priests to the food with every sign of respect. The priests have to receive as much food as is given, but never to resist it, however excessive it may be. If they have only food just enough to satisfy, the host would not be pleased; for he only feels satisfied when seeing food served over-abundantly. Four or five *Shang* of boiled rice and cakes in two or three plates are given to each. The relations and the neighbours of the host help the entertainment, bring with them several kinds of food, such as rice-cakes, boiled rice, vegetables for soup, &c. Usually the remainder of the food (i.e. *Ukkhishtabhogana)* given to one person may satisfy three persons; but in case of a richer entertainment, it could not be eaten up even by ten men. The food remaining over is left to the priests, who order their servants to carry it to the monastery.

Comparison with fast-breaking ceremony in China:

The ceremony of the *Upavasatha*-day reception in China differs from that of India. In China the host gathers the food left over, and the guests are not allowed to take it away. The priests may act according to the custom of their time, being self-contented and free from blame; thus the host's intention of gifts is by no means incomplete. But if the host (i.e. *Danapati*) has made up his mind not to gather the food remaining, and asks the guests to take it away, one may act as best suits the circumstance.

Indulgence towards the monks:

Now perfume paste, about the size of a fruit of the *Wu*-tree (Dryandra-seeds), is given to each of them, and they rub their hands with it in order to make them fragrant and clean. Next, some *Pin-lang* fruit and nutmegs, mixed with cloves and *Baros*-camphor, are distributed: in eating these they get the mouth fragrant, the food digested and the phlegm removed. These fragrant medicinal things and the others are given to the priests, after they have been washed with pure water, and wrapped in leaves.

Now the host, approaching the priest first in rank, or standing before the reciter (of the *Sutras*), pours water from the beaked mouth of a jar (*Kundi*)

into a basin, so that water comes out incessantly like a slender stick of copper. The priest mutters the *Danagathas*, while taking flowers, and receiving with them the flowing water. First, verses from the words of the Buddha are recited, and then those composed by other persons. The number of the verses may be many or few according to the reciter's will, and according to circumstances. Then the priests, calling out the host's name, prays for happiness upon him, and wishes to transfer the happy reward of good actions done at present to those already dead, to the sovereigns, as well as to the snakes (*Nagas*) and spirits; and prayers, saying, 'May there be good harvests in the country, happy be the people and other creatures; may the noble teaching of the Sakya be everlasting.' I have translated these *Gathas* as seen elsewhere. These are blessings given by the World-honoured himself, who always said the *Dakshinagathas* after the meal. This (*Dakshina*) means a gift offered, while *Dakshiniya* is one worthy to be honoured with gifts. The Holy One, therefore, commands us that, after the meal, we should recite one or two *Danagathas* in order to reward the host's hospitality; and if we neglect it, we are against the holy laws, and are not worthy to consume the food offered. The rule of begging the remaining food is sometimes carried out after the feasts.

I-tsing on the truth of permanence:

… One should never be ignorant of the *Tripitaka*, nor be perplexed in the teaching and principles contained in it. Some have committed sins as numerous as the grains of sand of the Ganges, yet they say that they have realized the state of *Bodhi* (true wisdom). *Bodhi* means enlightenment, and in it all the snares of passion are destroyed. The state in which neither birth nor death is found is the true permanence. How can we thoughtlessly say, as some do, while living in the sea of trouble, that we live in the Land of Bliss (*Sukhavati*)?

One who wishes to realise the truth of permanence should observe the moral precepts in purity. One should guard against a small defect which results, just as a small escape of air from the life-belt may result in loss of life; and one should prevent a great offence that makes one's life useless, just as a needle the eye of which has been broken off becomes useless. First and foremost of all the great offences are those in food and clothing. Final

Liberation (*Moksha*) will not be very far from one who follows the teaching of the Buddha, but transmigration will go on for evermore for one who disregards the noble words. I have thus far mentioned the lawful practices and briefly described the former examples, all resting on noble authorities, but not on opinions of my own. I hope that I do not offend you in my straightforward statements, and that my Record will help towards the solution of any doubts that you may have. If I did not exactly state the good and bad practices (of India and China), who would ever know what is good or bad in the two?

CHAPTER X NECESSARY FOOD AND CLOTHING

I-tsing was very meticulous about the proper forms of the *dhamma*:

It may be observed that the earthily body which support is only maintained by food and clothing, while the spiritual knowledge that is beyond the bond of births can only be increased by means of the principle of nothingness. If the use of food and clothing be against proper rules, every step will involve some crime; while tranquilisation of the mind without moral regulation will cause more and more perplexity as one goes on meditating.

Therefore those who seek for Final Liberation (*Moksha*) should use food and clothing according to the noble words of the Buddha, and those who practice the principle of meditation should follow the teaching of former sages in tranquilising their thoughts. Watch over the life here below, which is but a dungeon for the beings that have gone astray, but look eagerly for the shore of *Nirvana*, which is the open gate of enlightenment and quietude. The ship of the Law should be manned ready for the sea of suffering, and the lamp of wisdom should be held up during the long period of darkness. There are express laws in the *Vinaya* text on the observance and neglect that are evident in the light of the regulations of clothing and the rules of eating and drinking, so that even beginners in the study can judge the nature of an offence.

Each individual must himself be responsible for the results of his own practices, whether good or bad, and there is no need of argument here. But

there are some who are, as teachers of the students, grossly offending against the *Vinaya* rules; there are others who say that the usage of the world, even if against the Buddha's discipline, does not involve any guilt. Some understand that the Buddha was born in India, and Indian *Bhikshus* follow Indian customs, while we ourselves live in China, and, as Chinese monks, we follow Chinese manners. 'How can we,' they argue, 'reject the elegant dress of the Divine Land (China) to receive the peculiar style of garments of India?' For the sake of those who adhere to this view I here roughly state my opinion, founded on the authority of the *Vinaya*.

The regulations of clothing are the most important for the life of a homeless priest (*Pravragya*), and I should therefore mention here in detail the style of garments, because these cannot be neglected or curtailed.

Use of silk and the necessity for violence to maintain life:

… As to fine and rough silk, these are allowed by the Buddha. What is the use of laying down rules for a strict prohibition of silk? The prohibition was laid down by some one; though intended for lessening complication, such a rule increases it. The four *Nikayas* of the *Vinaya* of all the five parts of India use (a silk garment). Why should we reject the silk that is easy to be obtained, and seek the fine linen that is difficult to be procured? Is not this the greatest hindrance to religion? Such a rule may be classed with the forcible prohibitions that have never been laid down (by Buddha).

The result is that curious students of the *Vinaya* increase their self-conceit and cast slight upon others (using silk). People who are disinterested and less avaricious are much ashamed of such, and say: 'How is it that they regard self-denial as a help to religion?' but if (refusal of silk) comes from the highest motive of pity, because silk is manufactured by injuring life, it is quite reasonable that they should avoid the use of silk to exercise compassion on animate beings. Let it be so; the cloth one wears, and the food one eats, mostly come from an injury to life. The earthworms (that one may tread on while walking) are never thought of; why should the silkworm alone be looked after? If one attempts to protect every being, there will be no means of maintaining oneself, and one has to give up life without reason. A proper consideration shows us that such a practice is not right.

There are some who do not eat *ghee* or cream, do not wear leather boots, and do not put on any silk or cotton. All these are the same class of people as are mentioned above.

On killing - no guilt incurred on unintentional killing:

Now as to killing. If a life be destroyed intentionally, a result of this action (*Karma*) will be expected; but if not intentionally, no guilt will be incurred, according to the Buddha's words. The three kinds of meat that are pure are ordained as meats that can be eaten without incurring guilt. If the spirit of this rule be disregarded, it will involve some offence though small.

On eating meat without guilt:

(In eating the three kinds of meat), we have no intention of killing, and therefore we have a cause or reason that makes our eating of flesh guiltless. (Such meat is as pure) as any other thing which we receive as a gift, and therefore we have an example (or instance) which helps us in making our reasoning very clear. When the cause and instance (of our eating flesh) are so clear and faultless, then the doctrine we advocate becomes also clear and firm. Now the three branches of reasoning have been as clearly constructed as above and besides, we have the golden words of the Buddha to the same effect. What then is the use of arguing any further?

On gifts:

Such deeds as begging personally for cocoons containing silkworms, or witnessing the killing of the insects, are not permissible, even to a layman, much less to those whose hearts aspire to final emancipation. These deeds, when looked at in this light, prove themselves to be quite impermissible. But supposing a donor (*Danapati*) should bring and present (*silk cloth*), then a priest should utter the word '*Anumata'* ('approved') and accept the gift in order to have a means of supporting his body while he cultivates the virtues; no guilt will be incurred by so doing.

On sharing the harvest with cultivators:

According to the teaching of the *Vinaya*, when a cornfield is cultivated by the *Sangha*, a share in the product is to be given to the monastic servants or some other families by whom the actual tilling has been done. Every product should be divided into six parts, and one-sixth should be levied by the *Sangha*; the *Sangha* has to provide the bulls as well as the ground for cultivation, while the *Sangha* is responsible for nothing else. Sometimes the division of the products should be modified according to the seasons.

Most of the monasteries in the West follow the above custom, but there are some who are very avaricious and do not divide the produce, but the priests themselves give out the work to servants, male and female, and see that the farming is properly done.

Those who observe the moral precepts do not eat food given by such persons, for it is thought that such priests themselves plan out the work and support themselves by a 'wrong livelihood;' because in urging on hired servants by force, one is apt to become passionate, the seeds may be broken, and insects be much injured while the soil is tilled. One's daily food does not exceed one *Shang*, and who can endure hundreds of sins incurred while striving to get even that?

Problems with agriculture:

Hence an honest man hates the cumbersome work of a farmer, and permanently keeps away from it (rejects it) carrying with him a pot and a bowl.

Such a man sits still in a place in a quiet forest and takes pleasure in company with birds and deer; being free from the noisy pursuit of fame and profit he practices with a view to the perfect quietude of *Nirvana*. According to the *Vinaya* it is allowable for a *Bhikshu* to try to gain profits on behalf of the Brotherhood (*Sangha*), but tilling land and injuring life are not permitted in the Buddha's teaching, for there is nothing so great in injuring insects and hindering proper action as agriculture.

When I for the first time visited Tamralipti, I saw in a square outside the monastery some of its tenants who, having entered there, divided some vegetables into three portions, and having presented one of the three to the priests, retired from thence, taking the other portions with them. I could not understand what they did, and asked of the venerable Tashang Tang

(Mahayana Pradipa) what was the motive. He replied: 'The priests in this monastery are mostly observers of the precepts. As cultivation by the priests themselves is prohibited by the great Sage, they suffer their taxable lands to be cultivated by others freely, and partake of only a portion of the products. Thus they live their just life, avoiding worldly affairs, and free from the faults of destroying lives by ploughing and watering fields.'

Norms governing meetings between nuns and monks:

… The following things also came under my notice. When the nuns were going to the priests in the monastery, they proceeded thither after having announced (the purpose of assembly). The priests, when they had to go to the apartments of the nuns, went there after having made an inquiry. They (nuns) walked together in a company of two, if it was away from their monastery; but when they had to go to a layman's house for some necessary cause, they went thither in a company of four…

Proprieties observed by the monk Rahula-*mitra*:

Whenever women entered into the monastery, they never proceeded to the apartments (of the priests), but spoke with them in a corridor for a moment, and then retired. At that time there was a *Bhikshu* named *A-ra-hu-la-mi-ta-ra* (Rahula-*mitra*) in that monastery. He was then about thirty years old; his conduct was very excellent and his fame was exceedingly great. Every day he read over the *Ratnakutasutra* which contains 700 verses. He was not only versed in the three collections of the scriptures, but also thoroughly conversant with the secular literature on the four sciences. He was honoured as the head of the priests in the eastern districts of India. Since his ordination he never had spoken with women face to face, except when his mother or sister came to him, whom he saw outside (his room). Once I asked him why he behaved thus, as such is not holy law. He replied: 'I am naturally full of worldly attachment, and without doing thus, I cannot stop its source. Although we are not prohibited (to speak with women) by the Holy One, it may be right (to keep them off), if it is meant to prevent our evil desires.'

Honours bestowed upon learned monks:

The assembly assigned to venerable priests, if very learned, and also to those who thoroughly studied one of the three collections, some of the best rooms (of the monastery) and servants. When such men gave daily lectures, they were freed from the business imposed on the monastics. When they went out, they could ride in sedan-chairs, but not on horse-back. Any strange priest who arrived at the monastery was treated by the assembly with the best of their food for five days, during which he was desired to take rest from his fatigue. But after these days he was treated as a common monastic. If he was a man of good character, the assembly requested him to reside with them, and supplied him with bed-gear as suited to his rank. But if he was not learned, he was regarded as a mere priest; and, if he, on the contrary, was very learned, he was treated as stated above. Then his name was written down on the register of the names of the resident priests. Then he was just the same as the old residents. Whenever a layman came there with a good inclination, his motive was thoroughly inquired into, and if it was his intention to become a priest, he was first shaved. Thenceforth his name had no concern with the register of the state; for there was a register book of the assembly (on which his name was written). If he afterwards violated the laws and failed in his religious performances, he was expelled from the monastery without sounding the *Ghanta* (bell). On account of the priest's mutual confession, their faults were prevented before their growth.

I-tsing appreciates the conduct of monks:

When I have observed all these things, I said to myself with emotion: 'When I was at home, I thought myself to be versed in the *Vinaya*, and little imagined that one day, coming here, I should prove myself really one ignorant (of the subject). Had I not come to the West, how could I ever have witnessed such correct manners as these!"

Of these above described some are the monastic rites, while others are specially made for the practice of self-denial; and all the rest are found in the *Vinaya*, and most important to be carried out in this remote period (from Buddha's time). All these form the ritual of the monastery *Bha-ra-ha* at Tamralipti.

Wealth of Nalanda monastery:

The rites of the monastery Nalanda are still more strict. Consequently the number of the residents is great and exceeds 3000. The lands in its possession contain more than 200 villages. They have been bestowed by kings of many generations. Thus the prosperity of the religion continues ever, owing to nothing but (the fact that) the *Vinaya* (is being strictly carried out).

CHAPTER XX BATHING AT PROPER TIMES

Climate and land of India:

Now I shall describe the manner of bathing. Bathing in India is different from that in China. The weather is moderate in all seasons, somewhat different from other districts. There are flowers and fruits always, even in the twelfth month. Snow and ice are unknown. There is frost, but slightly. Though it is hot (in certain seasons), yet the heat is not intense; and even in the warmest season people do not suffer from 'prickly heat'. When it is very cold, they have not chapped feet, for they wash and bathe frequently, and think much about the purity of the body. In their daily life they do not eat without having first washed.

Importance and abundance of pools:

Water is exceedingly abundant in the pools everywhere. It is considered meritorious to dig ponds. If we go but one *yogana*, we see twenty or thirty bathing-places; and they vary in size, some being one *mou* (about 733 ½ square yards), others five *mou*. On all sides of a pond *Sala*-trees are planted, which grow to the height of about forty or fifty feet. All these pools are fed by rain-water, and are as clear as a pure river. Near every one of the eight *Kaityas*[437] there is a pool in which the World-honoured One used to bathe. The water in these pools is very pure, different from that in others.

There are more than ten great pools near the Nalanda monastery, and there every morning a *ghanti* is sounded to remind the priests of the bathing-hour. Every one brings a bathing-sheet with him. Sometimes a hundred, sometimes a thousand (priests) leave the monastery together, and proceed in all directions towards these pools, where all of them take a bath.

The World-honoured One taught how to build a bath-room, to construct a brick pond in an open place, and to make a medical bath in order to cure a disease. Sometimes he ordained the whole body to be anointed with oil, sometimes the feet to be rubbed with oil every night, or the head every morning; for such a practice is very good for maintaining clear eyesight and keeping off the cold.

CHAPTER XXV BEHAVIOUR BETWEEN TEACHER AND PUPIL

Chinese names for India:

Some say that *Indu* means the moon, and the Chinese name for India, *I.E. Indu*, is derived from it; although it may mean this, it is, nevertheless, not the common name. As to the Indian name for the Great *Chou* (China), ie. *Kina*, it is only a name and has no special meaning.

Further we ought to note that the whole country comprising the five parts of India is called the 'kingdom of the Brahmans' (*Brahmarashtra*).

Suli on the north is all called the Mongolian Frontier (or Border). One should not confuse them nor call all of them by one name.

CHAPTER XXVII ON SYMPTOMS OF BODILY ILLNESS

Honouring of physicians and merchants:

Indians greatly honour physicians and much esteem merchants, for they do not injure life, and they give relief to others as well as benefit themselves.

Medical herbs in India:

Further we must notice that the medical herbs in India are not the same as those of China (Eastern Hsia); those which exist in one country are not found in the other, and the materials used cannot be treated in the same way. For instance, the ginseng (*Aralia cordata*), the *Yuan-chih* (*Polygala sibirica*), the tubers of aconite (*Aconitum Fischeri*), the *Fu-tsze hsin*

(*Asarum Sieboldii*), and such like are the best herbs in the Divine Land (China) and are never found in the West (India). *Haritaka* (yellow *myrobalan*) is abundant in India; in North (India) there is sometimes the *Yu-chin-hsiang* (saffron), and the *A-wei* (assafoetida) is abundant in the western limit of India. The *Baros* camphor is found a little in the islands of the Southern Sea, and all the three kinds of cardamoms are found in *Dvara* (-*vati*); two kinds of cloves grow in Pulo Condore. Only the herbs above mentioned are used in India in the same way (as in China); all other herbs are not worth gathering.

CHAPTER XXVIII RULES ON GIVING MEDICINE

On Chinese medicine:

… There are in China more than four hundred kinds of herbs, stones, stalks, and roots, most of which are excellent and rare in colour and taste, and very fragrant in their smell; thereby we can cure any disease and control the temper. In the healing arts of acupuncture and cautery and the skill of feeling the pulse China has never been superseded by any country of *Gambudvipa* (India); the medicament of prolonging life is only found in China. Our hills are connected with the Himalaya, and our mountains are a continuation of the Gandhamadana;[438] all sorts of things strange and precious are found there in abundance. From the character of men and the quality of things, China is called the 'Divine Land.' Is there any one, in the five parts of India, who does not admire China? All within the four seas respectfully receive the command. They (Indians) say that Mangusri[439] is at present living in that country (China). When they hear that one is a priest of the *Deva-putra*, all pay great honour and respect, wherever one goes. *Deva* means 'heaven' and *putra* 'son', the priest of the *Deva-putra* is more fully 'One who has come from the place where dwells the Son of Heaven of *Kina* (China).'

Differences in food habits of China and India:

In China, people of the present time eat fish and vegetables mostly uncooked; no Indians do this. All vegetables are to be well cooked and to be eaten after mixing with the assafoetida, clarified butter, oil, or any spice.

People (in India) do not eat any kind of onions. I was tempted and ate them sometimes, but they cause pain while taking a religious fast and injure the belly, besides spoiling the eyesight and increasing disease, and causing the body to become more and more weak. This is why Indians do not eat them.

CHAPTER XXIX HURTFUL MEDICAL TREATMENT MUST NOT BE PRACTICED

Cow products as medicine:

Feces and urine are permitted to be used as medicine in the *Vinaya*, but these are the dung of a calf and urine of a cow.[440]

CHAPTER XXXII THE CEREMONY OF CHANTING

Praising the virtues of Buddha in India; chanting names in China:

The custom of worshipping the Buddha by repeating his names has been known in the Divine Land as it has been handed down from olden times, but the custom of praising the Buddha by reciting his virtues has not been in practice. (The latter is more important than the former), because, in fact, to hear his names only does not help us to realise the superiority of his wisdom; whilst in reciting his virtues in descriptive hymns, we may understand how great his virtues are. In the West (India) priests perform the worship of a *Kaitya* and the ordinary service late in the afternoon or at the evening twilight.

The hymns of Matriketa:

In India numerous hymns of praise to be sung at worship have been most carefully handed down, for every talented man of letters has praised in verse whatever person he deemed most worthy of worship. Such a man was

the venerable Matriketa, who, by his great literary talent and virtues excelled all learned men of his age. The following story is told of him. While the Buddha was living, he was once, while instructing his followers, wandering in a wood among the people. A nightingale in the wood, seeing the Buddha, majestic as a gold mountain, adorned by his perfect signs, began to utter its melodious notes, as if it sang in praise of him. The Buddha, looking back to his disciples, said: 'The bird, transported with joy at sight of me, unconsciously utters its melodious notes. On account of this good deed, after my Departure (*Nirvana*) this bird shall be born in human form, and named Matriketa; and he shall praise my virtues with true appreciation.' Previously, as a follower of another religion, when born as man, Matriketa had been an ascetic, and had worshipped Mahesvardeva. When a worshipper of this deity, he had composed hymns in his praise. But on becoming acquainted with the fact that his birth had been foretold, he became a convert to Buddhism, robed in colour, and free from worldly cares. He mostly engaged himself in praising and glorifying the Buddha, repented of his past sins, and was desirous henceforward of following the Buddha's good example, regretting that he could not see the Great Teacher himself, but his image only. In fulfilment of the above prediction (*Vyakarana*), he wrote hymns in praise of the Buddha's virtues to the greatest extent of his literary powers.

He composed first a hymn consisting of four hundred *slokas*, and afterwards another of one hundred and fifty. He treats generally of the Six *Paramitas*, and expounds all the excellent qualities of the Buddha, the World-honoured One. These charming compositions are equal in beauty to the heavenly flowers, and the high principles which they contain rival in dignity the lofty peaks of a mountain. Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men like the Bodhisattvas Asanga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly.

Throughout India every one who becomes a monk is taught Matriketa's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (*Sila*).

This course is adopted by both the Mahayana and Hinayana schools. There are six reasons for this. Firstly, these hymns enable us to know the Buddha's great and profound virtues. Secondly, they show us how to compose verses. Thirdly, they ensure purity of language (cause the tongue

to be pure). Fourthly, the chest is expanded in singing them. Fifthly, by reciting them nervousness in an assembly is overcome. Sixthly, by their use life is prolonged, free from disease. After one is able to recite them, one proceeds to learn other *Sutras*. But these beautiful literary productions have not as yet been brought to China. There are many who have written commentaries on them, nor are the imitations of them few. Bodhisattva Gina (Jina) himself composed such an imitation. He added one verse before each of the one hundred and fifty verses, so that they became altogether three hundred verses, called the 'mixed' hymns (probably *Samyukta-prasamsa*). A celebrated priest of the Deer Park, Sakyadeva by name, again added one verse to each of Gina's, and consequently they amounted to four hundred and fifty verses (*slokas*), called the 'Doubly Mixed' hymns.

All those who compose religious poems take these for their patterns. Bodhisattva Nagarguna (Nagarjuna) wrote an epistle in verse which is called the *Suhrillekha*, meaning 'Letter to an intimate friend;' it was dedicated to his old *Danapati*, named *Gi-in-ta-ka* (Gateka)[441] a king in a great country in Southern India, who was styled *So-to-pho-han-na* (Satavahana). The beauty of the writing is striking, and his exhortations as to the right way are earnest. His kindness excels that of kinship, and the purport of the epistle is indeed manifold. We should, he writes, respect and believe the Three Honourable Ones (*Triratna*, Tibetan *Suhrillekha*, verse 4), and support our fathers and mothers (verse 9). We should kept the precepts (*Sila*, verse II), and avoid committing sinful deeds (verses 10-12).

On the Jataka stories:

There is another work of a similar character called Gatakamala. *Gataka* means 'previous births,' and *mala* 'garland'; the idea being that the stories of the difficult deeds accomplished in the former lives of the Bodhisattva (later the Buddha) are strung together in one place.

Siladitya and the poems on Buddha:

The object of composing the Birth-stories in verse is to teach the doctrine of universal salvation in a beautiful style, agreeable to the popular mind and attractive to readers. Once king Siladitya (of Kanauj), who was exceedingly fond of literature, commanded, saying: 'Ye who are fond of poetry, bring

and show me some pieces of your own tomorrow morning.' When he had collected them, they amounted to five hundred bundles, and, on being examined, it was found that most of them were *Gatakamalas*. From this fact one judges that Gatakamala is the most beautiful (favourite) theme for laudatory poems...

King Siladitya versified the story of the Bodhisattva Gimutavahana (Ch. 'Cloud-borne'), who surrendered himself in place of a *Naga*. This version was set to music. He had it performed by a band accompanied by dancing and acting, and thus popularized it in his time. Mahasattva Kandra ('Moon-official,' probably Candradasa), a learned man in Eastern India, composed a poetical song about the prince Visvantara[442] (Chinese, *Pi-yu-an-ta-ra*), hitherto known as Sudana, and people all sing and dance to it throughout the five countries of India.

Asvaghosha's poems:

Asvaghosha also wrote some poetical songs and the *Sutralankarasastra*. He also composed the *Buddhakaritakavya* ('Verses on the Buddha's career'). This extensive work, if translated, would consist of more than ten volumes. It relates the Tathagata's chief doctrines and works during his life, from the period when he was still in the royal palace till his last hour under the avenue of *Sala*-trees:- thus all the events are told in a poem.

It is widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India, and the countries of the Southern Sea. He clothes manifold meanings and ideas in a few words, which rejoice the heart of the reader so that he never feels tired from reading the poem. Besides, it should be counted as meritorious of one to read this book, inasmuch as it contains the noble doctrines given in a concise form. I am sending to you the 'Hymn in one hundred and fifty slokas' and the 'Epistle of Nagarguna' (*Suhrillekha*), both translated for special objects, trusting that those who like praise-songs will often practice and recite them.

CHAPTER XXXIV THE METHOD OF LEARNING IN THE WEST

IX. The Pei-na

On the Brahmins, Vedas and learning:

The Brahmans are regarded throughout the five parts of India as the most honourable (caste). They do not, when they meet in a place, associate with the other three castes, and the mixed classes of the people have still less intercourse with them. The scriptures they revere are the four *Vedas*, containing about 100,000 verses; '*Veda'* hitherto was wrongly transcribed by the Chinese characters '*Wei-t'o'*; the meaning of the word is 'clear understanding' or 'knowledge'. The *Vedas* have been handed down from mouth to mouth, not transcribed on paper or leaves. In every generation there exist some intelligent Brahmans who can recite the 100,000 verses. In India there are two traditional ways by which one can attain to great intellectual power. Firstly, by repeatedly committing to memory the intellect is developed; secondly, the alphabet fixes one's ideas. By this way, after a practice of ten days or a month, a student feels his thoughts rise like a fountain, and can commit to memory whatever he has once heard [not requiring to be told twice]. This is far from being a myth, for I myself have met such men.

I-tsing meets a great sage:

In Eastern India there lived a great man (*Mahasattva*) named Kandra (*Candra*), being like a Bodhisattva, endowed with great talent. This man was still alive when I, I-tsing, visited that country. One day a person asked him: 'Which is the more injurious, temptation or poison?' He at once answered: 'There is indeed a great difference between the two; poison is injurious only when it is swallowed; whilst the other destroys one's intellect when only contemplated.'

Indian monks who visited China:

Kasyapa-matanga and Dharmaraksha[443] preached good tiding in the eastern capital Lo (Honan-fu); the fame of Paramartha[444] reached even to the Southern Ocean (Nanking) and the venerable Kumaragiva[445] supplied a virtuous pattern to the foreign land (China). Afterwards the Bhadanta Hiuen Thsang followed out his professional career in his own country. In this way,

both in the past and present, have teachers spread far and wide the light of Buddhism.

To those who learn the doctrines of ‘existence’ and ‘non-existence’ the *Tripitaka* itself will be their Master, while for those who practice the *Dhyana* (meditation) and *Pragna* (wisdom) the seven *Bodhi-angas*[446] will be a guide.

Distinguished teachers at the time of I-tsing:

The following are the (most distinguished) teachers who now live in the West. Gnanakandra, a master of the Law, lives in the monastery Tiladha (in Magadha); in the Nalanda monastery, Ratnasimha; in Eastern India, Divakarmitra; and in the southernmost district, Tathagatagarbha. In Sribhoga of the Southern Sea resides Sakyakirti, who travelled all through the five countries of India in order to learn and is at present in Sribhoga (Sumatra).

All these men are equally renowned for their brilliant character, equal to the ancients, and anxious to follow in the steps of the Sages. When they have understood the arguments of *Hetuvidya* (logic), they aspire to be like *Gina* (the great reformer of logic); while tasting the doctrine of Yogakarya they zealously search into the theory of Asanga.

When they discourse on the ‘non-existence’ they clearly imitate Nagarguna; whilst when treating of the ‘existence’ they thoroughly fathom the teaching of Sanghabhadra. I, I-Tsing, used to converse with these teachers so intimately that I was able to receive invaluable instruction personally from them…

While still gathering a few gems left behind on the Vulture Peak. I picked up some very choice ones; when searching for jewels deposited in the Dragon River (Nagandai=Agiravati), I have obtained some excellent ones. Through the unseen help of the Three Jewels and by the far-reaching influence of the royal favour, I was enabled at last to turn the course of my travel eastward, sailed from Tamralipti and arrived at Sribhoga.

Here I have remained over four years, and, employing my time in various ways, have not yet determined to leave this place for my native country.

CHAPTER XL SUCH ACTIONS WERE NOT PRACTISED BY THE VIRTUOUS OF OLD

7. His Fore-knowledge of the Decrees of Heaven

On saints who visited China and India respectively:

From the time that the white horse[447] was unbridled till the dark elephant was saddled,[448] Kasyapamatanga and Dharmaraksha, illumining the world by their rays (of wisdom), became as it were the sun and moon of the Divine Land, and K'ang-seng hui and Fa-hien, by virtue of their example, became the ford and bridge to the Celestial Treasure House (India). Tao-an and Hui-yen[449] were stooping like tigers on the south of the rivers Yang-tze and Han; Hsiu and Li[450] were flying high like falcons on the north of the rivers Hwang and Chi.

Successors in the Order were found regularly and continuously; thus the wave of wisdom has been perpetuated uncorrupted. Devout laymen praised and appreciated the unceasing fragrance of the Law. …

I-tsing prepares to return home:

At last I embarked from the coast of Kwang-chou (Canton), in the eleventh month in the second year of the Hsien Heng period (AD 671), and sailed for the Southern Sea…

In the forty chapters of the present work I have treated only of important matters, and what I have recorded is customary at the present time among the teachers and pupils of India. My record rests distinctly on the words of the Buddha, and is not evolved from my own mind.

Our life passes swiftly like a rapid river. We cannot prognosticate in the morning what will happen in the evening. Thus fearing lest I may not be able to see you and state these things to you in person, I send the record and present it to you before my return. Whenever you have time to spare, pray study the matter recorded in the book, and thus you may approach my heart. All that I state is in accordance with the *Aryamulasarvastivadanikaya* (School) and no other.

CHAPTER — 16

HYE CH'O

Hye Ch'O, a native of Hsin-lo or the Kingdom of Silla in the Korean peninsula, was born around 700 AD. There is little information about him in the collections of monks in Chinese, but his *Memoir*[451] is invaluable to historians, religious scholars, and sociologists, as he visited India and Central Asia when Islam was emerging as a force in the region. Fragments of the manuscript *Memoir of a Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India,* were discovered by Paul Pelliot at Tun-huang in 1908, and subsequently translated by scholars from Korea, China, Japan and Canada.

Hye Ch'O left South China before 724 AD and travelled by sea to India. Landing in the east, he visited the holy sites of Sarnath, Kusinagara, Rajagraha and Bodhgaya, besides the cities of Varanasi and Kanauj. From north-central India, he went south to the capital of the Chalukya kingdom, and thereafter to the Valabhi kingdom in the Kathiawar peninsula. He went to the north-west via Jalandhara and visited the kingdoms on the banks of the Indus, going further north to the Kashmir valley and its neighbouring countries. Travelling through Gandhara, Kapisa and other Central Asian states, he arrived at An-hsi, frontier city of the T'ang empire, which he identifies as Kucha, in December 727 AD.

On his return, Hye Ch'O probably stayed at Ch'ang-an in the Ta chien-fu monastery and worked under Vajrabodhi. The preface to the *Mahayana-yogavajra-prakrtisagara-manjusri-sahasrabahu-sahasrapatra-mahatantraraja-sutra* states that he begun to study this *sutra* on 21 January 733 (seventh day of the 21st year of the *K'ai-yuan* era). After eight years of study, the translation of the *sutra* was inaugurated by Vajrabodhi on 6 January 741. Hye Ch'O was assistant translator (*pei-shu*) or scribe. Vajrabodhi's death in the autumn of 741 caused suspension of the work, and under Vajrabodhi's last testament, the original Sanskrit manuscript of the *sutra* was sent back to India on 30 March 742. Thereafter, Hye Ch'O studied the later part of the *sutra* under Amoghavajra (704–774 AD) in November-December 774. On 23 May 780, he took the translation to the Wu-t'ai Mountain to be copied at the Ch'ien-yuan P'u-t'i Monastery.

Hye Ch'O was associated with the school of Tantric Buddhism which arrived in China with the Indian monk Subhakarasimha in 716; the latter settled at Ch'ang-an, and died in 735 at the age of ninety-nine. Both Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra were Tantra masters, and scholars speculate that Vajrabodhi inspired Hye Ch'O's voyage to India to gain better knowledge of Tantric Buddhism. Hye Ch'O's Chinese prose was average, and his knowledge of Indian and Central Asian languages poor. Though he records the difference in language between countries, he fails to mention specific Indian languages or dialects. The accounts of different regions and kingdoms are skimpy, with even the names of rulers omitted. Further, like other Chinese pilgrims, he freely mixed facts with legends. Still, his *Memoir* is a valuable source for Indian and Central Asian history of the early eighth century AD because it is a contemporary record of the changing religio-political landscape of the region.

Hye Ch'O's records which countries in 727 were under the control of the Arabs, Turks, Tibetans, Chinese, and which were independent. The Arab thrust into Central Asia saw the waning of Chinese control of the region after the battle of the Talas River in 751, making Hye Ch'O's account probably the last Buddhist narrative of Central Asia before its conquest by the new religion of Islam. As Buddhism vanished from Central Asia, the traditional land route for its dissemination to China also withered away. As Hye Ch'O's account is already fragmentary, we present the passages in full:

1. VAISALI (?)

[… they do not honour the Three] Jewels[452] … They go barefoot and naked. The non-believers do not wear clothes…. They eat at any time because they do not observe *uposatha.* The land is completely flat… They have [no] slaves.[453] The crime of selling people is not different from that of murder…

2. KUSINAGARA

After a month's journey, I arrived at the country of Kusinagara. This is where the Buddha entered *nirvana.* The city is desolate and no people live there. The *stupa* was built at the site where the Buddha entered *nirvana.* There is a *dhyana* master who keeps the place clean. Every year on the

eighth day of the eighth month (*Karthik,* a Sarvastivada tradition), monks, nuns, clergy and laymen hold a great assembly of worship there. [On this occasion], numerous banners which were seen by all people would appear in the sky. On the same day, many people would resolve their minds [for the religion].

West of the *stupa* is the Airavati river (Ajitavati of Yuan Chwang). The river flows two thousand *li* southwards before it enters the Ganges. The *stupa* is isolated on all sides; no people go there. The forests are very deserted. Those on pilgrimage are [often] wounded by rhinoceros and tigers.

Thirty *li* southeast from the *stupa* is a monastery named Bandhana. There are more than thirty villages [allocated to this monastery, three or four of which] constantly make offerings to the *dhyana* masters to enable them to maintain religious services at the *stupa*…

3. VARANASI

[After …] days I arrived at the country of Varanasi. This country is also desolate. There is no king…

…the band of five [headed by Kaundinya].[454] I saw a clay statue on the *stupa.*

On top [of the pillar] there is a [statue of] a lion. The pillar is extremely beautiful. [Its circumference measures that of] five people[455] with joined arms. The lines carved on it are delicate. The pillar was made at the time the *stupa* [was constructed]. The monastery is named the Dharmacakra Sangharama…

The non-believers wear no clothes. They smear ashes on their bodies[456] and worship Mahadeva. In this monastery there are gilt bronze images [of Buddha] and the five hundred [Pratyeka Buddhas]. These images were made by Siladitya, a former king of Magadha. He also made a gilt (*dharma wheel*), which is over thirty paces in diameter. The city is built on the northern bank of the Ganges.

This Deer Park, along with Kusinagara, Rajagraha and Mahabodhi are the four great holy *stupas.* All these are situated in the territory of the Magadha kingdom. Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced in this country.

…I arrived at the Mahabodhi monastery. I was very happy as my long cherished wish had been fulfilled. I expressed my humble wishes in a five-word poem:

Untroubled by the distance to Mahabodhi
Unafraid that the Deer Park is far,
Only the dangerous path worried me.
Not caring how the evil wind blows.
To visit the eight *stupas* is truly not easy.
All places were burnt.[457]
How then could one's desire by fulfilled?
With my eyes I saw it this very day.

4. CENTRAL INDIA AND THE CUSTOMS OF THE FIVE REGIONS OF INDIA

From the country of Varanasi [I walked west for a] month and arrived at the city where the central-Indian king resides. The place is called Kanyakubja. The territory of the central-Indian king is very broad and the inhabitants are many. The king possesses nine hundred elephants while other great chiefs possess two to three hundred each. The king himself often leads troops into battle and frequently fights with the other four regions of India. The central-Indian king is always victorious.[458] According to the conventions of the countries, when one knows that it possesses a smaller number of elephants and soldiers, it immediately begs for peace and pays tribute annually. They do not fight on the battlefield and kill each other.

The dress, language, customs, and laws of the five regions of India are similar. Only the language of the village folk in south India is different. The class of officials is not different from that of central India.

The national laws of the five regions of India prescribe no cangue, beatings or prison. Those who are guilty are fined in accordance with the degree of the offence committed. There is no capital punishment. From the king down to the common people one sees no pleasure hunting with falcons or dogs or such similar activities. Although there are many bandits on the roads, they let their victims go alive after taking away their things. If the victim holds his things too dear, then he will at once suffer for it.

The land is very warm. All plants are always green. There is no frost or snow. The foods include rice, baked wheat flour, butter, milk and curds. Soy is not available but salt is. Everybody eats food cooked in earthenware pots. They do not have iron cauldrons or similar things.

Apart from paying one *picul* of grain out of every five to the king annually, the people have no other labour service or taxes. The king sends his own men to transport [the grain]; it is not the duty of the landowners. Most people of the land are poor; few are rich. Those from the royal family, official households, and the rich wear a pair of cotton cloths. Ordinary people wear one piece while the poor wear only half a piece. Women do the same.

Whenever the king sits in audience, chiefs and commoners all come and sit around him. Everyone argues for his own cause. Charges and countercharges are many and it becomes very confusing and noisy. The king listens but does not become angry. Deliberating, he passes judgment saying, ‘you are right’ or ‘you are wrong’. The commoners and others take the word of the king as final and complain no further.

The king and the chiefs sincerely honour and worship the Three Jewels. If they meet a monk-master, they sit on the ground, unwilling to sit on couches. The king and chiefs take their couches with them wherever they go or stay. They rest on them wherever they are and never use the couches of others. Monasteries and royal houses are all three-storeyed buildings. The ground floors are used as storage rooms while the upper floors are for dwelling. The [houses of the] great chiefs are the same. These houses are all even roofed, made of bricks and wood. Other houses are straw huts similar to the gabled Chinese houses. They are also one-storeyed.

The products of the land are only cotton cloths, elephants, horses, and other things. The land itself does not produce gold and silver, which are imported from foreign countries. Domestic animals such as camels, mules, asses, and pigs are not kept. Most cows are white. Among ten thousands head there is rarely one which is red or black. Both sheep and horses are few. Only the king has two to three hundred sheep and sixty to seventy horses. The great chiefs and the common people do not keep these domestic animals. They are only interested in rearing cattle, as they obtain milk, curds, and butter from them. The people of the land are good natured. They

do not like killing. In the markets one does not see any butchering or meat selling.

5. THE FOUR GREAT *STUPAS* OF CENTRAL INDIA

Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced in central India. In the territory of central India there are four great *stupas.* Three are situated north of the Ganges. One is located at the Anathapindika park in Sravasti. There are monasteries and monks there. The second one is at the Amarapali park in Vaisali. The *stupa* still exists but the monastery is deserted and ruined and without monks. The third one is situated in Kapilavastu, the city where the Buddha was born. The Asoka tree is still there but the city is already ruined. There is a *stupa* but no monks or inhabitants. The city is situated at the northernmost part [of the country]. The forests are mostly deserted and there are many bandits on the roads. It is very difficult for those on pilgrimage to go safely.

The fourth is the *stupa* with the three-landed jewelled staircase situated at a distance of seven days' journey west of the city where the central-Indian king resides. It lies between two streams of the Ganges. This is the place where the Buddha descended from the *Trayastrimsa* heaven to *Jambudvipa* by magically creating a three-landed jewelled staircase. The left lane is golden, the right one is silver, and the middle one is glazed with *vaidurya.* The Buddha came down the middle lane, Brahma from the left lane, Sakra from the right lane, both attending the Buddha. At this very spot a *stupa* was constructed. At present there are monasteries and monks.

6. SOUTH INDIA

From central India, walking south for more than three months, I arrived at the place where the south Indian king[459] resides. The king has eight hundred elephants. His territory is very broad: the south extends to the Southern sea, the east to the Eastern sea, the west to the Western sea, and the north adjoins the borders of central, west and east India. The dress, food, and customs are similar to those of central India. Only the languages are slightly different. The land is hotter than central India. The products of this land are cotton cloth, elephants, water buffalo, and yellow cattle. Also,

there are fewer sheep. They do not have camels, mules and asses. They have rice fields but no sorghum or millet. As for things such as floss and thin silks, they are not available in the five regions of India.

The king, the chiefs, and the common people highly revere the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks. Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced. In the mountains there is a large monastery which was constructed[460] by *Yaksas* under order from the *Bodhisattva* Nagarjuna[461] and not built by human beings. Moreover, the pillars were cut from [rocks of the] mountain and built in three storeys. The monastery is over three hundred paces in circumference. During the days when Nagarjuna was alive, the monastery had three thousand monks. Only fifteen *piculs* of rice were given daily to them for maintenance, but the rice was never exhausted. [The excess rice] would be returned immediately, but afterwards there would be no reduction [in supply]. But at present the monastery is ruined and there are no monks. Seven hundred years after Nagarjuna this place began to decay.

When I was on the way to south India, I composed a poem in the five-word style:

On a moonlit night I looked towards the homeward path,
Floating clouds return by the wind,
I wish this letter to go with this opportunity,
The wind blows too fast; the clouds neither listen or return.
My country is in the northern horizon,
Other lands lie at the western extremity.
No wild geese in the hot south,
Who will take my words to the homeland?

7. WEST INDIA

Here Hye Ch'O makes the first reference to Arab invasions and the devastation of the land:

From south India I walked north for two months and arrived at the city where the king of west India resides. The west Indian king also possesses five to six hundred elephants. The products of this land are cotton cloth, silver, elephants, horses, sheep, and cows. Barley, wheat, and various kinds

of beans are produced in large quantities [but the production of] rice and corn is much less. Food is mainly bread, wheat preparations, curds, butter, and ghee. In the markets, silver money and cotton cloths are used.

The king, the chiefs, and the common people highly revere and believe in the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks. Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced.

The land is very broad. To the west it reaches the Western sea. The people of this country are good at singing. [In this] the other four regions of India cannot be compared with this country. Here there is no cangue, beating, prison, capital punishment, and similar affairs. At present half the country has been invaded by the Arabs and is already ravaged. According to the law of the five regions of India, those who travel do not carry food. They can beg for food wherever they go. When the king and the chiefs travel, they take food with them so as not to bother the people.

8. NORTH INDIA (JALANDHARA)

For over three months I travelled north from west India and arrived at the country of north India, which is called Jalandhara. The king of this country has three hundred elephants. He resides in a city built on the hillside. From the hills the place gradually stretches northwards. As a country it is very narrow. The army and cavalry are small. It is often annexed by the central Indian king and Kashmir. This is the reason [the king] resides on the hillside.

The customs, dress, and language are not different from those of central India. The land is slightly cooler than central India and the other regions. There is also no frost or snow, but there is a cold wind. The products of this land are elephants, cotton cloth, rice, and wheat. Mules and asses are few. The king possesses a hundred horses, while each chief has three to five, and the common people have none. The western part of the country is a plain and the eastern part is close to the snowy mountains. There are many monasteries and monks in this country. Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced.

9. SUVARNAGOTRA

A small kingdom is to the east, a month’s journey through the snowy mountains. It is called Suvarnagotra, and is under the control of the

Tibetans. The dress is similar to that of north India, but the language is different. The land is extremely cold.

10. TAKKA

From Jalandhara I walked west and after a month arrived at the country called Takka. The language is slightly different, but the dress, customs, products of the land, climate, and temperature are similar to north India. There are also many monasteries and monks. Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced. The king, chiefs, and common people greatly revere the Three Jewels.

11. SINDHUKULA

Hye Ch'O mentions that half the territory has been lost to Arabs already:

From Takka I walked towards the west for another month and arrived at the country of Sindhkula. The dress, customs, climate, and temperature are similar to north India, although the language is slightly different. This county has many camels from which the people obtain milk and butter for food. The king and the people greatly revere the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks. Sanghabhadra (from northern Kashmir), the Reverend Master of the *Sastras* and author of the *Nyayanusara sastra* was a native of this country. Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced in this country. At present it is being invaded by the Arabs and half of its territory has been lost. From this land to the five regions of India [people] rarely drink much. I have travelled across the five regions, but not have seen any drunken brawls. Those who drink do so only for the sake of energy and strength, but nothing more. I did not see any people who excessively enjoyed dance, drama, and feasting.

12. TAMASAVANA

Further from north India there is a monastery called Tamasavana. During the days when the Buddha was still alive he came and preached the *dharma* there. He enlightened large numbers of human and divine beings. There is a *stupa* on the bank of a stream east of the monastery where the hair and nails of the Buddha are preserved. At present there are over three hundred

monks. The monastery also has the relic tooth, bone, and other things of a great Pratyeka Buddha. There are seven or eight other monasteries. Each of these has five to six hundred monks. The monasteries are well-managed. They are highly respected by the king and common people.

13. NAGARADHANA

Hye Ch'O grieves for a Chinese monk who died in Central India while preparing to return home:

There is another monastery called Nagaradhana situated in the mountains. There was a Chinese monk who died in this monastery. The senior monks of the monastery said that the Chinese monk had come from central India and was brilliant and well-versed in the sacred teachings of the *Tripitaka.* He was about to return to his homeland, but suddenly fell ill and immediately died. Upon hearing the story, I grieved deeply. Thus, I wrote a poem in four rhymes to commemorate the monk who is now dead. The poem is in the five-words style:

The lamp at your home village has no owner.
The jewel tree fell in another country.
Where does the spirit go?
The precious countenance has turned into ashes.
Pondering this my sorrow is deep.
I grieve that your wish was not fulfilled.
Who knows the road to his native land?
Nothing to be seen but white clouds returning.

14. KASMIR

From there [Sindhukula] I walked north for fifteen days, entered a mountainous place, and reached the country of Kasmir.[462] Kasmir is counted as part of north India. It is a rather big country. The king possesses three hundred elephants and resides in the mountains. The roads are dangerous and bad. It has not been invaded by any foreign country. The population of this country is quite flourishing. The poor are many and the rich are few. The dress of the king, chiefs, and rich men is not different

from that of central India. The common people cover their ugly bodies with woollen blankets.

The products of this land are copper, iron, cotton cloth, woollen blankets, cows, and sheep. There are elephants, a few horses, rice, grapes, and other things. The land is extremely cold, which is different from the countries mentioned before. There is frost in autumn and snow in winter. In summer there is plenty of rainfall. The plants are always green and the leaves thick. In winter the grasses wither.

The valley is narrow and small. From south to north it takes a journey of five days. From east to west, it takes one day to complete the journey. These are the boundaries of the valley. The rest [of the country] is dense mountains. The roofs of the houses are covered by rows of plants. Straw and tiles are not used. The king, chiefs, and the common people greatly revere the Three Jewels. There is a dragon pool. The dragon king gives daily offerings to one thousand *arhat* monks. Although no one has witnessed these holy monks taking food, after the offerings, cakes and rice have been seen coming up from below the water. From this it is known [that they receive food]. To this day these offerings have not ceased. The king and chiefs ride on elephants when they go out. Minor officials ride on horses while the common people all go on foot. There are numerous monasteries and monks in the country. Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced.

Following the practice of the five regions of India, from the king, the queen, consorts, and princes down to the chiefs and their wives, all separately build monasteries in accordance with their respective capabilities. They say when each person has his own meritorious virtues, why should joint effort be necessary? Such being the case, other princes follow that [practice].

Whenever a monastery is built, a village and its inhabitants are immediately donated as an offering to the Three Jewels. Building a monastery without making any donation of a village and its folk is not done. It being the practice of this foreign country, the king and his wives have separate villages with their inhabitants. The princes and chiefs also have their villages and their inhabitants which they donate independently without consulting the king. This also applies in the case of building monasteries. When necessary to build, they do so, and the king is not asked.

The king dares not stand in the way because he is afraid that it would taint him with bad deeds.

As for the rich commoners, though having no villages to donate, they also try their best to build monasteries and manage them by themselves. Whenever they obtain things, they offer them to the three Jewels. As in the five regions of India, human begins are not sold. Since there are no slaves, it is necessary to donate villages and their inhabitants [to the monasteries].

15. GREATER BOLOR

Tibetan rule and Buddhism:

From Kasmir I crossed the mountains and travelled northeast for fifteen days. The countries here are Greater Bolor, Yang-t'ung, and Sha-po-tz'-u. These three countries are all under Tibetan authority. The dress, language, and customs of the people are all different. People wear furs, cotton shirts, boots, and trousers. The land is narrow and the mountains and streams are extremely dangerous. There are also monasteries and monks. People respect and believe in the Three Jewels. Eastwards from here is Tibet [where] there are no monasteries or houses [and where] Buddhism is not known. Because the people [of Greater Bolor, Yang-t'ung and Sha-po-tz'-u] are Hu people, they believe [in Buddhism].

16. TIBET

No Buddhism in Tibet at this time:

To the east lies Tibet. It is situated among glaciers, snowy mountains and valleys. People dwell in tents made of felt. Here there are no cities, suburbs or houses. The residential quarters are similar to those of the Turks. Their dwellings shift with the course of water and grass. Though the king stays in a fixed place, there is no city. He resides and carries on with his work in felt tents. The products of this land include sheep, horses, yaks, and woollens. The dress [of the people] is made of woollens and furs. The dress of the women is the same. The land is extremely cold, unlike the other countries. Usually the food of families is parched grain; rice and pastry are rare. The king and the common people all do not know Buddhism. There are no

monasteries or houses. The people hollow out the ground and thus make earthen beds to sleep on. There are no couches and mats. The people are very dark; there are no fair ones. The language is different from other countries. The inhabitants here are fond of eating lice, as they wear woollens which have many lice and nits. Whenever they catch one, they immediately put it into their mouths. They would never throw it away.

17. LESSER BOLOR

Chinese rule, religion not stated:

From Kasmir I travelled further northwest for seven days, crossed the mountains, and arrived at the country of Lesser Bolor, which is under Chinese rule. The dress, customs, food and language are similar to those of Greater Bolor. The people wear cotton shirts and boots, cut their beards and hair, and bind their heads with a piece of cotton cloth. Women keep their hair. The poor are many and the rich are few. The valleys are narrow and cultivable lands are limited. The mountains are withered and sterile with no trees or grass. Greater Bolor was originally the place where the king of Lesser Bolor resides. It was because the Tibetans have come that he fled and shifted his residence to Lesser Bolor. The chiefs and common people remained and did not come [with the king].

18. GANDHARA

Buddhism and the Turks:

From Kasmir I travelled further northwest. After one month's journey across the mountains I arrived at the country of Gandhara. The king and military personnel are all Turks.[463] The natives are Hu people; there are also Brahmins. The country was formerly under the influence of the king of Kapisa. A-yeh, the Turkish prince, took a defeated cavalry and allied himself to the king of Kapisa. Later, when the Turkish force was strong, the prince assassinated the king of Kapisa and declared himself king. Thereafter, the territory from this country to the north was all ruled by the Turkish king, who also resided in this country.

The mountains are withered with no grass or trees. The dress, customs, language, and climate are all different [from other lands]. The dress includes furs, cotton shirts, boots, and trousers. The land is suitable for barley and wheat. There is no sorghum, millet, or rice. People mostly eat parched grain and pastry. Except for Kasmir, Greater and Lesser Bolor, and Yang-t'ung, the rest of the countries from Gandhara to the five regions of India, and further to the Malay archipelago, all do not produce grapes, but only sugarcane.

The Turkish king possesses five elephants and countless sheep and horses. Camels, mules, and asses are plentiful. [Because] China [fights] against the Hu people one cannot go east without detour. Towards the south the road is dangerous and difficult, and there are many bandits. From here to the north, evil occupations are many. There are many butcheries in the towns' shops.

Though the king is of Turkish origin, he greatly believes and respects the Three Jewels. The king, the royal consort, the prince, and the chiefs build monasteries separately and worship the Three Jewels. The king institutes the great feast of the *Wu-che* assembly twice a year. Whatever he personally likes and uses – his wife, elephants, and horses – he donates [to the *Sangha*]. The king asks only that the monks fix the price of his wife and elephants, so that he can redeem them. As for the rest, the camels, horses, gold and silver, clothes, and furniture, are all sold by the monks. The amount is shared by the monks for their expenditures. These are the differences between this king and the other Turkish kings of the north. His sons and daughters act similarly, separately building monasteries, offering feasts, and giving donations.

The city is built on the northern bank of the great Indus river. Three days' travel from this city to the west, there is a great monastery which was the residential monastery of *Bodhisattvas* Vasubandhu[464] and Asanga. The monastery is called Kaniska. There is a great *stupa* which constantly glows. The monastery and the *stupa* were built by the former king Kaniska, so the monastery was named after him.

Southeast... *li* from this city is the place where the Former Buddha saved the dove for King Sibi.[465] At present there are monasteries and monks. The place where the Former Buddha offered his head and eyes to the *five Yaksas*

is also situated in this country. The places are all in the mountains southeast of the city. Each of these places has monasteries and monks, which are presently being supported. Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced here.

19. UDYANA

Buddhism prevails:

From Gandhara, going directly north, I entered the mountains, travelled for three days and arrived at the country of Udyana, which its people call Uddiyana. The king of this country greatly reveres the Three Jewels. Most of his villages and their inhabitants have been donated for the support of the monasteries. Only a few villages remain his own and even food and clothing from them are donated to the monasteries. He daily offers feasts [to the *Sangha*]. There are many monasteries and monks. There are slightly more monks than laymen. The dress, food, and customs here are similar to Gandhara, though the languages are different. The land has many camels, mules, sheep, cotton clothing, and similar things. The climate is very cold.

20. CHITRAL

Buddhism prevails here:

From Udyana, after fifteen days journey travelling further north-east, I arrived at the country of Chitral which its people call *Sha-mo-chieh-lo-che*. The king also reveres and believes in the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks. The dress and language are similar to those of Udyana. The people wear cotton shirts and trousers. There are also sheep and horses.

21. LAMPAKA

Buddhism prevails here:

Further to the west from Gandhara, I entered the mountains, and after seven days journey arrived at the country of Lampaka. The country has no king, but has a great chief. The country is also subject to Gandhara. The dress and language are similar to those of Gandhara. There are also

monasteries and monks here. The Three Jewels are revered and believed. Mahayana Buddhism is practiced.

22. KAPISA

The region is ruled by Turks; the native people are Hu; also a Buddhist country:

From Lampaka, I again entered the mountains. After eight days journey I arrived at the country of Kapisa. This country is also under the authority of the king of Gandhara. During the summer the king comes to Kapisa and resides here because of the cool temperature. During the winter he goes to Gandhara and resides at that warm place because there is no snow and it is warm and not cold. In the winter the snows accumulate in Kapisa. This is the reason for the cold.

The natives of the country are Hu people; the king and the cavalry are Turks. The dress, language, and food of this place are mostly similar to Tokharistan (the Turkish race and ancestors of the T'ukuh), though there are small differences. Whether man or woman, all wear cotton shirts, trousers, and boots. There is no distinction of dress between men and women. The men cut their beards and hair, but the women keep their hair. The products of this land include camels, mules, sheep, horses, asses, cotton cloth, grapes, barely, wheat, and saffron.

The people of this country greatly revere the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks. The common people compete in constructing monasteries and supporting the Three Jewels. In the big city there is a monastery called *Sha-hsi-ssu*. At present, the curly hair and the relic bones of the Buddha are to be seen in the monastery. The king, the officials, and the common people daily worship these relics. Hinayana Buddhism is practiced in this country. The land is situated in the mountains. On the mountains there is no vegetation. [It looks] as if the land had been burned by fire.

23. ZABULISTAN

The region is ruled by Turks; the native people are Hu; also a Buddhist country:

From Kapisa I travelled further west and after seven days arrived at the country of Zabulistan which its people call *She-hu-1o-sa-t'a-na*. The native are Hu people; the king and cavalry are Turks. The king, a nephew of the king of Kapisa, himself controls his tribe and the cavalry stationed in this country. It is not subject to other countries, not even his own uncle. Though the king and the chiefs are Turks, they highly revere the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks. Mahayana Buddhism is practiced. There is a great Turkish chief called Sha-tuo-kan, who once a year lays out his gold and silver, which is much more than the king possesses. The dress, customs, and products of this land are similar to those of Kapisa, but the languages are different.

24. BAMIYAN

Buddhism prevails here:

From Zabulistan I travelled further north and after seven days arrived at the country of Bamiyan. The king here is a Hu, and is independent of other countries. His cavalry is strong and numerous, and other countries dare not invade this land. The clothing consists of cotton shirts, furs, felt shirts and such. The products of this country include sheep, horses, and cotton**.** There are plenty of grapes. The land has snow and is extremely cold. The dwellings are mostly on the mountainside. The kings, the chiefs, and the common people highly revere the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks. Both Mahayana and Hinayana are practiced. The inhabitants of this country and those of Zabulistan cut their beards and hair. The dress is similar to that of Kapisa. Nevertheless, there are also many differences. The local dialects are different from those of other countries.

25. TOKHARISTAN

Arab armies are in control here:

From Bamiyan I travelled further north and after twenty days arrived at the county of Tokharistan. The capital city is called Pactra. At present, the place is guarded and opposed by Arab forces. The original king was compelled to leave the capital, and he resided at Badakshan which is one

month's journey from the capital towards the east. It is also under the authority of the Arabs.

The language [of this country] is different from that of other countries. Though it is similar to the language of Kapisa, for the most part it is different. The dress is mostly made of fur, cotton, and similar things. From the king and chiefs down to the common people, all use fur as the outer garment. The land has many camels, mules, sheep and grapes. As far as food is concerned, the people are only fond of pastry. The land is cold. There is fog and snow during the winter. The king, the chiefs, and the common people respect the Three Jewels. There are many monasteries and monks. Hinayana Buddhism is practiced. They eat meat, onions and leeks. They do not profess any other religions. All men cut their beards and hair, but women keep their hair. The land is mountainous.

26. PERSIA

Arab rule in Persia:

From Tokharistan I travelled further west and after one month arrived at the country of Persia. Formerly, the king of this country ruled over the Arabs. One Arab, the camel keeper of the Persian king rebelled, assassinated the king, and declared himself the ruler. This is the reason why the country is now annexed by the Arabs.

The dress is a wide cotton shirt. [The people] cut their beards and hair. They eat pastry and meat. Even if there is rice, they would grind it, make it into pastry, and then eat it. The products of the land are camels, mules, sheep, horses, big asses, cotton cloth, and precious articles. The language is different from that of other countries.

The natives of this land are naturally skilful in trade. They frequently sail to the western sea and enter the southern sea, and take precious things from the country of Ceylon. Thus, they claim that the land [Persia] produces all precious things by itself. They also take gold from the Malay archipelago, sail to Chinese territory, and proceed straight to Canton to buy silk gauze, silk wadding, and similar things. The land produces fine cotton. The

inhabitants like to slaughter animals. They serve Heaven and have no knowledge of Buddhism.

27. ARABS

A new religion of heaven:

From the country of Persia, I travelled further north and after ten days arrived at the country of the Arabs. The king of this country does not stay on his own land. At present, he resides in Lesser Fu-lin[466] because he has conquered it. Moreover, that place is an island-like strong fortress, which is the reason the king resides there.

The products of this country are camels, mules, sheep, horses, cotton, woollen carpets, and precious things. The dress is a wide shirt made of fine cotton. Another piece of cotton added over the shirt is the outer garment. The king and the common people wear the same kind of clothing without distinction. Women also wear wide shirts.

Men cut their hair, but keep their beards. Women keep their hair. When they eat food, there is no distinction between noble and commoner. They take food together from the same plate with their hand: and also use spoons and skewers. They very much dislike taking readymade things. They say that to eat the meat that is slaughtered by one's own hands brings boundless fortune. The inhabitants of this country are fond of slaughtering. They serve Heaven, and have no knowledge of Buddhism. In the law of the country, there is no convention of prostration.

28. GREATER FU-LIN

The Arabs and Turks have failed to subjugate this region at present:

Northwest of Lesser Fu-lin, along the sea shore, is the country Greater Fu-lin.[467] The king has a very strong and large army. He is not subject to any other country. The Arabs made a few attacks, which did not succeed. The Turks also tried an invasion, which was also unsuccessful. The land has many precious things. Camels, mules, sheep, horses and such are very abundant. The dress is similar to that of Persia and the Arabs. The language is distinct from others.

29. SIX COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL ASIA

The Arabs have subjugated all of these countries:

From the country of the Arabs to the east, all the countries belong to the Hu people. These are the countries of Bokhara, Kaputana, Kish, Shih-lo, Maimarg, and Samarkand. Though each of these countries has its own king, they are all under the authority of the Arabs. These countries are small, their armies are very limited, and they are unable to protect themselves. The products of these lands include camels, mules, sheep, horses, and cotton. The dress is cotton shirts, trousers, and furs. The languages are different from those of other countries.

Moreover, all these six countries serve the Fire Religion.[468] They have no knowledge of Buddhism. Only in Samarkand is there one monastery and monk, who does not know how to revere [the Three Jewels]. In these countries of the Hu people, both the beard and hair are cut. People like to wear white caps made of cotton. One extremely bad custom is incestuous marriages, [which allows] one to take his own mother or sisters as his wives. The Persians also take their mothers as their wives. In the country of Tokharistan and those of Kapisa, Bamiyan, and Zabulistan, two, three, five, or even ten brothers are jointly married to one wife. They are not allowed to marry separately as they are afraid that separate marriages would ruin their livelihood.

30. FERGHANA

The Arabs and Turks are ruling this region:

To the east of Samarkand is the country of Ferghana[469] where they have two kings. The great Fu-yu river flows to the west from the centre of the country. The king to the south of the river is subject to the Arabs. The king to the north of the river is subject to the Turks. The products of the land include camels, mules, sheep, horses, and cotton cloth. The dress is made of fur and cotton. The food is mainly pastry and parched wheat. The language is different from that of other countries. The inhabitants have no knowledge of Buddhism. There are no monasteries, monks or nuns.

31. KHUTTAL

Turks and Arabs incharge here; people Hinayana Buddhists:

East of Ferghana there is a country called Khuttal (from the Caspian to the Aral Sea; or the latter to the Balkhash). The king is of Turkish origin. Half of the local inhabitants are Hu people, and the other half are Turks. The products of this land include camels, mules, sheep, horses, cows, asses, grapes, cotton cloth, and woollen rugs. The dress is made of cotton and fur. The language is one-third Tokharian, one-third Turkish, and one-third local dialect. The kings, the chiefs, and the common people respect and believe the Three Jewels. Hinayana Buddhism is practiced. This country is under the control of the Arabs. Although other countries call it a country, its size is only comparable with a great prefecture in China. The men of this country cut their beards and hair. The women keep their hair.

32. TURKS

The Turks rule:

From the country of the Hu people up to the northern sea in the north, the western sea in the west, and China in the east, is the territory inhabited by the Turks. The Turks have no knowledge of Buddhism. There are no monasteries or monks. The dress is fur and woollen shirts. Insects are used for food. There are no cities or houses. Felt tents are used for houses, which people carry with them wherever they go. The movement of the Turks follows the course of water and grass. The men cut their beards and hair. The women keep their hair. The language is different from that of other countries. The people of this land are fond of killing. They do not distinguish between good and bad. The land has many camels, mules, sheep, horses and such.

33. WAKHAN

Another region dominated by Arabs; here Hye Ch'O met the Chinese envoy:

From Tokharistan I walked east for seven days and arrived at the city where the Wakhan king resides (in Persia). When I was at Tokharistan, I met the Chinese Ambassador to foreign lands. I wrote a five-word poem in four rhymes, to express my feelings:

You complain that the way to the Western Barbarians
is distant.
I lament for the long way east:
Barren roads on huge snowy ranges,
Dangerous torrents and bandits at every turn,
Flying birds are alarmed by the precipitous cliffs,
People are in danger walking on slanting bridges.
I, who have never wept in my life,
  Now shed a thousand tears.

[Another poem on the] snowy day at Tokharistan in the five word style:

Cold snow becomes ice,
Cold winds crack the earth,
Great oceans of snow, frozen, and extending far,
Rivers and streams erode the sides of the cliffs,
Even the Dragon Gate waterfall becomes frozen.
Wells seem to be covered by coiling snakes,
  With fire I climb up the steps and sing.How can I cross the Pamirs?

The king of Wakhan has a small and weak cavalry and can not protect himself. At present he is under the authority of the Arabs. He pays annually three thousand rolls of silk to the Arabs. He is stationed in a valley which is narrow and most people are poor. The dress is fur and woollen shirts. The king wears silk gauze and cotton cloth. Only pastry and parched wheat are used for food. The land is much colder than other countries. The language is different. The sheep and cows of this country are very small. There are also horses and mules. The monasteries and monks are there. Hinayana Buddhism is practised. The king, the chiefs, and the common people all serve Buddha and do not belong to other religions. This is the reason why other religions are not in this land. The men cut their beards and hair. The women keep their hair. The people live on the mountains where there are no trees, water, or grass.

34. NINE SHIH-NI COUNTRIES

Land dominated by Chinese rulers:

In the northern mountains of Wakhan there are nine Shih-ni[470] countries. Each of these nine kings commands his troops and they are stationed [in one place]. One of them is subject to the king of Wakhan. The rest are independent and not subject to any other country. Recently there were two K'u kings who submitted to China, and messengers are continuously sent to An-hsi.[471] Only the king and chiefs wear cotton and furs; the rest of the common people wear fur and woollen shirts. The land is extremely cold, [people] make their homes on the snowy mountains. This is different from other countries. Here there are sheep, horses, cows, and donkeys. The language is different from that of other countries. The king often sends two to three hundred men to the valley if Ta-po-mi to plunder the Hu traders as well as the messengers. Even if they took silk, they would pile it in storage rooms, and let it rot as they do not know how to make clothing. In these Shih-ni countries, Buddhism is not practiced.

35. TS'UNG LING

Chinese control, then Tibetan:

From Wakhan I travelled for another fifteen days towards the east, across the Po-mi valley and arrived at the garrison town of Ts'ung Ling (Tashkurghan). The town is under Chinese control and Chinese troops are on guard here. Formerly, this was the territory of King P'ei-hsing,[472] but that king rebelled against China, fled and submitted to the Tibetans. There are no inhabitants in this country at present. The foreigners call this place K'o-fan-t'an (Kharbanda, Iran), the Chinese name is Ts'ung Ling.

36. KASHGAR

Chinese control and Hinayana Buddhism:

From Ts'ung Ling I travelled (same route Yuan Chwang took back to China) another month and arrived at Kashgar. The foreigners call this place Kashgiri. The place is also guarded by Chinese troops. There are

monasteries and monks. Hinayana Buddhism is practised. People eat meat, onions, leeks, and such. The local inhabitants wear cotton clothes.

37. KUCHA

Chinese control and Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism:

From Kashgar I travelled further east for one month and arrived at the country of Kucha.[473] This is the headquarters of the great protectorate of An-hsi,[474] the place where Chinese troops are gathered. In Kucha there are many monasteries and monks. Hinayana Buddhism is practised. The foods are meat, onions, leeks, and such. The Chinese monks practice Mahayana Buddhism.

38. KHOTAN

Chinese control and Mahayana Buddhism:

Two thousand *li* from An-hsi is the country of Khotan.[475] There are also many Chinese troops stationed here. There are many monasteries and monks. Mahayana Buddhism is practised. No monks eat meat.

From here eastward is all the territory of the Great T'ang empire. This is known to all. One can understand [the Situation] without further explanation.

39. MONASTERIES OF AN-HSI

This region is controlled by China and is still Buddhist:

I arrived at An-hsi during the first ten day period of the eleventh moon of the fifteenth year of the *Kai-yuan* era (18-27 December 727 AD). At that time, the military governor was his excellency Chao.

There are two monasteries presided over by Chinese monks. They practice Mahayana Buddhism and eat no meat. The abbot of the Ta-yun monastery is Hsiu-hsing, who is well versed in discourse and speech. Previously, he was a monk of the Ts'i-pao-t'an Monastery in the capital. The Duty Distributor (temple in-charge) called Yi-ch'ao understands the *Vinaya*

Pitaka very well. Previously he was a monk of the Chuang-yen Monastery in the capital. The Chief Chair of the Ta-yun Monastery called Ming-yun, who had a high moral character, originally came from the capital. These monks are good chiefs. They possess religious determination and perform religions worship with joy.

The abbot of the Lung-hsing Monastery is called Fa-hai. Though he is a Chinese born in An-hsi, his scholarship and manners are not different from those of China.

There is a Chinese monastery called Lung-hsing-ssu in Khotan. A Chinese monk called … is the abbot of the monastery, and he is a good abbot. This monk is a native of Chi-cho in Ho-pei.

There is also a Chinese monastery called the Ta-yun-ssu in Kashgar. A Chinese monk resides over the monastery, who is a native of Min-chou.

40. WU CHIH

Chinese troops are in control here:

From An-hsi I travelled further east for… and arrived at the country of Wu-chih. The place is also guarded by Chinese troops. There is a king, and the inhabitants are Hu people. There are many monasteries and monks. Hinayana Buddhism is practiced.

There are four towns in the An-hsi region, namely An-hsi [Kucha], Khotan, Kashgar, and Wu-chih… they follow Chinese customs. Around their heads they wear [turbans]…

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CHAPTER — 17

KHMER'S HINDU KINGDOM

Many years after publishing his famous article on Funan, French Sinologist Paul Pelliot published some notes on Indo-China, from which the extract below is taken. Pelliot believed Hun-t'ien made a continuous voyage from India, and that Hun-t'ien is the exact Chinese transcription of Kaundinya, whom Indian legend maintains was a great Brahmin who received his spear from Asvatthaman, son of Drona, teacher of the Pandavas in the epic *Mahabharata*. He felt the name of the native queen, Liu-yeh, "Willow Leaf," was possibly a graphic alteration of Ye-ye, "Coconut Leaf," as the willow was unknown to Funan. Others think the story of Hun-t'ien and Liu-yeh is a local variant of the Indian legend of the Brahmin Kaundinya and the *Nagi* Soma, daughter of Soma, King of the Nagas. It is likely Kaundinya gave his wife the mythological name of Soma, as he had taken that of Kaundinya (a Brahmin *gotra*).

According to Pelliot, Kaundinya's conquest of Liu-yeh probably took place in the second half of the first century AD. They had a son who succeeded to the throne, giving rise to the Hun, or First Kaundinya, dynasty, which ruled Funan for over one hundred and fifty years. The kingdom seems to have initially consisted of settlements along the Mekong, between the present cities of Chaudoc and Phnom Penh, each under a local chief. Chinese accounts state that Kaundinya gave seven "cities" to his son as a royal fief, thus introducing a sort of feudalism into Funan, while keeping the rest of the country under his direct rule. The Angkorean civilisation lasted five centuries. The earliest Chinese visitors called the Khmer empire Funan, and the unflagging Chinese commitment for recording history has bequeathed valuable documents on this civilisation which was built, neither by Chinese nor Indians, but by the unique Mon-Khmer people.

THE FIRST KAUNDINYA DYNASTY AND THE 'FAN' RULERS[476]

The Legend of Hun-t'ien and Liu-yeh

The legend of the founding of the Kingdom of Funan, probably in the latter part of the first century AD, comes to us from Chinese sources.

At the beginning, Funan had for a sovereign a woman named Liu-yeh. There was a man from the country of Mo-fu, called Hun-t'ien, who loved to render a cult to a genie, with unrelaxing ardour. The genie was touched by his extreme piety. At night, (Hun-t'ien) dreamed that a man [genie?][477] gave him a divine bow and ordered him to go on board a great merchant junk and go to sea. In the morning Hun-t'ien entered the temple, and, at the foot of the tree of the genie, he found a bow. He then boarded a great ship and went to sea. The genie directed the wind in order to make (the ship) arrive at Funan. Liu-yeh wished to pillage (the ship) and take possession of it. Hun-t'ien raised the divine bow and fired. (The arrow) pierced the bark (of Liu-yeh) from side to side. Liu-yeh, frightened, submitted, and thus Hun-t'ien became king of Funan (666, 245-246).

According to Chinese accounts, the young queen, Liu-yeh, was "celebrated for her virile force and her exploits" (584, 436). Hun-t'ien married her and became king. Not content with seeing her go naked, as was then the custom of both men and women in Funan, he dressed her in a fold of cloth, with a hole through which she passed her head, and made her do her hair up in a knot. This was the beginning of women's clothing and styles in Funan.

No fixed amount or type of raiment, it appears, was demanded by the tribunal of Fame, and Liu-yeh (Willow Leaf) had become queen of her little riverain kingdom and was to go down to posterity "clad only in tropical sunbeams." This did not, however, please the educated taste of her newly-acquired husband, and he became the initiator of the first styles of women's costumes in Funan; which styles, moreover, have changed little in the nineteen centuries which have elapsed since the coming of Hun-t'ien to that remote and beautiful little kingdom in the delta jungle beside the turbulent Mekong. If, however, the dress demanded by Hun-t'ien was designed to cover the breast, it soon descended to the lower level; for, to this day, in the region where once lived the primitive Funanese, the Cambodian descendants, male and female, often go naked above the waist.

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The colossal and awesome statuary of Cambodia's Angkor Wat has ever left visitors spellbound and speechless. Communist China's most famous writer, Han Suyin,[478] found herself drawn repeatedly to the monuments, bewitched by their beauty and power. Yet many, she discovered, simply hated it for its sheer size and the fact that it was built for non-human use.

Angkor was built for the idea of divinity; for the setting down in stone of the divine power of the kings of Angkor. But the kings and the nobles and the people did not live in these stone structures. They lived in houses of wood, or thatch, in and around the temples. Angkor is therefore the greatest complex of temples and monuments massed together in the world; none of these was ever intended to be utilised by mere mortals. The king who built his monument might live near it; and the monument assured his power, his *linga*, his rule, his worship. It was his divine substance; his body was the mere human envelope.

One night two thousand years ago, it is said, a god visited a youth in India and said to the young man, named Kaundinya: "Find a bow, board your boat, sail toward the rising sun." Kaundinya went to the temple next morning and there found, on the floor, a bow with a quiver full of arrows; he embarked and the god-driven wind blew him across the elephant-backed sea to a shore where Willowleaf, the beautiful queen and leader of the Khmer amazons, reigned. The queen launched her war canoe to repel Kaundinya, but the youth shot it through with his arrows, and she submitted to him. They were married, and thus was born the dynasty of the first Khmer kingdom.

… In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the kingdom was at the height of its power, under such monarchs as Suryavarman II and Jayavarman VII. The latter built many monuments, but his greatest undertaking was the Bayon temple at the centre of Angkor Thom, which was supposed to be the centre of the world, the umbilicus, the omphalos.

The Bayon is perhaps the most fabulous and strange monument in the world. It is a work of sculpture, not architecture, and it is a riddle until suddenly one looks at it and exclaims, "It is a lotus, a flower of stone!" For it is an enormous flower, with all its many towers, looking to encompass the whole world, up to the farthest horizon; the visible and the invisible; as the sun's eye makes the harvest ripen, so the eyes of the Bayon keep the world

in equilibrium, assure that the sun and moon do not change places; for sight is command and possession, sight is immortality through awareness. It is said that the heads and the faces are those of the great king Jayavarman VII, whose compassion was so great he suffered his subjects' woes, and thus his eyes multiplied many times to look to their welfare beyond death.

The Bayon is also an astrological monument; for today, as a thousand years ago, the Khmers believe in soothsayers and prophecies…. The Bayon housed within it a huge replica of Jayavarman VII as Buddha; it had no other purpose than the commemoration of the king's divinity. Today, no Khmer will come by night to the Bayon, nor venture near it, for it is said that to do so is to tempt fate, and a swift death follows…

Angkor Wat, the largest and the best proportioned and harmonious of all the temples, is like a prodigious funeral pyre of a divine king… And along the galleries, hundreds of yards long, are the scenes from the great Indian epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*…

One of the most popular of the Khmer monuments for many Westerners is Banteay Srei, "*The Citadel of Women*," a work much nearer to the Indian style. Personally, I do not feel so stimulated by it; it is too beautiful, too perfect – exquisite and small and charming in its pink stone…

To Keo, the crystal tower; Pre Rup, the pyramid with the name of "the body turning"; the enormous Bakong – these and so many of the other great temples are representations of Mount Meru, the great cosmic, five-tiered mountain of the world, which is also symbolised in the five-roofed pagodas of Nepal, in the *gopuras* of India, the pagodas of China, and Barabudur in Indonesia.… And wherever these temple-mountains appear, it is in celebration of the divine essence, the power and the glory, not in tribute to man. All the fabulous enormousness of Angkor is the tremendous expression in stone of man's will to live beyond himself, to govern time and space beyond the allotted span of his own days. Hinduism, Buddhism, the strong imagination and vivid skill of the indigenous Khmers – all combined to produce an order, a culture, which lasted many centuries, and died of its own profligacy, of its own lavish and heedless use of manpower to build for the gods, until no one was left for the wars or for the harvest.

For that is what happened. At the time of Angkor's greatest splendour, under Jayavarman VII, the Bayon was built. Yet parts of it have been left unfinished, as if some great war, some scourge, had stopped the sculptor's

chisels in place. After the Bayon, no more great monuments were built – the Bayon marks the end…

Thus Angkor died: it died of its own splendour, magnificence, architectural megalomania. In 1432 it was abandoned as the capital of the kingdom. The irrigation system that had kept it alive fell into disuse. Then another invader came – the jungle: trees ate into the heads and stones; they smothered Angkor. But Angkor was not forgotten by the Khmer peasants, although it appeared lost to those who knew only a later capital city, Phnom Penh… it was not until the nineteenth century that an adventurous Frenchman made his way through the jungle, perceived the cone-shaped towers of Angkor Wat, and then wrote about the Khmer monuments to bring them back to general public awareness.

The prophecy had predicted, the peasants said, that after 500 years Angkor would rise again. And it was in the twentieth century, almost exactly five centuries later, that the French School of the Far East, which had many eminent members, helped to reconstruct a large part of Angkor and made it the wonder and pride of Cambodia, a marvel of the world, an unbelievable, enriching experience for all those who are sensitive to beauty and great art.

“As the grace of spring on the gardens, as the night of fullness for the moon, thus, ravishing in its splendour the beauty of your body … and like the bees gathering at the hive, the eyes of men have turned toward you, to quench their thirst for beauty.”

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CHAPTER — 18

IL YON

The ancient history of Korea, titled, *Samguk Yusa* or "*Annals of the Three Kingdoms*," hints at early ties between Korea and India. The reference to an Indian princess from Ayodhya, who married King Kim Suro, founder of the "Kaya" or Gaya Kingdom (42-562), which possibly stimulated direct contacts with India, is fascinating to scholars and general readers alike. According to the legend, the princess arrived at a Korean port with a *stupa* on 27 July, 48 AD. Parts of the *stupa* are still extant; the stones are not Korean, but imported. This unique *stupa* in front of the Ayodhya queen's tomb bears the Hindu symbol of "*Surya*," the sun god.

Samguk Yusa was compiled by the monk II Yon (also Ilyon) in the thirteenth century, with a view to foster Korean unity in the face of an impending Mongolian invasion. He claimed it to be a sketchy extract from *Karak-kuk-ki*, a narrative by Munin, magistrate of Kumgwan County during the reign of the Koryo King Munjong (1046-1083). It mostly comprises of legends, but some is based on fact. Karak lay on Korea's southern coast in ancient times and the tribes were known as *Kaya*.

Although Ilyon was not among the pilgrims who visited India, his narrative contains a Korean queen's claim: "I am a princess of Ayodhya," and thus links the region to India. Ayodhya, capital of King Dasratha, father of Sri Rama, is situated in present day Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh. Korean writer Lee Jong Ki visited Ayodhya in 1974 and found an amazing similarity between the motifs on certain temples in the Indian town and the royal tomb at Kimhae, ancient capital of Kaya. The symbol of two fishes depicted on the main beam under the eaves of the entrance to the queen's tomb in Kimhae, which long perplexed Buddhist scholars in Korea, was found upon virtually every house and hut in Ayodhya!

BOOK II

58. Karak-kuk[479]

[From the beginning of the creation, there was no national name and no king in the Kimhae region (north of the Naktong River delta). Nine chiefs

Ado-kian, Ypdo-Kan, P'ido-kan, Odo-Kan, Yusu-kan, Yuch'on-Kan Sinch'on-Kan, Och'on-Kan and Sinkwi-Kan ruled over 75,000 natives, who lived simple agrarian lives].

In the eighteenth year of the Kien-wu era of Emperor Kuang Wu of the Later Han in the year of the tiger (42 AD) on the day of the spring festival in Bathing Valley the villagers heard a strange voice calling from Kuji (Turtle's Back), the summit of North Mountain, saying "Does anyone live here?"

– "Yes," the chief replied.

– "What is this place?"

– "This is Kuji, the Turtle's Back, the highest peak of our North Mountain."

– "A heavenly god has commanded me to descend to earth, establish a kingdom, and become its king, and therefore I am here. You people must dig in the earth on the peak, while you dance and sing,

'Kuha! Kuha! (Turtle, Turtle) Push out your head!
If you don't, we'll burn and eat you.'
Then you will meet a great king."

[The people did as told]

The heavens opened and a purple rope descended to the earth, with a golden bowl wrapped in a red cloth tied to the end of it. When the cloth was removed the bowl was found to contain six golden eggs, round like the sun. The people worshipped the eggs, and, having replaced the cloth, took the heavenly gifts to the house of Ado, the paramount chief, where they laid them on a table and went home to rest. When they returned at sunrise and removed the cloth they found that the eggs had hatched into six boys of noble and handsome appearance. All the people bowed low and offered congratulations.

The boys grew rapidly day-by-day, and after ten days the height of the boy who had hatched first had reached nine feet. His face was like that of a dragon, his eyebrows like two eight-coloured rainbows (like those of Yao, sage-king of ancient China) and his eyes sparkled with double pupils (like those of Shun, Yao's son-in-law). On the fifteenth of the same month he was crowned king with the title "Suro". He named his kingdom Karak-kuk (or Kayaguk) and the other five men became the rulers of the five neighbouring Kaya tribes.

[The kingdom of Karak-kuk lay between the Hwangsan River on the east, the Ch'anghae (Blue Sea) on the southwest, Mt. Chiri on the northwest, Mt. Kaya on the northeast and the sea to the south. Initially, the king lived simply in a temporary residence of earth and uncut reeds, but soon after his coronation decided to build a capital in a valley surrounded by hills].

"Beautiful and wonderful!" the King exclaimed. "Though small and narrow as a blade of grass, this place is fit to be the abode of the sixteen Nahans (disciples of Buddha) or the seven sages (Legendary Chinese philosophers). With proper development of the surrounding country, this will make a fine place for people to live." And he selected the locations of the outer city walls, the royal palaces, government offices, armouries and storehouses before returning to his temporary headquarters.

[The project was completed within one year].

In the twenty-fourth year of Kien-wu of Kuang Wu-ti in the Later Han period in the year of the monkey (Mu-sin, 49AD) on the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month, the nine chief courtiers of King Suro repaired to the palace and were received in royal audience.

"It is not good for the King to be alone," they said, "Let Your Majesty choose the most beautiful and virtuous maiden from among the girls whom we shall bring to the palace and make her your queen."

"I was sent down from heaven to rule this land," the King replied, "and so my spouse will also descend from heaven at divine command. Sail toward Mangsan-do (Mountain-Viewing Island) in the south and see what happens."

The courtiers obeyed. When they were far out at sea, a ship with a red sail and flying a red flag appeared on the horizon, darting toward the north like an arrow. The Kaya sailors waved torches and made signs for the mysterious ship to come near. When it did so, they found that a beautiful princess was on board. The sailors escorted her to the shore, where a courier mounted a swift steed and galloped off to convey the news to the King.

The King was exceedingly glad. He commended the nine senior courtiers to meet the princess on the seashore and conduct her to the palace.

[The courtiers welcomed the princess and invited her to the royal palace].

"You are strangers," the princess modestly replied. "I cannot follow you, nor can I be so unmaidenly as to enter the palace without due ceremony."

The courtiers conveyed the princess' words to the King, and he was struck by her virgin modesty and queenly dignity. He ordered a tent pitched in front of his detached palace on a hill sixty feet south-west of the royal residence and awaited her arrival.

The princess left her ship with her suite, which consisted of the two courtiers Sin Po and Cho Kuang, their wives Mojong and Moryang and twenty slaves who carried gold, silver, jewels, silk brocade and tableware in countless boxes as her trousseau. When she reached the top of the hill she changed her brocade trousers and offered them as a gift to the mountain spirit. Then she approached the tent and the King rose to meet her…

"I am a princess of Ayuta (in India)," the princess said. "My family name is Ho, my given name is Hwang-Ok (Yellow Jade), and I am sixteen years old. In May this year my royal father and mother said to me, "Last night we had a dream, and in our dream we saw a god who said, 'I have sent down Suro to be King of Karak, and Suro is a holy man. He is not yet married, so send your daughter to become his Queen." Then he ascended to heaven. It is the command of the god, and his words are still ringing in our ears. My daughter, bid farewell to your parents and go.' So I started on my long voyage, with steamed dates of the sea and fairy peaches of heaven for my provisions. Now I blush to stand in your noble presence."

"I knew that you were coming," the King told her, "so I refused all the maidens whom my courtiers recommended as my spouse. Now my heart leaps with joy to receive a most beautiful and virtuous princess as my Queen."…

On the first day of the eighth month the King and his Queen entered the royal palace in colourful palanquins, accompanied by courtiers in carriages and on horseback and followed by a long train of wagons laden with trousseau which the princess had brought with her from India. She was escorted into the inner palace, and the two courtiers and their wives who had accompanied her from India were accommodated in separate apartments. The rest of her suite were given a guest house of twenty rooms and given food and drink, and her household articles and precious jewels were put in a store-room for her use at all times.

The marriage of the King and Queen was like the combination of two harmonious beings – heaven and earth, sun and moon, *yang* and *yin*. She was a faithful and true helpmeet to the King, shining like a ruby or a

sapphire – and indeed she was an Indian jewel and rendered valuable service in the rise of his royal household, like the vassals who assisted the King of Hsia[480] and the two daughters of Yao who attended Shun, their royal husband, in ancient China.

The royal couple lived happily for many years. In due time they both dreamed of seeing a bear, and sure enough the Queen conceived and bore a son. This was Crown Prince Kodung.

On the first of March in the sixth year of Chung-p'ing in the reign of Ling-ti, the year of the snake, Kisa (189) the Queen died at the age of one hundred and fifty-seven. The people mourned as if they had lost their own mothers and buried her on a hill northeast of Kuji. They changed the name of the beach where she first landed to Chup'och'on, that of the hill on which she changed her brocade skirt[481] to Nunghyon, and that of the seacoast where she waved her red flag at the shore to Kich'ulpyon, so that her arrival in Karak should always be remembered.

Sin Po and Cho Kuang, who attended the Queen on her voyage from India, each begat daughters about thirty years after their arrival, and both died a few years later…

The King spent many lonely hours in deep grief after the death of the Queen, and at last he also died ten years later at the age of one hundred and fifty-eight, on the 23rd of March in the fourth year of Kien-an during the reign of Hsien-ti in the year of the hare, Ki-myo (199).[482] The people wailed as if heaven had fallen and buried him in a mausoleum ten feet high and 300 feet in circumference to the northeast of the palace. A shrine was erected and sacrifices were offered annually on the third and seventh of January, the fifth of May and the 15th of August to the spirits of King Suro and his royal descendants for nine generations.

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ANNEXURE — 1

LIVES OF EMINENT KOREAN MONKS

HYEOP[483]

Sok Hyeop was a serene and profound man, solid in spiritual matters. Early in life he bade farewell to his remote country and went directly to the Middle Kingdom. During the era *chen-kuan* he travelled to the Western Regions, crossing the vast desert and the steep ridges of the Himalayas, suffering tremendous hardships. He took his life lightly for the sake of the Law, his only ambition being its propagation. At last he arrived at the Bodhi monastery and worshipped the sacred traces. He then stayed in the Nalanda monastery. He studied the *Vimalakirtinirdesa*, compared it with the T'ang translation, and expounded it thoroughly and systematically. The marginalia to the *Liang lun* reads: "A Silla monk, Hyeop, copied it under the Buddha's toothwood tree (*Dantakastha*)." Hyeop died at Nalanda, in his sixties; the texts he copied in Sanskrit are still in the monastery.

HYERYUN

Sok Hyeryun was a native of Silla; his Sanskrit name was Prajnsvarman (Chinese, Hyegap). From the time he left his family to become a monk, he yearned for the holy land. Finally, he sailed to Min and Yueh (modern Fukien), walked to Ch'ang-an, suffering cold and heat and all manner of hardships. Then, by imperial order, he went to the West as an attendant to the master of the Law, Hyonjo. Arriving in India, they made a pilgrimage to the miraculous traces of Buddha. Hyeryun stayed at the *Cinaccavihara* in Amravati for nearly ten years before moving east to the wealthy *Gandharachand* monastery. Most foreign monks from the north [Serindia] usually resided there, each studying his own discipline. Hyeryun knew Sanskrit well and studied the *Abhidharmakosa* deeply. I-ching noted that Hyeryun was around forty years old when he (I-ching) returned to China.

ARYAVARMAN

Sok Aryavarman possessed supernal wisdom, being self-enlightened. Coming to China from Silla in search of a good teacher to study under, he

was determined to set a standard for his contemporaries and to save future generations. His quest led him to seek the Law in western India; he scaled the distant Pamirs, and travelled far and wide and witnessed all the sacred traces. He exhausted his funds and food, and stayed at Nalanda monastery, where he died.

At this time, the eminent monk, Hyeop, was staying in the Bodhi monastery, while the monks Hyon'gak and Hyonjo were at the Mahabodhi monastery. These four monks completed their journey during the era *chen-kuan,* having left their native country to observe Indian manners. They acquired towering reputations in the east and west and left behind an undying legacy. According to the chronology, they probably departed for India around the same time as the master Hsuan-tsang (602-664),[484] but the exact year is not known.

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ANNEXURE — 2

CHINESE MONKS IN INDIA[485]

I-ching returned to Srivijaya[486] from India, and from there dispatched the manuscript of *Chei-Kuei* and the sketch of Nalanda monastery. After Fa-hien, many Chinese monks came to India to study the Law, disregarding the risk to their lives as they took the perilous road, crossing the Great Wall, or the sea route. Those who arrived suffered for want of a Chinese monastery, which made their study of Buddhism even more difficult. I-ching wished to honour them for posterity and garnered information about more than 56 monks who were still living or had passed away, though some remained unnamed. He could personally meet only five – Wu-hsing, Tao-lin, Hui-lun, Seng-che and Chih-hung. In the first year of the Ch'ui-Kung[487] era, I-ching set off for India with the *Dhyana*-master, Wu-hsing. Till the time of his departure, no Chinese commission had been set up to find out the fate of these monks; some were from Korea.

Sramana Hsuan-chao Fa-shih was a native of Hsien-chang (modern Che-kiang) in Tai-chou; his Sanskrit name was *Prakasamati* (Chinese *Jnanaprabha*). His grandfather and father both held high posts in the Imperial Service, but he underwent tonsure at an early age.

As he grew older, he wished to visit the sacred places, and went to the capital city Lan-chou for discussions on the Buddhist *Sutras* and *Sastras*. In the mid-Chen-Kuan[488] period, in the monastery of Ta-hsing-shan of Hsien-chang, he began learning Sanskrit literature with the monk Hsuan-chang. Then he set off with a mendicant staff towards the West as a *parivrajaka*, leaving the capital city and crossing the drifting sands, the Iron gate, the snow-clad mountains, the Pamir or Onion range, till he finally reached Jalandhara (Punjab).

Surviving such a hazardous journey, he fell into the hands of robbers just before entering the city, and despairing of human assistance, chanted some sacred words. The following night he had a dream that fulfilled his desire – he woke to find the robbers fast asleep and quietly escaped. Hsuan-chao Fa-

shih stayed in Jalandhara for four years, being warmly received by the king who patronised him. He practiced the Sanskrit language and studied Buddhist *Sutras* and *Vinaya* texts, with little success.

Moving on, he spent four years in the *Mahabodhi Sangharama*.[489] He studied *Chu-she Kosa*,[490] *Chieh-tui-fa I.E. Abhidharma*[491] and the *Vinayas* of the *Mahayana* and *Hinayana* schools. From here he went to the Nalanda monastery where he stayed for three years, studying the *Chung-lun*,[492] *Pranya-mula sastra* like *Sata Sastra* etc. with the Indian monk Sheng-kuang, Vijayarasmi, and *Saptadasabhumisastra-yogacaryabhumi*[493] with Bhadanta, the virtuous preceptor, *Pao-shih-tze*, Ratnasimha. He learned the various degrees of abstract meditation to free the mind from subjective and objective bondages. Then he moved towards the Ganga, receiving hospitality from the King of Shan-pu country, north of the Ganga. He resided at the monastery of the Hsin-che (Great Faith) and other monasteries for about three years.

Envoy Wang Hsuan-ts'e[494] from the Court of the T'ang Emperor, on return to China, gave a very good report about the monk Prakasamati, prompting the emperor to dispatch people to West India to escort the monk back to the imperial Capital. The journey took them to Nepal, where the King helped monk Hsuan-chao proceed towards Tibet. There he visited Princess Wen-Ch'ang[495] who financed the journey from Tibet to China.

In September, he left Shan-pu and arrived at Lo-yang in January, traveling over 10,000 *li* in five months. In Lin-te period the Emperor gave him a long audience in the Imperial Court and sent him to Kashmir to escort an old Brahmin named Lokaditya. In Lo-yang Hsuan-chao Fa-shih met several venerable monks and debated the fundamental principles of Buddhism. He undertook the translation of the *Vinaya* of the *Sarvastivada* School with the assistance of the great *Vinayacarya* Tao and *Dharmacarya* Kuan of the Ching-ai[496] temple. Soon after, however, he set off for India in deference to the Emperor's wishes, leaving behind all the Sanskrit manuscripts in the capital.

En route, he met a Chinese envoy sent by the T'ang Emperor, who was already escorting Lokaditya. The envoy commissioned Hsuan-chao, who

told them to accompany the band of travellers going to Lata (southern Gujarat), to collect medicinal herbs for longevity. This led him to Nava Vihara in Bukhara, where he saw a washing bowl and other relics of Tathagata. Then he reached Kapisa (Gandhara-Kashmir) and worshipped the *Usnisa* of Tathagata, offering flowers, burning incense, and inscribing a *prasasti*.

Then he moved towards Lata country in Hsin-tu (Sindhu), receiving a warm welcome from the king; he stayed for four years before going to South India, from where he sent various medicinal herbs to China. As the road from Nepal to Tibet and the road through the country of Kapisa to Tuo-tie (Tajiks, Tumasik) was blocked; travel was difficult. He proceeded to the *Grdhrakuta* mountain and Venuvana, Rajagriha. At the age of sixty, he fell sick and died at A-mo-luo-p'o in Mid-India.

Tao-hsi Fa-shih hailed from an aristocratic family of Ch'i-chou (Shan-tung); his Sanskrit name was *Srideva*. From childhood he was virtuous and kind, studied metaphysics and was deeply drawn to the Buddha's faith. He had a great desire to visit Mid-India. Proceeding towards Tibet, he found the road very dangerous and turned westwards, where he encountered even more difficulties. Traversing many countries, he reached the *Mahabodhi Sangharama* where he spent a couple of years in search of Buddhist Sutras and worshipped the sacred relics of the Buddha. He visited Nalanda and Kasi. The king of An-mo-luo p'o received him with great respect. He immersed himself in the study of the *Mahayana*, Ta-ch'ang *Sutras* at Nalanda. He studied the *Vinayapitaka* and the *Sabdavidyasastra* (science of grammar). As a renowned calligraphist and literary genius, he inscribed a memorial tablet in the Chinese language on a stone slab in the monastery of Great Enlightenment; at Nalanda he left more than four hundred volumes of old and new Chinese *Sutras* and *Sastras*. Srideva was residing at An-mo-luo-p'o when he fell sick and died at the age of around fifty. I-ching came to Amraka after his death and paid respects to the room where Srideva had lived.

Shih-Pien Fa-shih, Sri Kas, was a native of Chi'chou (Shan-tung), well versed in the Sanskrit language and *Vidyamantra*.[497] He followed monk Hsuan-chao to North India and then moved to city of Amraka and received

hospitality from the king. While in the Raja Vihara, he met *Dharmacarya* Tao-hsi, who hailed from his native place. They became close friends, but at the age of thirty-five, Pien fell ill and passed away.

A-nan Alyeh-po-mo, Anandavarman was a native of Hsin-luo (ancient name of Korea). During the Chen-kuan period (of the T'ang Emperor) he set off from Kuang-hsieh in the capital city of Ch'ang-an in search of the Truth and to pay homage to the sacred relics of the Buddha. At Nalanda, he studied the Vinayas and copied a large number of Sutras. He died in the west of the Lung-ch'uan, the mango grove to the south of the Nalanda monastry, at the age of more than seventy.

Hui-yeh Fa-shih, Jnanasampada, also hailed from Korea. In the Chen-kuan period, he went to India, lived in the Bodhi monastery and paid homage to the sacred relics of Buddha. He spent a few years at Nalanda, studying Buddhism and listening to religious discourses. While checking Chinese manuscripts, I-ching discovered the manuscript of Liang-lun (Liang Dynasty, AD 502-557) at Nanking, which said that the Korean monk (Jnanasampada) Hui-yeh recorded it under the shade of Buddha's Tooth-stick tree.[498] He inquired from monks living in Nalanda and learnt that the monk had died there at the age of over sixty. Whatever Sanskrit texts he copied, remained there.

Hsuan-t'ai Fa-shih also came from Korea; his Sanskrit name was *Sarvajnadeva*. During the Yung-hui[499] period, he went to Tibet and on to Mid-India via Nepal. He visited the Bodhi-Tree, the Wisdom Tree, and studied Buddhist *Sutras* and *Sastras* diligently. He visited many sites in the eastern region. While returning, he reached T'u-ku-hun (Lap Nor), where he encountered monk Tao-his, and they continued their journey together. They moved towards the monastery of Great Enlightenment and from there to China, but nothing was heard of them thereafter.

Hsuan-k'o Fa-shih, *Paramapujya*, was from Korea. In the Chen-kuan period, he and *Dharmacarya* Hsuan-chao left for pilgrimage to the monastery of Great Enlightenment. But he fell sick a few days later and died at the age of fifty.

There were two other monks from Hsin-luo (Korea), whose names and origins are unknown. They left Ch'ang-an and reached the South Sea, journeying to Srivijaya and P'o-lu'shih, the country west of Sribhoga, where they fell ill and died.

Fo-t'o-ta-mo, *Bodhidharma* belonged to Tu-huo-shu-li. He studied *Hinayana* Buddhism. He went to Shen-chou and entered monastic life in I-fu. He was very fond of travelling and visited many places in China. In India, he met I-ching at the Nalanda monastery. Thereafter, he left for north India; he was around fifty at this time.

Tao-fang Fa-shih, the Law Master *Dharmadesa*, was a native of Ping-chou. He left home for Nepal where he stayed at the monastery of Great Enlightenment for some years as head of the temple. Later, he returned to Nepal where he stayed till the time of I-ching. He was quite indisciplined and seldom studied the Buddhist Sutras; he was quite old.

Tao-sheng Fa-shih was also a native of Ping-chou; his Sanskrit name was *Candradeva*. In the last year of the Chen-kuan period, he went to Tibet and Mid-India. He visited the Bodhi monastery and worshipped *Caitagrha* with great reverence. At Nalanda, he was the youngest student and was treated very courteously by the king. He went to the Wang-Ssu Rajavihara[500] and lived there for a couple of years, studying the principles of *Hinayana* Buddhism and the essence of the *Tripitaka*. He carried many Buddhist texts and Buddha images to his own country, but on reaching Nepal on his way back home, fell sick and died at the age of fifty.

Ch'ang-min Ch'an-shih, *Nityadaksa Dhyanacarya*, hailed from Ping-chou. In childhood itself, he accepted the tonsure and wore Buddhist robes. Desiring to be born in India, he devoted himself to a life of purity and religion, chanting the name of Buddha. He visited the capital city of Lo-yang and decided to propagate Buddhism by writing the whole of the *Prajna Sutras* in 10,000 *chuan*. Keen to go to India on pilgrimage, he went to the palace for the Emperor's permission, which was granted. He travelled all over south China, copying the *Prajna Sutra*.

Then he sailed for Kalinga (Java) and the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, planning to reach Mid-India. He boarded a cargo vessel with heavy merchandise, which got caught in a sudden storm and began to sink. The captain, a follower of Buddha, boarded the safety boat and called him to join them for safety. But Ch'ang-min refused, asking the captain to save someone else, and fervently chanted the name of Amitabha. He was more than fifty when he died.

He had only one disciple with him, about whom little was known. He received help from his companions. This story was narrated by the survivors of the wrecked ship.

Mo-to-seng-ho, ***Matisimha***, came from Ching-chao;[501] his family name was Hsing-fu. His personal name was not known. He travelled widely with monk Pien, visiting Mid-India and the monastery of Great Faith Hsin-che-Ssu. He knew Sanskrit but did not learn the Buddhist *Sutras* and *Sastras* in depth, and decided to return to his land, but died on the way back in Nepal at the age of forty.

Hsuan-hui Fa-shih belonged to the Capital City of China, and was the son of General An. He took the overland route to Northern India, entering Kashmir and receiving the job of looking after the royal elephants. Daily, the King sent food to the N*agahrada Parvata Vihara* where monk Hsuan-hui lived, and five hundred *Arhats* also received the royal hospitality regularly. It was here that the venerable Madhyantika, disciple of Ananda, converted the dragon-king. The King of Kashmir was so impressed by the pilgrim monk that he pardoned over a thousand convicts condemned to death and set them free. After living some years as a royal guest, he became disappointed over something, and left for the South.

He visited the monastery of Great Enlightenment; worshipped the Bodhi Tree; and visited the Muchalinda lake. He often climbed the Grdhrakuta mountain. He overcame many difficulties to master Sanskrit pronunciations, but acquired very little knowledge in Sanskrit *Sutras* and religious thoughts, so decided to return home. But when he reached Nepal, he died at the young age of thirty odd years, possibly from consuming poisonous herbs there.

A person went with the Chinese envoy to Bukhara by the northern route and become a monk under the name of ***Cittavarman*****,** in the *Nava Sangharama* (*Hinayana* school). Having received the precept, he declined to eat the three kinds of pure food. The master of the monastery admonished him, saying "Tathagata himself took five kinds of food considered proper for a monk. It is not a crime. Why should you not eat?" Cittavarman replied that this was not the rule observed by the Hinayanists and he could not change his old habits, the master asserted that: "I have established a practice here in agreement with the three *pitakas*; I have never read such a rule. If you so please you may find out a suitable preceptor. I can no longer be your preceptor." Thus forced to eat the food, Cittavarman was reduced to tears. He knew very little Sanskrit. He took the northern route back to China, and no one knew where he went. His story was told by Indian monks from North India.

Two monks in Nepal were the children of the wet nurse of the princess of Tibet. They left home young to become monks, though one later returned to family life. They lived at the Rajavihara, and mastered the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit texts. One was thirty-five and the other twenty-five.

Lung Fa-shih *Gauravadharma* left home during the Chen-kuan period and took the northern route to India. He wanted to witness the transformating influence of Buddhism in Mid-India. He recited *Saddharmapundarika Sutra* in Sanskrit beautifully. He died on reaching Gandhara, according to monks coming from North India.

Ming-yuan Fa-shih came from the city of Ch'ing in I-chou;[502] his Sanskrit name was *Cintadeva*. He was given a religious education from childhood, and grew up virtuous, handsome, respectful, and dignified. He was respected in China, and was conversant in *Madhyamika* and *Satasastra* respectively. He could expound the discourse of philosopher Chuang-chou. While young, he visited many places in Hu-nan and in the area east of Yang-tze river valley. Later, he probed the Buddhists *Sutras* and *Sastras* and practiced meditation, spending the summer retreat in a lonely top of mountain Lu.

As Buddhism was already in a decadent state, he determined to restore its glory, became a mendicant and sailed to Chiao-chih.[503] He crossed the sea to K'o-ling and on to Simhala (Sri Lanka). When the King of the country was worshipping, he tried to steal the famous Tooth-relic to take back to his own country, but was detected and humiliated. Ceylonese sources say he moved to South India and while going to the monastery of Great Enlightenment, passed away. His age was not known. Following this incident, the King of Ceylon kept the Tooth-relic in a well-guarded and lofty tower for safety.

I-lang Lu-shih, ***Arthadipta***, came from Ch'eng-tu (Szu-ch'uan) in I-chou. He was knowledgeable in *Vinaya* and the interpretation of Yoga System. He set off from Ch'ang-an with **monk Chih-an** and **I-Hsuan**, for pilgrimage. They reached Wu-lei (Ch'in-hsien) and took a merchant ship to Fu-nan, and reached Pegu in Lower Burma where they were received by the king. The fellow monk Chih-an fell sick and died; Lang and his fellow companions sailed for Ceylon where they secured new religious texts and worshipped Lord Buddha's Tooth-relic. He then reached the Western country. I-ching collected this information; but no more could be learnt about his whereabouts.

Hui-ning Lu-shih, ***Mahabhisayanavinayacarya***, also hailed from Ch'eng-tu in I-chou. He was a very intelligent child, and visited visited temples and monasteries in pursuit of knowledge even as a young boy. He renounced the world and joined the Order (*pravrajya*), studying the Buddhist Sutras, *Sastras* and *Vinaya* canons. His quest for the Buddhist Law took him to the Western country. In Lin-te period (AD 665)[504] he reached the South Sea and sailed for K'o-ling, where he lived for three years with monk Jnanabhadra. He translated a portion of the *Agama Sutra*[505] with Jnanabhadra, concerning the last ceremony held after the *Mahaparinirvana*[506] of Tathagata. This work is different from *Nirvana* of the *Mahayana* Sutra. I-ching could find the *Nirvana Sutra* of the Mahayana comprising 25,000 *slokas*. More than sixty *chuan* were translated into Chinese; he wanted to collect the entire *Sutra* but failed; he got a collection of the first 4,000 *slokas* of the *Mahasanghika*.

Hui-ning translated the *Agama Sutra* only. He asked his disciple monk Yun-ch'i to go to China and present the *Sutra* with respect; he returned to Chiao-fu (Kuang-tung) from where it was taken by horses assigned by the Government. Yun-ch'i presented the book to the Emperor and requested him to propagate this book among the people of Tung-hsia (China). Yun-ch'i left the capital and reached Chaio-chih; he announced that he received a gift of hundred pieces of fine shining silk from the Court.

When he returned to K'o-ling he reported to Jnanabhadra that the monk Hui-ning wanted to meet him. But Hui-ning set off for the Western country. Yun-ch'i waited anxiously for Hui-ning, sending messengers to five Indies in search of him, in vain. Hui-ning travelled alone in search of Dharma. But in the very first leg of his travel, at Pao-chu (Ratnadvipa), he died at the age of thirty-four or five.

Yun-ch'i, ***Kalacakra***, was a native of Chaio-chou. He **travelled with T'an-rung**. He was ordained by Fu-chih-hsien. He acquired some knowledge of Sanskrit, but later retired to lay life and lived in Sri-vijaya up to the time of I-ching. Then, he was again moved by the Law of Buddha and again travelled over the island preaching the faith among non-believers. He breathed his last at the age of forty.

K'uei-ch'ung Fa-shih from Chiao-chou was a disciple of Ming-yuan; his Sanskrit name was *Citradeva*. He took a ship to Ceylon, whereafter he moved to western India, where he met the venerable monk Hsuan-chao and went to Mid-India with him. He was honest, sincere and intelligent, and proficient in reciting Sanskrit *Sutras*. He assiduously collected Sanskrit *Sutras* and recited them with tunes and actions. He paid homage to the Bodhi tree, and dwelt at length at the Bamboo Grove in Rajagrha. Here he fell sick and died at the age of thirty.

Hui-yen Fa-shih, ***Prajnaratna***, native of Chiao-chou, was a **disciple of Hsing-kung**, with whom he went to Simhala. Nothing is known of him thereafter.

Hsin-chou Fa-shih's native place is unknown; his Sanskrit name was *Sraddhavarman*. He took the northern route to India and lived in the

Monastery of Faith. Here he built a brick chamber and donated it for the use of those who retired from the cares of public life. Here he fell sick and just before his death one night he cried out that *Bodhisattva* with outstretched hands was beckoning him to his beautiful abode. He stood up with folded hands and breathed his last at the age of thirty-five.

Chih-hsing Fa-shih was a native of Ai-chou; his Sanskrit name was ***Prajñadeva***. Sailing from the South Sea, he reached West India and worshipped the sacred relics of the Buddha. He then went to the north of the river Ganga, dwelt in the Monastery of Faith and died there at the age of fifty.

Ta-ch'eng-teng Ch'an-shih also hailed from Ai-chou; his Sanskrit name was ***Mahayanapradipa***. While still young, he sailed for Dvaravati, ancient capital of Siam, with his parents and here became a monk. Thereafter, he followed T'an-su, envoy from the Imperial Court, and reached the capital. He lived in the monastery of Tz'u-en,[507] *Mahakaruna*, the great compassion monastery where the *Tripitaka* master Hsuan-chuang lived. Here Mahayanapradipa was ordained to the Buddhist faith. For some years, he studied the sacred Buddhist *Sutras* here, and nurtured a desire to visit India.

Carrying Buddhists images, *Sutras and Sastras*, he crossed the South Sea and reached Ceylon where he worshipped the Buddha's Tooth. Moving through South India he reached Eastern India and proceeded towards Tamralipti (Tamluk, W. Bengal). At the river, his boat and other valuables were robbed, but the pirates spared his life. At Tamralipti, he devoted twelve years to perfect himself in Sanskrit *Sutras*. He studied the *Nidana Sutra* and other important texts and entered into an ecclesiastical life.

He joined a group of merchants and **with the venerable I-ching** reached Mid-India, where they first visited Nalanda, then Bodhimanda and Vaisali, and finally Kusinagara. **Dhyana master Wu-hsing** visited these places with them.

It was his ambition to achieve Dharma and propagate it in China, and as he neared his end, he wished to accomplish this in his next life. He

expressed a desire to visit the home of Maitreya, daily drawing the picture of one or two branches of *Nagapuspa* (dragon flower) to express his sincerity. He lived in the old room of the monk Tao-his, who had already died, and whose Chinese and Sanskrit texts on Buddhist *Sutras* and Sastras were still present there. Looking at the books, he shed tears as they had previously always moved together, discussed Dharma together at Ch'ang-an, but could not meet in this foreign land. The Dhyana master died in the *Parinirvana Vihara* in Kusinagara.

Seng-chia-p'mo *Sanghavarman* was a native of K'ang-kuo, Sogdiana (Kirghiz). A wanderer from childhood, he walked through drifting sand and reached the Imperial city. He had a great passion for religion. During the Hsien-ch'ing[508] period, the Emperor ordered him to go on pilgrimage to the Western country along with the imperial envoy. At the monastery of Great Enlightenment, he paid homage to *Bodhimanda*. He lit the lamp for seven days and seven nights as offerings to the Council of discourses on Dharma, and under the Asoka tree in the courtyard of Bodhimanda he carved images of Buddha and *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteswara.

On his return to China, he was again sent to Chiao-chih to collect medicinal herbs at a time when the region was under the grip of severe famine and people were dying without food. He prepared and distributed food to the famine-stricken people daily. Because of his compassion he came to be known as 'Weeping Bodhisattva incarnate'. Some time later, he fell sick and died immediately at the age of sixty.

Pi-an Fa-shih *Dharmacarya Nirvana* and **Chih-an Fa-shih (*Jnanaparin*)** were both natives of Kao-ch'ang, Turfan (Central Asia). They went to the capital city to become monks, and were keen to visit Mid-India and to witness the transforming influence of the Doctrine there. They boarded a ship with the Chinese envoy Wang Hsuan-k'uo, but fell sick on board and died. Their copies of Buddhist *Sutras* and *Sastras* in Chinese translation, including texts on *Yoga*, were left in the country of Srivijaya.

T'an-jun Fa-shih, *Meghasikta*, was from-Lo-yang; he had deep knowledge of the art of exorcism and of metaphysics. He studied the *Vinaya* texts and practiced *Cikitsa Sastra* (science of medicine), and displayed a

keen desire to serve all living creatures. He sailed the South Sea and reached Chiao-chih where he stayed one year before sailing for West India. He reached K'o-ling, fell sick and died at the age of thirty at Po-p'en (Pempuan, Borneo).

I-hui Lun-shih, ***Artharasmi Sastracarya***, was a native of Lo-yang. An extraordinarily brilliant man, he strove for scholarship and Truth, listening to discourses on *Samparigraha Sastra, Kosa* etc. and acquired deep knowledge. Noting much discrepancy in the texts, he wished to see the original Sanskrit texts and personally hear the meanings. He came to Mid-India hoping to return to China, but died on arrival at Lang-chi, at the age of thirty odd years.

Three other Chinese monks took the northern route and reached Udyana country where they worshipped the relics of the Buddha's skull. Their whereabouts were not known thereafter, and I-ching learnt of them from monks coming from Udyana.

Hui-lun-shih was a native of Hsin-luo; his Sanskrit name was *Prajnavarman*. He renounced the world while in his hometown and set off on pilgrimage to the famous shrines of his faith. Arriving at Min-yeh (Che-kiang) in China, he travelled a long distance to Ch'ang-an, and received an imperial order to follow Hsuan-chao who had gone to the Western countries, find him, and assist him there. In India, he lived in the Monastery of Faith in the city of An-mo-luo-pa (Amravati) for nearly ten years. Moving east he visited Gandhara Sanda (Tukhara *Sangharama*), built to accommodate Buddhists monks from Tukhara. It was one of the richest *Sangharamas*. Hui-lun stayed there to study Sanskrit and *Kosa*. He was forty years old when I-ching met him there.

West of this monastery was the *Gunacarita*[509] monastery, for the people of Chia-pi-shih. It was renowned for its prosperity, moral virtues, and high standards of learning. The monks were Hinayanists.

Nearly forty yojanas east of the Nalanda Vihara, downstream of the Ganga, was Mrgasthapana, the Deer Park monastery. Nearby was another monastery in ruins, known as the Chih-na or Chinese monastery. It had been built by the great king Sri-Gupta. During his visit there were more

than twenty monks from China. They came via Ko-yang, through Shu-ch'uan (modern Sze-ch'uan)[510] and reached the *Mahabodhi Sangharama*. The King received them great respect and made an endowment of twenty-four villages for their maintenance. Later, all the Chinese monks died, and only three villages remained in the possession of the *Mrgasthapana* monastery. Five hundred years had elapsed since the Chih-na monastery was built. The Chin-kan-tso, *Vajrasana* and *Mahabodhi* temple were built by the King of Ceylon, and monks from Ceylon always stayed in this temple.

Tao-lin Fa-shih was a native of Chiang-ling in Ching-chou (Hunan); his Sanskrit name was ***Silaprabha***. He renounced the world at a very young age and resolved to become a Buddhist monk. At the age of twenty, he sought an able teacher, collected the *Vinaya Pitaka*, controlled his passions and spent most of his time in mediation. He seldom rested, spending the major part of the day and night in study; he took just one meal a day. Though Buddhism had come to China long ago, the Intuitional School[511] had just begun; nevertheless, the canonical texts stressing the importance of monastic discipline were rare. He thought of going to India to procure the sources and the history of the *Vinaya Pitaka* and set sail from the South Sea. He passed through copper pillar T'ung-chu and arrived at Lang-chia; crossed Ho-ling and Luo-kuo (Nicobar) and reached India, where he was warmly received by the kings of the countries he passed through. Spending some years there, he reached Tamralipti in East India and devoted three years in studying Sanskrit language.

Tao-lin rejected the old precepts, accepted the important ones and studied the *Vinayas* of *Sarvastivada* school. He studied the canonical rules of *Vinaya* and tried to make a synthesis of Knowledge with *Dhyana*-meditation. He scrutinised carefully the *Dharani Pitaka.* He witnessed the changing influences of the Law in Mid-India, paid homage to the sacred shrines of *Bodhimanda*, and went to the Nalanda monastery to learn the true significance of the *Mahayana Sutra* and *Sastras.* He lived there for many years to completely master the *Abhidharma Kosa.* Then he went to the Vulture's Peak mountain, *Yastivanagiri*[512] and Wild Goose Forest.[513] He travelled all over South India in search of monk Hsuan-mu.

Proceeding to West India, he spent nearly a year at Lata country where he established an altar and learnt Ming-chu[514] Vidya (*Vidyadhara Pitaka*). The Sanskrit text reputedly contained 100,000 *slokas*; possibly the Chinese translation comprised three hundred *chuans* (chapters), most of which were lost at the time of I-ching. After Buddha's *Mahaparinirvana*, Nagarjuna Bodhisattva preserved its true spirit. As this *Dharani Pitaka* was never very popular in China, Tao-lin desired to protect this mysterious *Sutra*. Tao-lin proceeded towards North India and witnessed the transforming influence of Buddhism in Kashmir. Arriving at Udyana, he sought proper guidance for meditation and collected the *Prajna -Sutra.* He worshipped the sacred lotus skull, *Usnisa* (cranium of the Buddha).

T'an-kuang Lu-shih, *Krsnamegharasmi* hailed from Chiang-ling in Ching-chou. He renounced the world and his native place and went to the capital city where he became a disciple of *Vinaya* master Ch'eng. T'an-kuang had a refined literary taste and was an eloquent speaker. He studied the classics of his own country and of other countries and observed the canonical rules of discipline.

Crossing the ocean to worship the sacred relics of Buddha, he first arrived in West India and there went to Harikela (*Chandradvipa*, Bakharganj, Bangladesh). At Harikela, aged fifty years, he met a monk from the land of the T'ang rulers. He was warmly received by the king of Harikela and appointed head of the monastery there. He acquired many sacred *Sutras* in original along with Buddha images. He fell sick and passed away in a foreign land.

Hui-ming-shih, *Prajnajnapti* came from Chiang-ling in Ching-chou. He was a man of high moral principles and clear understanding, and studied the classics of China and other nations. The desire to see the sacred Nairanjana river and Venuvana inspired him and he set for Champa (Vietnam region). He suffered much due to a typhoon at sea, reached the copper pillar of Ma-Yuan, rested, and returned to China.

Hsuan-k'eue Lu-shih, ***Mahamarga***, was a native of Chiang-ning in Jun-chou (Chiang-su), and hailed from a very noble clan Hu. He was educated

in history and literature. He left home at an early age, and quickly made progress in the field of religion. He thoroughly studied the *Vinaya* texts and specialised in meditation. He observed strict discipline and regularly attended discussions on the Buddhist Sutras; he made a special study in Hsuan-I.[515] He was skilled in ancient Chinese calligraphy. He used only three garments like a Buddhist *sramana*.

Travelling widely, he reached Tan-yang, where he made an agreement with a man to go to India on pilgrimage. He reached Kuang-chou (Canton) where he came down with pneumonia and returned disappointed to his native place; he was only twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

Shan-hsing, ***Sugati*** was a native of Chin-chou. He left home at a young age to seek the Way (Buddhism). He studied the rites on Discipline and wished to learn *Vidyamantra*, spells. He became a disciple of I-ching and followed him to Sri-vijaya. When he developed ulcers, he returned to China at the age of a little over forty.

Lian-yun came from Hsiang-yang (in Hu-pei); his Sanskrit name was ***Prajñadeva***. A man of uncommon qualities, he renounced the world when young, and determined to pay homage to the sacred relics of Buddha. He accompanied monk **Che** and reached India by sea. He studied the Sanskrit language and commanded respect and honour from the king and the people alike. His sketch of the image of Maitreya was an exact replica of the image under the Wisdom Tree. Later, he devoted his life to the cause of Buddhism in China and had a rare ability to translate Buddhist texts.

Seng-che Ch'an-shih, *Bhiksu Darsana Dhyanacarya*, hailed from Li-chou and was inclined towards Buddhism from childhood. He diligently studied the different collections of the *Vinaya* and mastered the entire system of *Dhyana*. Keen to visit the sacred places, he set sail for India and visited many places of surrounding countries before coming to Eastern India. He reached Samatata; its king was Hu-luo-she-po-t'o,[516] a great admirer of the "Three gems" (the Buddha, the Law and the Order). The monk Che lived in the Raja-vihara to study Sanskrit; he received special honour and respect from the king. I-ching could not meet him as he arrived in the monastery after the monk had left.

Hsuan-yu, disciple of monk Che, came from Kao-li. He accompanied his teacher to Simhala where he was ordained as a monk and remained there for the rest of his life.

Chih-hung Lu-shih, *Mahaprajña*, belonged to Lo-yang, and was nephew of Wang Hsuan-t'se[517] who had been sent by the Emperor as an envoy to the Western world. From childhood Chih-hung abhorred the company of rich, frivolous and worthless people. He left home, took refuge in Shao-lin monastery (in Hu-nan) and lived mainly on roots and fruits, studying the Chinese classics; he was himself a good writer.

He became a mendicant under the guidance of preceptor Dhyanarasmi. After many years of study, he went to Ch'i-chou (Hu-pei) where *Dhyana* master Jen taught; but he was still unsuccessful in his study. He crossed the Hsiang (tributary of Yang-tze) river, the Heng-ling mountains, and entered the Kuei-lin monastery where he studied for many years under *Dhyana* master Chi. Then he acquired knowledge from the teacher of San-wu and learned from the talented scholars of Chin-chiang.

Leaving China to pay homage to the western lands, he met *Dhyana* master Wu-shing and with him reached reached He-p'u (Lien-chou, Kuang-tung) and set sail, but was stranded for a while at Sheng-ching. However, he reached Chaio-chou where he passed the summer retreat. At the end of winter, he took a ship to Sri-bhoga in South Sea, and the journey was recorded by *Dhyana*-master Wu-hsing. They spent two years in the monastery of Great Enlightenment, where he improved his language. After learning the *Sabda Sastra* (Treatise on words and their meanings), he acquired the ability to understand Sanskrit scriptures. He studied the rules and ceremonies of the *Vinaya* texts and *Abhidharma.* He could expound *Kosa* and was accomplished in *Hetuvidya* (Logic).

At Nalanda monastery he learned the *Mahayana*, and at the *Bodhimanda* he learned the *Hinayana*. He studied the *Vinaya Sutras* composed by monk Te-kuang, *Punyaprabha*, and had the talent to translate into Chinese whatever he heard. He visited Vulture's Peak mountain near Rajagrha, Mrgadava or Deer Park, Jetavana Vihara, T'ien-chieh[518] Deva Sopana, Amravana or Mango grove, and the caves for meditation. After for eight years, he went to

Kashmir, accompanied by **monk Lin-kung**. I-ching did not know what became of him, but he contributed much in translating sacred texts into Chinese.

Wu-hsing Ch'an-shih belonged to Chiang-ling in Ching-chou; his Sanskrit name was ***Prajnadeva***. He was a gentle, humble and cultured man, with a great love for learning; from childhood he frequently visited the library. At twenty, he was honoured with an Imperial officer's post Chin-ma-men (Imperial Academy) where he studied the classics of hundred schools of philosophers and three Chinese Classics.

He admired the Buddhists doctrines, and met five eminent men who helped him pursue his quest. At the Teng-chieh monastery, he started studying Buddhism with other disciples under monk Hui-ying (*Prajnavira*) of the Ta-fu-tien monastery. Prajnadeva became the best disciple of the preceptor Chi-ts'ang (*Srigarbha*).

Travelling in search of perfect knowledge and wisdom, he often studied the world of Dignaga and Dharmakirti.[519] He lived by begging alms once a day. He devoted himself to translating the *Agama Sutra* and the events of the *Mahaparinirvana* of Tathagata. Before returning to China, he completed the translation of the *Vinayas* of the *Sarvastivada school*. I-ching came from Nalanda to see him off. Wu-hsing was fifty-six years old at that time.

Dhyana-master Fa-chen *Dharmavikampana* was from Ching-chou. A sincere follower of *Dharma*, he recited the rules and precepts of the *Vinaya* and the *Sutras*. Yearning to visit the Western regions and pay devotional homage to the sacred shrines, he and two friends embarked on a ship and arrived at Sheng-ching, from there to north of K'eling, on to Kedah. Soon after, he fell sick and passed away at the age of thirty-five or thirty-six.

Ta-t'sin, the Great *Vinaya* and Law master belonged to Li-chou and joined the monastic life at an early age. He hoped to visit the sacred shrines, especially the sacred city of Rajagrha. In the second year of Yung-shun (Ch'un)[520] period, he sailed the South Sea with many companions but later they decided not to proceed further and he was left alone. He followed the Chinese envoy with Buddhist *Sutras* and images, and they reached Sri-

Vijaya Island, where they remained for some years. He could not understand the language spoken by the people of K'un-lun, but studied Sanskrit books there. I-ching met him here. He wanted to return to China to urge the Emperor to build a monastery in the West. On the fifteenth day of the second month of the third year of T'ien-shou era,[521] he sailed for Ch'ang-an. He carried with him ten *chuan* of miscellaneous Buddhist *Sutras* and and *Sastras* newly translated, four *chuan* of the *Record of the inner law or religion sent from the South Sea country through one who returns* and two *chuan* of *Memoirs of eminent monks who visited Western region or India and its neighbouring countries in search of Law*.

Pi-ch'u-chen-ku Lu-shih, the *Vinaya*-master *Bhiksu* Chen-ku was known as *Salacitta* (firm and erect) in Sanskrit. He hailed from Jung-ch'uan in Cheng (K'aifeng, Honan) and his family name was Meng. From childhood he was drawn towards Hui-yuan.[522] The death of his father when he was fourteen made him realise the impermanence of life. He decided to visit the sacred places and went to the monastery of Teng-t'ze-Ssu,[523] where monk Yuan was living at Fan-shui. He learnt to recite the Buddhist *Sutras*, but his preceptor passed away after three years.

He went to Lin-lu and other monasteries in Hsiang-chou (modern Chang-te) to seek a teacher, and went further towards the Kingdom of the Eastern Wei ruler Tung Wei[524] to study the text *Wei-shih, Vijnapimatrata*. Moving to An-chou (in P'ing-an) he studied Fang-teng[525] under the Great *Dhyana*-master Yu.

The spiritual quest took him to Hsiang-chou and *Dhyana*-master Shen-tao who taught him the knowledge of victorious deeds of Amitabha. Then he went to the monastery of Great enlightenment, the place of *Dhyana*-master Pradipa, and learnt the canonical rules. He deeply studied various *Sutras* and *Sastras*, and was a strong upholder of Szu-I *Catursarana*.[526] He was anointed with the principle of Pa-chieh, eight stages of mental concentration, *asta vimoksa* (liberation in eight forms) that greatly influenced the different sects. He was specially invited and permitted to enter the divine capital, and lived many years in the *Purvarama* Tung-

Ssu[527] under the Dynastic rule of the Wei. He was a little more than twenty years old.

***Vinaya*-master Hsiu** was the best disciple of *Vinaya*-master Hsing (*Abhyudaya*) of Shu-chun (Sze-ch'uan). At the age of twenty he was fully ordained and continued living at Sze-ch'uan studying the *Vinaya* for four years from a monk teacher. He proceeded to Ch'ang-an and stayed for sixteen years with monk Hsuan. He immersed himself in the study of numerous schools of thought. Then he went to San-yang in Pa-shui, from there he went to Kuang-chou, his birthplace, to report his achievements. He moved to An-chou and taught the *Vinaya*. The princes showed him honour and respect. He lived in the *Dasabala* monastery and went to the abode of peace at the age of little more than seventy.

The monk Ku obtained the Vinaya texts and studied them, besides the Sutras and Sastras. He recited thousand times the *Saddharma Pundarika Sutra (*Lotus Sutra) *and Vimalakirtinirdesa Sutra* and followed the canonical rules. Though he believed in *karma*, he was equally interested in observing the four ceremonies Szu-i.[528] He went to Hsiang-chou and heard discourses on the *Sutras* (sermons of Buddha) and searched for the mystery *Abhidharmapitaka.* Crossing river Hsiang-shui, monk Ku went towards Lu-shan and lived in the Tung-lin monastery.

Keen to visit Ceylon and glimpse Buddha's Tooth and other sacred places, he went to Kei-lin in the Ch'ui-kung period.[529] He reached P'an-yu in Canton, where Buddhist disciples urged him to teach the *Vinaya* treatises.

Monk Ku wished for a life of rest and meditation in a monastery and to propagate the purity and richness of *Astavimoksa*, eightfold path of liberation. However, at the age of forty, at the invitation of I-ching, the monk agreed to travel with him. On the first day of the eleventh month (AD 689) they sailed by merchant ship for Fan-yu (in Canton), advanced towards Champa and hoped to reach Sri-vijaya. The duo reached Chin-chou (*Suvarnadvipa*). On reaching Sri-vijaya, he listened to discourses on religion which he had never heard before and observed practices and customs he had never seen before. He translated many texts and acquired much knowledge.

Monk Chen-ku had a disciple, Hsuan-yeh, whose family name was Meng and **Sanskrit name was *Sangadeva*.** Though his grandfather hailed from the north, he lived in the south as an Imperial officer; so the family also shifted to Kuang-fu. Hsuan-yeh was predestined to study Buddhism, and sailed for Sri-vijaya. He understood the local language of K'un-lun, studied Sanskrit books and chanted the *Abhidharma Kosa* verses and other Buddhist hymns. He became an attendant, and an interpreter. He was seventeen years old (in three editions it is 70 years old).

Bhiksu Tao-hung, ***Buddhadeva***, belonged to Yung-ch'iu in Pien-chou (K'ai-feng in north Honan) His family name was Chin. His father served a merchant and the family travelled extensively. He went to *Dhyana*-master Chi to study the mystery of the soul, and acquired knowledge about the essential meaning of the doctrine. Then he went to Hsia-shan. Tao-hung left home and became a monk, acquiring some knowledge in all branches at the age of twenty. He left for Kuang-fu and entered the Buddhist monastery.

Hearing of I-ching's arrival, he went to visit him at the Chih-chih monastery, where he discovered they had common ideals. He returned to Kuang-fu with monk Chen-ku, and thereafter embarked on a voyage to the South Sea and reached *Suvarnabhumi* to copy the *Tripitaka* so he would be remembered for thousands of years. Arriving in Sri-vijaya, he devotedly studied the *Vinaya Pitaka* and translated Buddhists texts and took notes on scriptures to propagate Buddhism. He was only twenty years old.

Pi'ch'iu Fa-lang, ***Dharmadeva***, a native of Hsing-yang in Hsiang-chou (Hu-pei province) lived in the temple of Ling-chi (Spirit temple). His surname was An-shih. He came from an enlightened aristocratic family which traditionally held high offices in the Imperial services. At young age he left home to enter the ecclesiastical life.

Lang desired to travel with I-ching on his sea-voyage, and a month later they arrived at Bhoga. Lang concentrated on the study of *Hetuvidya* and the mystical and abstruse doctrine of *Abhidharma*. He devotedly studied the *Tripitaka*, yet never shirked manual labour. He lived on alms and scrupulously observed the important ceremonies and rituals. He was only twenty-four years old.

The monk Chen-ku and four others also arrived in Sri-vijaya. He spent three years at Sri-vijaya, studied and acquired proficiency in Sanskrit and Han (Chinese) literature. After some time, monk Lang left for K'o-ling, where he passed the summer, fell sick and died.

Chen-ku and Tao-hung preferred to stay at Sri-vijaya and did not return to Fan-yu, but the rest of the monks went back to Kuang-fu. Chen-ku went to the *Tripitaka Dharmamanda* and widely taught the *Vinaya*. Tao-hung returned alone and spent the rest of his days in the South. No news was available about Tao-hung after that; I-ching occasionally wrote to him, but there was no reply from the other side.

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Notes

[←1]

Dharma, artha, kama, moksa are the four purusharthas or aims of human life in the Hindu tradition.

[←2]

Singh, G.P., Ancient Indian Historiography, New Delhi, 2003, p 11.

[←3]

See Majumdar, R.C., "Ideas of History in Sanskrit Literature," in Historians of India, Pakistan and Celylon, ed., C.H. Philips, London, OUP, 1961, rpt. 1967.

[←4]

Basham, A.L., The Wonder That Was India, New Delhi, 1995 [first pub. 1954], p 47.

[←5]
Philostratus, Vita Apolloniii, III, 20.

[←6]
Herodotus, III, 20.

[←7]

Herodotus, III, 97, 114. Diodorus I, 33, 3, also mentioned its production in Ethiopia.

[←8]

Theophrastos, Hist. Plant., IV, 4, 6. The Periplus Maris Erythraei (GGM Vol. I) stated that ebony logs were exported from Barygaza (Bharuch) to the marts of Omana and Apologos.

[←9]
A Semitic people who originated in Lebanon.

[←10]

. Saletore, R.N., identifies this with Sindhu Sauvira region in Early Indian Economic History, London, 1975, pp 243-45 and p. 737, n. 396; cited in Arora, U.P., Greeks on India. Skylax to Aristoleles. Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies, Bareilly, India, 1996.

[←11]

An old South Arabian people who spoke a distinct tongue.

[←12]

Mookerji, R.K., Indian Shipping, Allahabad, Kitab Mahal, 1962, p. 84.

[←13]

Ray, Himanshu Prabha, The Archaeology of Seafaring in Ancient South Asia, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 168-9.

[←14]

The Arthasastra notes that the duty of the Gopa, in-charge of 5 to 10 villages, was to record everything from trade to agricultural products, number of residents, caste and profession, income and expenses, young and old per family, and even character of the residents. Hiuen Tsang confirmed this tradition in the 7th century.

[←15]

Bosworth, A.B., 1993, Aristotle, India and Alexander, Topoi, 3(2), p. 407-24, cited in Ray, Himanshu P., op. cit., p. 26.

[←16]

Ray, Himanshu Prabha, op. cit., p. 8.

[←17]

The remains of the town still exist—23° 55’ N., 35o 34’E.

[←18]

In April 2004, archaeologists of the Centre for Heritage Studies, Thripunithura, excavated six copper coins and nearly 100 beads of the Adi Chera (Sangam) period from Pattanam, near North Paravur, Kerala. Previous excavations had yielded fragments of Roman amphora, rouletted wares and beads of semi-precious stones and glass, indicating the ancient port town of Muziris could have been in this vicinity rather than near Kodungalloor as popularly believed. Prof. M.G.S. Narayanan noted this was the first time Adi Chera era coins were excavated from Kerala. Hitherto, the State's historical connection with Muziris and the Adi Chera empire was restricted to references in Greek and Tamil literature and inscriptions.

[←19]

Mussel Harbour, situated in the bay of Ras abn Somer— 27° 12 N., 35o5’5 E.

[←20]

Mookerji, R.K., op. cit., p. 84.

[←21]

Ray, Himanshu Prabha, op. cit., p. 25.

[←22]

Gole, Susan, India Within The Ganges, Jayaprints, Delhi, 1983. I am indebted to Dr. B.M. Pande for this information.

[←23]

Ray, Himanshu Prabha, op. cit., p. 61.

[←24]

Gole, Susan, Indian Maps and Plans, New Delhi: Manohar, 1989, pp. 16-23.

[←25]

Agrawala, R.C., Brhatkathaslokasamgraha, Varanasi, 1974, p. 337.

[←26]

Bishop Robert Caldwell says the Indian segment seems older than Ptolemy's Geography. It mentions Andre Indi and Damirice, which he identifies with the Telugu and Tamil lands (A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages; Third Edn., revised and ed. by Rev. J.L. Wyatt, T. Ramakrishna Pillai, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, Madras, 2001; p. 10).

[←27]

Ray, Himanshu Prabha, op. cit., p. 170.

[←28]

Kaul, H.K., ed., Travellers' India. An Anthology, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1979.

[←29]

Parker, Grant, Hellenism in an Afghan Context, in Memory As History. The Legacy of Alexander in Asia, ed. Himanshu P. Ray and Daniel T. Potts, Aryan Books International, New Delhi , 2007, op. cit., 2007:181.

[←30]

Scholars feel this is at odds with Greek brutality in other battles, notably Massaga, where Alexander violated the pact with the Queen and massacred nearly 7000 mercenaries whose safe passage had been negotiated. This was condemned as treacherous by Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus; Arrian defended it calling the mercenaries unreliable. The battles of Nysa, Sangala, and all fights on the return journey were equally brutal. See also Cartledge, Paul, Alexander the Great: The Hunt for a New Past. London: Macmillan, 2004: 183-94, cited in Garton, Stephen, in Memory As History, op. cit., 2007:11.

[←31]

I am indebted to Prof. Madhavan Palat for this insight.

[←32]

In the battle with Porus, Arrian claims almost 20,000 Indian infantry and 3000 cavalry were killed, as were the two sons of Porus, Spitaces, governor of the district, and several officers and generals of Porus' army (Chapter XVIII). The Macedonians lost only 80 of 6000 foot-soldiers, 10 horse-archers, 20 Companion cavalry, and about 200 other horsemen. If these figures are true, how does one account for the sheer decimation of the Greek forces that retreated from India?

[←33]

Curtius Rufus, Alexander the Great, Book IX, Chapter I.

[←34]

This suggests impoverishment of the army at this stage.

[←35]

Possibly the experience with Indian war elephants forced the Greeks to retreat; the war-fatigue of the army was thought up by Greek historians many centuries later, under the Roman Empire.

[←36]

I owe this insight to Prof. Lokesh Chandra.

[←37]

Ray, Himanshu Prabha, Alexander's Campaign (327–326 BC): A Chronological Marker in the Archaeology of India, in Memory As History, op. cit., 2007:106.

[←38]

Ray, Himanshu Prabha, ibid., p. 105-7.

[←39]

Nearchus' memoirs are now lost, but their contents are largely preserved in the works of Strabo and Arrian.

[←40]

Salles, Jean-François, ‘Travelling to India Without Alexander’s Log-books’, in Memory As History, op. cit., 2007:157-8.

[←41]

Nearchus' account makes it abundantly clear that the Greeks were in flight, unwilling to undertake further risks in India.

[←42]

The Indus Valley civilisation had developed a script many centuries previously, though it remains undeciphered to this day. Even Panini, who precedes Ashoka, mentions the written word.

[←43]

Goody, J., 2000, The Power of the Written Tradition, Washington-London: Smithsonian Institution Press, p. 144, cited in Ray, Himanshu P., op. cit, p. 2.

[←44]

Dani, A.H. and Bernard, P., Alexander and his successors in Central Asia, in J. Harmatta, ed., History of Civilizations of Central Asia, Vol. II, Paris: Unesco Publishing, 1994, p. 88.

[←45]

Allon, Mark, ‘Recent Discoveries of Buddhist Manuscripts from Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Heritage of the Greeks in the North-West’, in Memory As History. The Legacy of Alexander in Asia, 2007: 132-3.

[←46]

Interested readers can find the complete versions in the collections of J.W. McCrindle, R.C. Majumdar, and others.

[←47]

The Classical Accounts of India, R.C. Majumdar, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960 and Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, J.W. McCrindle, First Indian ed. 1879 (rpt. 1901- Westminster), Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi.

[←48]

Freed from paying taxes in lieu of the costs incurred in feeding the dogs.

[←49]

McCrindle believes this tribute was levied on countries west of the Indus as Persian power never extended beyond the Punjab and the lower Indus Valley. In Alexander's time it was bounded by that river. See McCrindle, op. cit.

[←50]

Hekataeus called Kaspapyrus a city of the Gandarians; Sanskrit Kasyapapur; some think it was Kashmir.

[←51]

Forerunners of the modern Pashtuns, Pathans.

[←52]

People of northern Afghanistan.

[←53]

Repeated by Megasthenes and Nearchus, who even claimed to have seen in India the skin of a gold-digging ant, possibly the skin of a marmot or other burrowing animal. McCrindle cites Dr. Wilson that the Sanskrit name for alluvial gold (gold dust) is paippilaka ("ant-gold," a reference to its size and form). Unable to grasp this symbolism, the Greeks gave it a literal meaning. The Mahabharata speaks of 'that gold which is dug up by Pipilakas (ants) and is therefore called Pippilikas (ant-gold).' Pippilikas may have been Tibetan miners as Megasthenes says the gold was carried away from the Derdai (people of Dardistan). Sir H. Rawlinson and Dr. Schiern of Copenhagen, learning of the customs of Tibetan gold-miners, concluded that the myrmeces of Herodotos and Megasthenes were Tibetan miners and their dogs, which can be identified with griffins – From a Paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, June 9, 1884, by Prof. V. Ball, Director, Science and Art Museum, Dublin.

[←54]

An error based on the silky fibres of the seed of gossypium arboreum (tree-cotton); used for padding cushions, pillows.

[←55]

Skylax probably sailed on the Hydaspes (Jhelum). As he was Herodotus' countryman, there is no reason to doubt, as some scholars have, that the voyage actually took place.

[←56]

Son of Darius I and grandson of Cyrus, founder of the Persian empire.

[←57]

For a complete translation of his surviving fragments, see U.P. Arora's Greeks on India. Skylax to Aristoteles, Indian Society for Greek and Roman Studies (ISGARS), Bareilly, India, 1996.

[←58]

Lassen suggests this passage means that auriferous ores were melted to obtain liquid gold. The spring must be an error, but there must have been a cistern to receive the gold. A pitcher need not be very large to contain one talent (approx. 53 pounds) of gold. This suggests Indians knew how to extract gold from ore by melting.

[←59]

Probably the magnet, whose properties were not properly known then.

[←60]

For unknown reasons this myth was already prevalent among the Greeks. Later, Alexander's historians located it in the realm of king Sopithes.

[←61]

Obviously incorrect.

[←62]

The bamboo can attain a height of sixty feet and may be two feet in diameter. Ktesias was the first to record that there are male and female reeds and that only the female had a pith, while the male was stronger and more compact. The same reed is mentioned by Herodotus (III, 98).

[←63]

Some think this uninhabited region was the Gobi desert; others believe the great desert east of the Indus where sun worship flourished in early times, which was also about fifteen days' journey from the mountains which produced onyx and sardine stones. Some think it is in the Vindhyas.

[←64]

Obviously a forest tribe; the claim that hair was so long as to substitute for clothes is, of course, fictitious.

[←65]

Indian silver mines occur only in Udayapura in Ajmer; Badakshan in the upper Oxus valley is rich in silver.

[←66]

Narratives like this gave Ktesias his bad reputation! See footnote 53 for an explanation.

[←67]

Lassen says this passage is remarkable because the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien noted something similar about Udyana, west of the Indus and north of Peshawar. Pliny mentioned an Indian plant (Hist. Nat. xxiv, 102). Guilty persons who swallowed pills prepared from its roots and mixed with wine were tormented by night visions and confessed their sins. No doubt some drink was used for judicial purposes.

[←68]

A misunderstanding based on some mythological tale or an excessive admiration for India.

[←69]

They appear to be a real tribe, despite the fictitious properties given to them. They probably kept big dogs for hunting wild oxen and other wild animals, and hence the confusion about them.

[←70]

A slightly inaccurate description of the cochineal insect.

[←71]

Obviously a talented tribe of cattle-herders, reputed for collecting forest produce, hunting and archery, and making weapons of war. The men obviously served the king in times of war; a common phenomenon in India.

[←72]

Indians were reputed for their sense of justice and Ktesias was deeply impressed by this fact.

[←73]

This could be the rhinoceros, though the colour and other details do not match.

[←74]

This suggests the rhinoceros despite certain errors in the narrative.

[←75]

Five kilos.

[←76]

Aelian gives more details. Lassen says Ktesias' report is the corruption of an ancient Indian idea based on the worship of snakes which was particularly current in north-western frontier region (vol. II, p. 468). It is probably based on the story of a fire-weapon lent to man by a serpent-god, which he depicts as real.

[←77]

Ktesias' description, though somewhat exaggerated, suggests the product was cinnamon oil.

[←78]

Balada in Sanskrit means ‘giving strength’; applies to a bullock and a medical plant (Physalis flexuosa).

[←79]

Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, John W. McCrindle, First Indian ed. 1979 (rpt. 1901- Westminster), Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi.

[←80]

The kingdom of Pandion lay in the extreme south and was founded by the family of Pandu, father of the five Pandava brothers of the epic Mahabharata. The king and his capital were both named Madura (Mathura) after the celebrated north Indian city. The kingdom is mentioned by Pliny, by the author of the Periplus of the Erythroean Sea, and by Ptolemy. In the "Contemporary Review" of September 1891, Sir M.E. Grant Duff mentions a Roman coin – the Aureus of Claudius – found in Madurai district and now in the Madras museum, struck to commemorate the conquest of Britain! Duff himself had a coin of the Arian Emperor Valens, found in Madurai's Vaigai river.

[←81]

Three princes were called Porus in the Greek classics: (i) The great Porus defeated by Alexander on the banks of the Hydaspes (Jhelum); (2) a contemporary kinsman of Porus, who ruled a district east of the Hydraotes (Ravi); (3) the Porus here mentioned. They were descendants of king Puru of the Mahabharata.

[←82]

The Greeks believed India was limited to the eastern side of the Indus. But the name sometimes covered regions between the Indus and the Hindukush mountains and Paropanisos (see Pliny, vi. 23) as many names of tribes, mountains and rivers of Northern Afghanistan, as given by Alexander's historians and Ptolemy's Geography, were of Sanskrit origin.

[←83]

A reference to Seleukos Nikator's surrender to Sandrokottos of provinces westward of the Indus.

[←84]

India has two distinct species of cotton, gossypium herbaceum, which is woven into cloth, and gossypium arboreum or tree-cotton, which yields a soft and silky texture used for padding cushions, pillows, etc.

[←85]

Seric fabrics were silk-webs imported from the northern provinces of China.

[←86]

The reference is to sugar-cane. The author of the Periplus mentions honey from canes called sakkhar (Sanskrit sarkara, Prakrit sakhar).

[←87]

Mousikanos was a flourishing kingdom in Upper Sindh; now the ruins of Alor.

[←88]

Curtius (viii.9) says Indians drank much wine; Megasthenes insisted it was used only on sacrificial occasions. Brahmins of the Ganga punished intoxication severely, but the people of Punjab loved their drink and the Periplus lists wine as an Indian import.

[←89]

Indigo (Indikon Melan of the Periplus and Nili of Sanskrit).

[←90]

At the time of Alexander's invasion, Taxila was ruled by Omphis (Sansk. Ambhi), also called Taxiles, who surrendered meekly to the Greek warrior.

[←91]

Curtius (viii. 12) says Taxiles presented Alexander and all his friends with golden crowns, and eighty talents of coined silver. Alexander returned the presents and added a thousand talents with many banqueting vessels of gold and silver, Persian drapery, and thirty chargers from his own stalls, caparisoned as when he rode them himself. Maleager made the envious remark at supper, in Alexander's presence. The King, chastened by the murder of Kleitos, replied that envious persons only tormented themselves.

[←92]

Abisaros or Abisares ruled part or whole of Kashmir; he was as powerful as Taxiles and Porus. His name derives from that of his kingdom, Abhisara, now Hazara. After Alexander subdued Massaga, Abisares sent troops to help the Indus tribes; but could not arrive in time to help Porus, with whom he had an alliance. Porus' defeat caused him to surrender to Alexander.

[←93]

The Western Himalayas. Lassen derives the word from the Sanskrit haimavata, meaning ‘snowy’.

[←94]

A large and powerful breed of dogs is still found in the part of Punjab where the dominions of Sopeithes were situated. Aristotle, Diodoros, Pliny, and Aelian concur that tiger blood ran in the veins of these dogs. This story is also found in Curtius ix. I; Diodoros xvii. 92; and Aelian viii. I.

[←95]

Pataliputra, modern Patna, ancient capital of Magadha. The wooden wall mentioned was seen in the fifth century AD by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian. Two centuries later, Yuan Chwang found nothing but ruins and an insignificant village of 200 to 300 houses. The inhabitants are Prasioi, Sanskrit Prachya (Eastern), probably given to them by the people of Punjab.

[←96]

The Indian King called Sandrokottos by the Greeks is generally identified with Chandragupta, founder of the Mauryan dynasty of Magadha, to which Asoka belonged.

[←97]

The account of Indian castes which Strabo extracted from Megasthenes is also found in Diodoros (ii. 40-42), and Arrian's Indika (cc. 11 and 12). Hindus have four varnas; possibly Megasthenes reported seven distinct occupations as castes.

[←98]

Strabo diverges into a discussion on gold-digging ants, claiming to have seen their skins which resembled the hides of leopards. He cites Megasthenes to locate them in Dardistan or north-west Kashmir, on the banks of the Indus. The gold is collected by the Derdai, the Daradas of Sanskrit literature.

[←99]

Strabo was in Egypt with his friend Aelius Gallus in 24 BC, six years after the death of Cleopatra.

[←100]

The Indian gharial is a fish-eater.

[←101]

The drachma was a silver coin nearly equal in value to the Roman denarieus.

[←102]

Megasthenes must have known that Indians knew the art of writing. He probably meant they did not have written laws.

[←103]

Curtius says this happens within the palace (viii.9): ‘ The palace is open to all comers, even when the king is having his hair combed and dressed. It is then that he gives audience to ambassadors and administers justice to his subjects. His slippers are after this taken off and his feet are rubbed with scented ointments’.

[←104]

Alexander's men identified Indian gods with Greek gods with similar attributes or similar rites of worship.

[←105]

Garmanes is an error; it should be Sarmanes, Sanskrit Sramana, ascetic. Megasthenes failed to grasp the philosophy of the Brahmins, but made some acute observations, noting that they recognize five principle things of which all things consist, for they add a fifth substance called akasa, i.e ether.

[←106]

The time period of studentship is exaggerated.

[←107]

This passage about ascetics is found also in Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. i.) He calls them correctly Sarmanai, but errs in calling the ascetics of the woods Allobioi instead of Hylobioi, Sanskrit Vanaprastha.

[←108]

It was actually the younger man who went with Alexander; the Greeks called him Kalanos. His real name, says Plutarch, was Sphines. The elder was Dandamis, or Mandanes. These and other Indian philosophers were caught by Alexander while walking in the open meadow. At the sight of the king and his army they stamped their feet on the ground. Asked by interpreters what this meant, they replied: ' O King Alexander! Every man possesses as much of the earth as this upon which we have stepped, but you, though but a man like ourselves, only more arrogant and meddlesome, have traversed so much of the world troubling both yourself and others; and yet you must soon die and possess no more than the spot of earth which will suffice to bury you.'

[←109]

Onesikritos followed the Cynic School of Philosophy founded by Diogenes.

[←110]

Possibly a reference to the practice of Svayamvara, choice of husband by a princess or daughter of a Kshatriya at a public assembly of appropriate suitors.

[←111]

McCrindle says Kalanos burnt himself at Susa, not Pasargadai.

[←112]

Pramnai should be Sramanai, ascetics.

[←113]

The Classical Accounts of India, R.C. Majumdar, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960 and Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, John W. McCrindle, First Indian ed. 1979 (rpt. 1901- Westminster), Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi.

[←114]

The length of India from 350 N. Lat. to Cape Comorin 805' is about 1900 miles; its breadth, reckoned along the parallel of 250 N. Lat. eastward to the river Brahmaputra, is about 1400 miles.

[←115]

Greeks after Alexander remained for centuries in thrall of Indian philosophers and the severe austerities they practiced.

[←116]

A jugerum is 240 feet long by 120 broad; the pristis may be saw-fish.

[←117]

These eels are probably water-snakes, whose length has been grossly exaggerated.

[←118]

It appears that a school of whales, not tunnies, alarmed the fleet.

[←119]

Possibly dolphin of the Ganga, which has the muzzle and tail of the common dolphin, but its length has been exaggerated. The jaws have conical recurved teeth.

[←120]

Sola India nigrun Fert ebenum.- Georg. ii. 116, 117.

[←121]

Some think this is the banana tree, others the pomegranate; some say pala is the paquovera of India, the fruit of which is called pacona.

[←122]

This may be the tamarind tree – Tamarindus Indica – the pulp of which is slightly laxative.

[←123]

Pepper grew along the Malabar coast; Periplus of the Erythroean Sea lists Tyndis, Muziris, Nelkynda, and Bacare as ports from which pepper was exported.

[←124]

Possibly the clove-tree; possibly the Myrtus Caryophyllata of Ceylon whose fruit matches Pliny's description.

[←125]

The Periplus says lycion was exported from the port of Barbarikon on the Indus and Barygaza (Bharoch) on the Nerbudda. It is a thorny plant whose juice was used for dyeing yellow; a liquor prepared from it was used as a medicine.

[←126]

The first Western writer to mention sugarcane is Theophrastus, disciple of Aristotle. He called it a sort of honey extracted from reeds. Strabo, citing Nearchus, says Indian reeds yield honey without bees. Aelian mentions a kind of honey extracted from reeds which grew among the Prasii (people of upper Bengal).

[←127]

Costus (Sans. Kushtha) was prized as the best aromatic root; it was exported from Barbarikon and Barygaza.

[←128]

Nard-oil was extracted from a plant called jatamansi in Sanskrit, a species of valerian found in the mountainous parts of India, Nepal, Bhutan.

[←129]

There is no consensus among scholars about the identity of this plant.

[←130]

The cardamum is found in India, but not in Arabia.

[←131]

‘Blood-staunching.’

[←132]

The identity of this kind of calamus is uncertain. It may be a gramineous plant of the genus Andropogon, or the Indian Gentiana chirayta, called lemon-grass from its scent.

[←133]

This may refer to mangrove swamps, but the reference to the height of the trees is absurd.

[←134]

The oil is used for food, medicinal purposes, and as a cosmetic.

[←135]

The Salt Range between the Indus and Hydaspes (Jhelum).

[←136]

The preparation of the drug from the indigo plant has great antiquity in India.

[←137]

The electron or amber of trees was shellac; lac insects found with it yielded a red dye.

[←138]

Adamas was used for several minerals, such as quartz, specular iron ore, emery, and other hard substances, besides diamond. However, the reference to its hexangular and hexahedral forms suggests some other mineral.

[←139]

Actually opal is found in many parts of the world.

[←140]

The word sardonyx is compounded of the Greek words ‘ sard’ and ‘ finger-nail’.

[←141]

Onyx is an agate formed of alternating white and black or dark brown stripes of chalcedony.

[←142]

Possibly the cherry-coloured ruby, but could also be tourmaline, a silicate of alumina.

[←143]

Sarda is carnelian of a very deep red colour; it was first found at Sardis and thence its name.

[←144]

Star-stone, some kind of star-sapphire.

[←145]

Possiby refers to tree and moss agates.

[←146]

This stone gets its name from ‘ a tortoise;’ Pliny says it was used by magicians for divination.

[←147]

The Classical Accounts of India, R.C. Majumdar, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960.

[←148]

They fought Alexander when he passed the Kunar river valley. Also Aspasiosi, Greek Hippasiosi; known for their horses, the name probably derives from Persian Aspa, Sanskrit Asva; identified with Asvakenos, Asvayanas of Panini; Encyclopaedia of the Hindu World; G.R. Garg, p. 711.

[←149]
Swat Valley

[←150]

Alexander continued his conquest, defeating the Glausians; the Assacenians and the puissant Cathaeans, Oxydracians and Mallians. After these bloody victories, his men refused to advance further.

[←151]

The Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and the Beas rivers.

[←152]

Coenus' speech makes it clear that the Greek casualties in the Indian wars were far higher than stated by Greek historians after every battle. Alexander sulked for three days, but failed to change the minds of the Macedonians and Grecian allies. Retreating, he battled the valiant tribes he encountered, notably the Mallians, and was severely wounded in the chest and nearly bled to death. His army faced immense difficulties and privations on the way back.

[←153]

The Classical Accounts of India, R.C. Majumdar, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960.

[←154]

Arrian repeats the by now entrenched Greek belief in seven castes, along with the prohibition on changing professions and marrying outside the caste. The discussion on capturing and taming of wild elephants is greatly elaborated by him, and taken up after the enumeration of castes.

[←155]

The commerce and navigation of the Erythraean Sea and Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian (rp. 1984 of Calcutta-London 1879, 1882 editions), Today & Tomorrow's Printers and Publishers, New Delhi.

[←156]

Used by women to dye their nails and feet; also as a dye.

[←157]

Sanskrit Guggula, used as a tonic, and for skin and urinary diseases.

[←158]

More likely from Nepal, where it is called tejapat.

[←159]

Obtained from the root of Nardostachys jatamansi, a native of the eastern Himalayas.

[←160]

Nero paid 300 talents for one; equivalent of 58,125 a century ago. They were first seen at Rome in the triumphal procession of Pompey.

[←161]

Possibly lapis lazuli.

[←162]

Ariake or Aparantika, the author says, was the frontier of India. The part bordering Skythia was called Aberia or Abiria, from Abhira. The sea-board of Ariake was called Surastrene, Sanskrit Surashtra. Its capital was Minnagar, a city of the Min (Skythians), different from Minnagar which was the capital of Indo-Skythia. It lay south of Ozene (Ujjain) on the road to the Narmada, probably near Indore.

[←163]

The promontory Papike projects into the Gulf of Khambhat; its distance from Barbarikon on the Indus' middle mouth is correct. Astakapra has been identified with Hastakavapra (Hathab near Bhaunagar), a name found in a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I of Valabhi.

[←164]

The gulf beyond Papike is only the northern portion of the Gulf of Khambhat, which Periplus calls the Gulf of Barugaza. It receives the river Mais (Mahi). Barugaza (Bharoch) was the greatest seat of commerce in Western India.

[←165]

The aromatic spikenard was a product of three districts, hence known as the Kattybournine, the Patropapigic and the Kabolitic. The places indicated by the first two cannot be ascertained, but the last was undoubtedly the region round Kabul (Ptolemy called its inhabitants Kabolitai).

[←166]

Periplus places Paithana 20 days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and Tagara 10 days' eastward from Paithana. Tagara is not identified - some think it is Devagiri or Deogarh, near Ellora, about 8 miles from Aurangabad, but the distances do not match. It could be Junnar (i.e. juna-nagar=the old city.), which must always have been an emporium due to its location.

[←167]

Celobotras, Sanskrit Keralaputra; his capital was Karoura (Karur), an important town in Coimbatore district.

[←168]

Scholars have identified Muziris with the Muyiri of Muyiri-kotta; Tyndis with Tundi, and Kynda, of Nelkynda.

[←169]

Nelkunda probably lay between Kanetti and Kolum in Travancore.

[←170]

Sanskrit Pandu, father of the Pandava brothers. The capital of this prince was Modura, Sanskrit Mathura.

[←171]

Nelkunda was probably the limit of the author's voyage along the Indian coast, as the sequel of his narrative is vague about places and the details at times grossly inaccurate, eg: the Malabar Coast extends southwards beyond Cape Comorin and Ceylon stretches westward almost as far as Africa!

[←172]

Paralia is South Travancore and South Tinnevelly, it began at the Red Cliffs south of Quilon and included Cape Comorin.

[←173]

Kamara may be the emporium Ptolemy calls Khaberis at the mouth of the Kaveri; Sopatma is not identified.

[←174]

The last place mentioned in the Periplus is Thinai, an inland city of the Thinai or Sinai, with a large commerce in silk and woollen goods. It may be the city Marco Polo called Kenjan-fu (Singan-fu or Chauggan), the most celebrated city in Chinese history and capital of several important dynasties.

[←175]

Ray, Niharranjan et al, A Sourcebook of Indian Civilization, Orient Longman Ltd., 2000, p. 606-612.

[←176]

L. Casson, ‘New Light on Maritime Loans: P. Vindob G 40822’, Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphick, Band 84, 1990, pp. 195-206; quotation from p. 200-202.

[←177]

The Classical Accounts of India, R.C. Majumdar, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960 and Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, John W. McCrindle, First Indian ed. 1979 (rpt. 1901- Westminster), Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi.

[←178]

This palace is probably that of Sandrokottos at Palibothra (Patna) and the account maybe from Megasthenes.

[←179]

It is not clear what bird this is.

[←180]

This bird is not mentioned anywhere else; said to be like the attagen.

[←181]

People of northern Bengal and Bihar.

[←182]

‘ Sora,’ is the Sanskrit Chola and Tamil Sora or Chora. Soras would be the king.

[←183]

Eukratides, one of the most powerful of Graeco-Baktrian kings, reigned from 181 to 147 BC.

[←184]

Not identified.

[←185]

The panther, not the lion, was used for hunting.

[←186]

The Peripatetic school of philosophy associated with Aristotle and Theophrastus. The colonnade in which the philosophers discoursed is called peripatos in Greek.

[←187]

During Apollonius' visit, the king was Gondophares. Excavations at Taxila endorse Philostratus' account of the city: cf. Sir John Marshall, A Guide of Taxila, 4th edn., 1960, p. 28-30.

[←188]

This is the temple of Jandial; ibid., p 29, 88-9.

[←189]

This shrine has been identified in excavations at Taxila with the discovery of a stone image of the Sun-god, Marshall, op. cit., p. 30.

[←190]

Excavations have confirmed Philostratus' report of the modest proportions of the palace at Taxila, ibid., p. 30 and 69.

[←191]

Both the translator and editor consider ‘ and their fruit ’ to be an interpolation in the text.

[←192]

In antiquity, Red Sea was a generic term for the Indian Ocean and its offshoots, the Persian Gulf, Gulfs of Aqaba and Suez, and the Egyptian Red Sea.

[←193]

Erythros is Greek for ‘red’, hence Philostratus’ etymology.

[←194]

A rival philosopher and enemy of Apollonius.

[←195]

This was a mild rebuke that they went naked, not out of asceticism, but necessity or comfort.

[←196]

An ox on one's tongue was an allusion to keeping silent. Cf., for example, Aeschylus, Agamemnon, 36.

[←197]

Flavius Clemens, nephew of Vespasian, consul in AD 95, married Flavia Domitilla. They were probably executed soon after Clemens' consulate on charges of impiety; scholars believe they may have been Christians.

[←198]

The Classical Accounts of India, R.C. Majumdar, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1960 and Ancient India as described in Classical Literature, John W. McCrindle, First Indian ed. 1979 (rpt. 1901- Westminster), Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Delhi.

[←199]

The embassy probably came from the Maratha region, given the name of its chief, Sandanes, and the mention of the Rock-temple, which abound there, especially in the maritime district which Ptolemy called Ariake Sadinon, meaning Ariake ruled by the Sadaneis or Sandaneis. This district was commercially very active, and probably undertook the embassy to the Roman Emperor for this reason.

[←200]

Shiva as Ardhnarishwar; depicted in the rock temples and on Scythian coins.

[←201]

Lassen thinks the statue was made of teakwood.

[←202]

Lassen thinks this suggests an image of the river goddess Ganga.

[←203]

The cyst of the male, about the size of a hen's egg, contains a clotted, oily, friable matter of dark brown colour; this is the true musk.

[←204]

This chapter is based upon (i) Sastri, K.A. Nilakanta, A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijayanagar, Oxford University Press, 4th ed., Delhi, 2006; (ii) Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India (400 AD and 518 AD), translated from the Chinese, Samuel Beal, London 1869, rpt. Asian Educational Services, New Delhi 2003; (iii) The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism, Soka Gakkai, Japan, 2002; (iv) Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, G.P. Malalsekera, Vol. II, London, Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1960; (v) Chinese Monks in India, I-Ching, trans. Latika Lahiri, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1986; (vi) Chinese Sources for Indian History, National Archives of India; and (vii) H.K. Kaul, ed., Travellers' India. An Anthology, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1979.

[←205]

In our own era, Indian President Pratibha Patil revived the ancient civilisational ties between the two lands when on 29 May 2010, she inaugurated an Indian style Buddhist temple at the White Horse temple complex in Loyang, cradle of Buddhism in China. This is the first Indian-style Buddhist temple to be erected in China in 1,900 years, since the Indian monks Kashyapamatanga and Dharmaratna helped establish the first Buddhist shrine there. Built with red sandstone and Kota stone from India, the temple stands on 6,000 square metres of land allotted by the Chinese Government during the visit of the then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 2003, Times of India, 30 May 2010.

[←206]

Chinese scholar Prof. Liang ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929) listed as many as 180 monk-pilgrims in his essay "Chinese students going abroad 1500 years ago and afterwards" (See Chinese Sources for Indian History, National Archives of India, p. 83).

[←207]

Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India (400 AD and 518 AD), trans. from Chinese, Samuel Beal, London 1869, rpt. Asian Educational Services, New Delhi 2003. See also A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms Being An Account By The Chinese Monk Fa-Hien Of Travels In India And Ceylon (AD 399–414) In Search Of The Buddhist Books Of Discipline, Trans. James Legge, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1998; original Clarendon Press, Oxford.

[←208]

Former capital of the province of Shense.

[←209]

The Vinaya Pitaka, collection of sacred books relating to Discipline and Morality. The Sutra Pitaka contains the discourses of Buddha, and the Abhidharma Pitaka includes all compositions explaining doctrine.

[←210]

This should be the cyclical characters Kang tsze, i.e., 400-1 AD.

[←211]

Prince who ruled Yuen Chun in the western part of Shense.

[←212]

Prince who ruled Ho Si, to the west of the Yellow River.

[←213]

In the province of Kansu, just within the north-west extremity of the Great Wall.

[←214]

Tun-nieh of Liang Chow, who died in 401 AD.

[←215]

A frontier town of military significance, mentioned by Marco Polo as Sachion.

[←216]

The Chinese mile; five li equal one English mile.

[←217]

The Leou-lun of Yuan Chwang. Fah-Hian and Yuan Chwang departed from China through the Yuh Mun (Gem Gate) just beyond Su-Chow. Yuan Chwang proceeded northwards towards Kamil, while Fah-Hian advanced SW towards Lake Lob. Yuan Chwang returned to India by the outward route.

[←218]

Sanskrit Sramana; Pali Samana.

[←219]

Garden of the priests; includes the vihara, living quarters, and surrounding grounds.

[←220]

A being who has attained the Buddha knowledge, but remains in the world for the benefit of men.

[←221]

Asoka gave the whole of Jambudwipa to the monks and then redeemed it for a sum of money.

[←222]

Rémusat identifies this with Darada or Dardu, but Beal thinks it is a small town called Dhir, near River Tal.

[←223]

Rémusat thinks this refers to the office of interpreters in the foreign affairs department under the Han dynasty.

[←224]

A Chinese general in the reign of Wou-ti of the Han dynasty, 122 BC; he led the first memorable expedition into Central Asia.

[←225]

Sent to the Caspian Sea to subdue the Roman empire in the first century AD, he returned on being told it would take two years to cross the sea owing to an unfavourable wind.

[←226]

Eastern Han dynasty (25–190 AD).

[←227]

770 BC. It is a Chinese tendency to push back the date of the Buddha and Buddhism.

[←228]

Refers to the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha.

[←229]

Second emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty (discussed previously).

[←230]

A custom from the time of Alexander; Apollonius was permitted to reside in Taxila for three days.

[←231]

Nagarahara in the basin of the Kabul river; mentioned by Ptolemy; close to Jalalabad.

[←232]

Continent to the south of Mt. Sumeru, including India and China, according to Chinese accounts.

[←233]

The distance now comes to be measured in yojanas, which differ in different districts. In the north-west provinces a yojana = 7 miles, but in the Magadha region it is 4½ miles.

[←234]

The elevated skull-bone is an index of great religiosity of character. Called Sariras, these relics are supposed to be indestructible and are found among the ashes after the cremation of a great saint.

[←235]

These include gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, cornelian, coral, ruby.

[←236]

Yuan Chwang also mentions this stupa, whose foundations alone remained; the relic had vanished.

[←237]

This absurd length is attributed to the fact that the Buddha is often given a stature of 12 or even 18 cubits.

[←238]

A meal prepared at an unusual hour; Buddhists do not eat after mid-day except when ill or travelling.

[←239]

Maha Kasyapa was the first Buddhist patriarch. One of three brothers who worshipped fire, he submitted to Buddha and converted his brothers, each bringing 250 disciples to the fold. These, with the 500 of Sariputra and Mogalan comprise the 1250 followers of Buddha frequently mentioned in the Sutras.

[←240]

A collection of Buddhist literature.

[←241]

A semi-historical character deified in Nepal and Tibet; the Chinese regard him as a great teacher.

[←242]

Near Farakhabad, the Kapitha of Yuan Chwang.

[←243]

Buddha's mother died seven days after his birth; later he ascended heaven to preach the Law for her sake.

[←244]

108 auspicious marks on each foot.

[←245]

Universal monarch in whom the chakra (discus) of Vishnu abides.

[←246]

The lowest heavens in the world of forms (Rupa loka).

[←247]

Cunningham visited the spot (1862) and found a pillar of the age of Asoka, with a well carved elephant on the top, minus trunk and tail. Possibly Fah-Hian mistook the animal for a lion.

[←248]

Error in text; it should be north and not south.

[←249]

Not to be confused with that of Yuan Chwang, which is in the Deccan (Dakshina Kosala).

[←250]

Buddha spent 25 years here after his enlightenment.

[←251]

Buddha's aunt (mother's sister); she nursed him after the death of his mother.

[←252]

Known as Anathapindika, he gifted the Jetavana Garden to Buddha.

[←253]

Yuan Chwang reported the pillars were 70 feet high, erected by Asoka, with a dome/cupola on one and elephant on the other. Cunningham thinks the elephant's trunk was broken; hence Fah-Hian mistook it for an ox.

[←254]

The son of Prasenajit; he exterminated the Sakya tribe of Buddha.

[←255]

Village Tadwa, nine miles west of Sahet-Mahet.

[←256]

Birthplace of the Buddha, on the river Rapti.

[←257]

Legend states Bodhisatwa descended from Tushita heaven in the form of a white elephant, surrounded by a halo of light and entered his mother's left side. The text says he descended seated on a white elephant.

[←258]

On a trip outside the palace, Buddha witnessed in succession an old man, a sick man, a dead man and a Shaman, and realized the ephemeral nature of life; he turned towards the spiritual life.

[←259]

The prince, his cousin Nanda and uncle Devadutta were leaving a sporting event when Devadutta spotted a huge elephant in the gateway and killed it with his fist. Nanda dragged the carcass to the side of the road. The Prince raised the carcass with one hand and flung it outside the city walls; it created a huge dyke in the earth, called Hastigarta.

[←260]

In a competition with the Sakyas at the age of fifteen, the prince with one arrow perforated seven golden drums, and with another seven iron blocks. The arrows went SE and struck the earth; water fountains gushed out.

[←261]

Viroudhaka abducted 500 Sakya women for his harem, but when they refused to submit to such disgrace, mutilated them and left them to die. They took recourse to Buddha and attained the condition of Devas (Jul. ii.307).

[←262]

Ramagamo of the Mahawanso; the distance between Kapilavastu and Ramagrama matches that given by Yuan Chwang.

[←263]

Originally divided into eight parts and given to eight claimants.

[←264]

Spelt variously in the text as Lichhavas, Lichchavis, etc.

[←265]

During the fifth year of his teaching.

[←266]

Ajatasatru, son of Bimbisara, king of Magadha; he flourished around 560 BC.

[←267]

Probably Mahendra, listed in Singhalese records as the son of Asoka.

[←268]

The description matches Buddha Ghosa, who translated Singhalese Buddhist scriptures into Pali, and must have been living in Patna at the time of Fah-Hian's visit.

[←269]

Beal says this account suggests Buddhist worship had already begun to change from original simplicity.

[←270]

Indrasilaguha, cave of the stone of Indra, identified with a peak called Giryek.

[←271]

Probably the Sangharama on the neighbouring peak, the Hansa (Wild Goose) Sangharama.

[←272]

As he had not yet attained the condition of a Rahat (attained full enlightenment).

[←273]

To break his fast, as six years of austerities had not given him complete wisdom.

[←274]

En route, the Brahman Santi gave him eight bundles of Kusa grass as he knew they would be required.

[←275]

The fourth dream of Buddha on the night prior to complete wisdom was that Lohini birds of different colours flew towards him from all quarters, but as they approached, they all became a golden hue.

[←276]

Names Tanha, Rati, Ranga.

[←277]

Bodhi-mandala, reputed to be in the exact centre of Jambudwipa.

[←278]

An obvious invention to give divine sanction to Asoka's later ascent; he was born long after Buddha.

[←279]

Buddhists believe in hells where sinners are punished for some time; these are normally situated between high mountains in particular parts of the earth.

[←280]

Yuan Chwang's account is very different (Jul. ii.415).

[←281]

Probably in the kingdom of Yuddhapati, mentioned by Yuan Chwang (Jul. i.134), near Ghazipura.

[←282]

Buddha first wanted to teach the Law to the ascetics Alara and Uddaka, but they were already dead. So he decided to seek the five ascetics who had practiced austerities with him for six years near Gaya, and now dwelt in the Deer Park. They were Adjnata Kaundinya, Asvajit, Vashpa, Mahanama, and Bhadrika.

[←283]

Beal says this is significant as it shows that even at this time the different Buddhist centres were preserving the doctrine mainly by tradition. This could account for the various schools which came up later.

[←284]

Later date sutras with repetitions of the same ideas.

[←285]

A work reputedly delivered by Buddha prior to his Nirvana.

[←286]

Near the mouth of the Hooghly; port of intense traffic with Ceylon and the southern coasts of India.

[←287]

Possibly refers to the Maldives.

[←288]

Possibly the carbuncle; greatly valued by Buddhists, as seen in the Tibetan prayer "Om mani padme hum."

[←289]

Devanampiyatissa sent the embassy shortly after the arrival of Mahindo; he also invited Sanghamitta to come to Lanka.

[←290]

On account of a patron he found on board.

[←291]

The Mission of Hwui Seng and Sung Yun to obtain Buddhist Books in the West (518 AD) [Trans. from the 5th Section of the History of the Temples of Lo-Yang (Honan Fu); in Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun Buddhist pilgrims from China to India (400 AD and 518 AD), trans. from Chinese, Samuel Beal, London, 1869; rpt. Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003. All spellings are as in the text.

[←292]

Probably the Pi-Mo of Yuan Chwang (Julien iii.243). He also alludes to the figure in the Text, identified with the sandalwood image of Oudyana, king of Kausambi.

[←293]

This implies the use of magical influence to compel Buddha to send Rahula.

[←294]

Possibly Hi-mo-ta-la country of Yuan Chwang, bordering the Hindukush range.

[←295]

The La-la or Lara people were probably a Northern Scythian tribe, perhaps akin to the Paralatæ of Herodotus.

[←296]

It is a Chinese custom to receive royal messages with great ceremony.

[←297]

There is no other way of translating this passage, yet it is puzzling how they could carry such a head-dress.

[←298]

Possibly refers to some local legends.

[←299]

Sudatta, Bountiful Prince, gave the King of Kalinga a white elephant with the power to cause rainfall. This made the subjects force king Sanda to banish the prince with his wife, Madri Devi and his two children, to the rock Wankagiri, where the events alluded to in the text occurred.

[←300]

Possibly Madri Devi, but the passage is obscure.

[←301]

An ascetic called Achhuta in Singhalese accounts.

[←302]

Possibly Dragon Apalala, whose fountain to the N.E. of Moungali (capital of Udyana) gave rise to the river Subhavastu that flows through this territory.

[←303]

Then in the possession of the Great Yuchi, whose capital was Kabul.

[←304]

Possibly Onowei, known as "the Prince who seizes and holds firmly." He refused homage to the Wei Tartars, alluding probably to the circumstances recorded in this account of Sung-Yun.

[←305]

Possibly the Fa-hsienti (Betik) of Yuan Chwang, 400 li to the west of Bokhara.

[←306]

The Varousha (Po-lou-sha) of Yuan Chwang.

[←307]

Probably the Pilousara Stupa of Yuan Chwang.

[←308]

Tsioh-li means a sparrow; possibly a corruption of She-li (Sariras), relics in this celebrated pagoda.

[←309]

Yuan Chwang says it was a li and a half in circumference.

[←310]

Possibly a mistake in the text, as the height of the pillar should be 30 feet.

[←311]

Khakkaram Temple or Temple of the Religious Staff (vide Fah Hian, cap. xiii).

[←312]

Lokesh Chandra, Preface, The Life of Hsuan-tsang By his disciples Hui-li and Yen-ts'ung, complete Chinese text translated into English by Li Yung-his, Akshaya Prakashan, New Delhi, 2005 (original 1959).

[←313]

The subsequent selections are based upon Buddhist Records of the Western World, Trans. from Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang, AD 629, Samuel Beal, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2004 (original 1884). Supplementary selections from The Life of Hsuan-tsang By his disciples Hui-li and Yen-ts'ung are given separately thereafter as they make interesting reading and deepen the narrative.

[←314]

Copper-water may refer to the size of the small hole made in the tamri (copper) cup for admission of water.

[←315]

The five degrees of religious advance among Buddhists: (I) The Vehicle of Buddha, (2) of the Bodhisattvas, (3) of the Pratyeka Buddha, (4) of the ordained disciple, (5) of the lay disciple.

[←316]

The order in which the four Vedas are mentioned here: Ayur Veda, Yajur Veda, Sama Veda, Atharva Veda.

[←317]

These are explained at length, but need not detain us.

[←318]

There seems to be a corruption in the text.

[←319]

This legend gave the place the name Taksha-siri, "the severed head," as noticed by Fa-hian and Sung-yun. The man for whose sake he gave his head was the wicked Brahman Rudraksha.

[←320]

The white-robed Svetambara Jaina munis; Yuan Chwang says their original teacher achieved enlightenment and first preached at Simhapura and there was an inscription to that effect.

[←321]

A sectarian prejudice!

[←322]

The images are similar, except that the Digambara images are without clothing.

[←323]

Kasmir was a large kingdom in ancient times; originally Kasyapapura; Kasmir was used in the Mahabharata.

[←324]

Meaning, did not distinguish holy from ordinary men.

[←325]

Supernatural beings who guard treasures.

[←326]

The country from the Ravi to the Sutlej; Cunningham placed it 11 miles north of Amritsar.

[←327]

Cunningham says there can be no doubt about the introduction of the China peach as it is still so-called in NW India.

[←328]

Kanishka and his associates hailed from the Gushan tribe of the Yuei-chi, who originally came from the borders of China.

[←329]

Katyayana probably flourished around 20 BC. The Abhidharmajnana-prasthana Sastra was translated into Chinese by Sanghadeva and another in AD 383, and by Yuan Chwang in AD 657.

[←330]

Probably the name of a kingdom of which Sarhind was the chief town, referred to in the text.

[←331]

Beal feels these trees are amla trees and mango trees; in other places in the text, An-mo-lo is said to be amra (mango).

[←332]

400 li north-east from Sthanesvara; capital at or near Kalsi.

[←333]

A river cannot be three-quarter miles wide at its source.

[←334]

Madawar or Mundore, in Western Rohilkhand, near Bijnore; the people may be the Mathai of Megasthenes.

[←335]

Mayapura or Haridwara; now on the western bank of the Ganga.

[←336]

Present Sankisa, 40 miles (200 li) south-east of Atranji.

[←337]

Possibly means the Rajput clan of Bais or Vaisa, not the mercantile caste.

[←338]

The town of Ranjamati, 12 miles north of Murshidabad in Bengal.

[←339]

This was Sasangka Narendragupta, king of Gauda or Bengal.

[←340]

Bana, author of Harshacharita, says his name was Bhandin. Siladitya patronised the best writers at his court.

[←341]

The promise of this oracle appears to be that if the advice is followed, then by mysterious energy the neighbouring kingdoms will have no one strong enough to resist the king. Siladitya indeed conquered the whole of north India and was checked in the south only by Pulikesi (Pulakesa), who received the title of Paramesvara for his victory.

[←342]

Possibly the mats or seats for discussion or religious services.

[←343]

Temporary, portable rest-house.

[←344]

Siladitya patronised all religious groups.

[←345]

Yuan Chwang was invited by the ruler of Kamrup, the western portion of Assam.

[←346]

Kajinghara, a small kingdom on the banks of the Ganga, 92 miles from Champa.

[←347]

A reference to the first emperor (Hwang-ti) of the Ts'in dynasty (221 BC), who broke up the feudal dependencies and centralized the government; he built the Great Wall to keep out invaders.

[←348]

Probably refers to the troubles which prevailed at the end of the Chow dynasty, which preceded the Ts'in.

[←349]

The Chinese believe the first Buddhist monks arrived there in the reign of the Ts'in emperor.

[←350]

The Akashya Vata, "undecaying banyan tree," which Cunningham found still worshiped at Allahabad.

[←351]

Kosambi-nagar, an old village on the Yamuna, 30 miles from Allahabad (Cunningham); mentioned in the Ramayana.

[←352]

Sravasti, in north Kosala, has been identified by Cunningham with a great ruined city on the south bank of the Rapti, called Sahet Mahet, 58 miles north of Ayodhya. Yuan Chwang apparently took a longer route.

[←353]

Buddha was born here.

[←354]

Kusinagara, where Buddha died, has been identified by Wilson and Cunningham with the present village of Kasia, 35 miles east of Gorakhpur.

[←355]

Most records speak of two sala trees (Shorea robusta), as does Yuan Chwang himself in the following extract.

[←356]

Exaggeration, based on information of local people; scholars think it could not be so large.

[←357]

Horse-faced musicians of Kuvera; the Chinese depict them as "something different from men."

[←358]

Mentioned also by Fa-hien.

[←359]

Fa-Hian's version (chap.xxxii) is different; the story seems to have been embellished with time.

[←360]

This prediction actually refers to Kalasoka, grandson of Ajatasatru, who made his capital at Pataliputra.

[←361]

Twenty-one miles west of Nalanda.

[←362]

His descendant Nagadasaka, who preceded the nine Nandas, seems to be the same as Maha-Nandin.

[←363]

Female deity of Tibetan origin; worshipped by the Yogachara school.

[←364]

Buddha was in doubt if there were men fit to hear the doctrine.

[←365]

This mountain corresponds to the lofty hill of Handia, 1463 feet in height (Cunningham).

[←366]

Fa-hien also said the five hills surrounding the town were like the walls of a city (ch. xxviii.)

[←367]

No caves have been discovered on this hill; but many later sutras relate to this hill.

[←368]

The famous Sattapanni cave housed the seven month long First Buddhist Council, Dipavamsa (Oldenberg, v. 5).

[←369]

The hall was constructed; the cave at the back was natural. See Fergusson, Cave Temples of India, p. 49.

[←370]

Others date the Sthavira school from the second convocation at Vaisali.

[←371]

Perhaps the Sannipata-nikaya.

[←372]

This account differs from common tradition, which dates this great assembly from the schism at Vaisali. Yet Yuan Chwang's statement that additional pitakas were collected at this assembly is useful and suggestive.

[←373]

That is, the walls of the citadel.

[←374]

Identified with village Baragaon, 7 miles north of Rajgir.

[←375]

The normal order of the sangha is that Bhikshus are classed according to the number of years in the sangha. But in Baladitya's vihara, they were classed according to their natural age. The king, though a disciple, was not fully ordained.

[←376]

Could also mean the stone foundation.

[←377]

The water of immortality.

[←378]

Communicate to the other.

[←379]

This Brahmin is well known from a work called Dirghanakha parivrajaka pariprichcha.

[←380]

Capital of Anga; country around Bhagalpur.

[←381]

An islet or detached rock; Cunningham identifies it with the rocky island opposite Patharghata with its temple-crowned summit (Anc. Geog. of India, p. 477).

[←382]

The Mahabharata mentions a kingdom of Kalingha in eastern India.

[←383]

Includes the districts of Rajashahi, Dinajpur, Nadiya, Birbhum, Bardwan, Midnapur, Jangal Mahals, Ramgadh, Pachit, Palaman and part of Chunar.

[←384]

Jack or bread fruit.

[←385]

A root that grows under old fir trees in China.

[←386]

Pragjyotisha; the kingdom included Manipur, Jaintia, Kachhar, West Assam, and parts of Mymensingh and Sylhet.

[←387]

Coconut.

[←388]

Modern Tamluk above the Selai, just above its junction with the Hooghly.

[←389]

The coast is a large bay.

[←390]

Devadatta appears to have had his own followers. Due to his inferiority vis-à-vis the Buddha, he became his enemy. One rule of his sect was not to use butter. A sect revering him as a Buddha existed up to AD 400.

[←391]

Identified as Jajipura on the Baitani; Fergusson suggests Midnapur.

[←392]

Remains, possibly of a stupa, have been found near Aska.

[←393]

Means divine beings. Cunningham thinks these hills are Udayagiri and Khandagiri, wherein many Buddhist caves and inscriptions have been found; they are 5 miles west of the grand temples at Bhuvaneswara.

[←394]

Cunningham thinks this is Ganjam.

[←395]

Different from Sravasti or Ayodhya, which was also called Kosala.

[←396]

Some say he lived 600 years; others say the 400-600 years accorded him refers to the development of the Mahayana.

[←397]

These forms of life are creatures oviparous, viviparous, born from spawn, or by transformation.

[←398]

The six ways of birth are as Devas, as men, as asuras, as pretas; as beasts; and in hell.

[←399]

There are many caves in a hill south of Bejwada.

[←400]

The passage is obscure. It seems Bhavaviveka challenges Dharamapala on the ground that his aim has not yet been accomplished and worshipping the Bodhi tree is foolish and inoperative. "Vow to accomplish your purpose, and it shall be accomplished irrespective of worship or humility" was probably the slant of Nagarjuna's teaching; Bhavavikeka, though a follower of Kapila, was full of Nagarjuna's spirit.

[←401]

This is an important passage. It shows that Bhavaviveka, imbued "with the spirit of Nagarjuna" though a follower of Kapila, exhibited his faith by going to Avalokitesvara.

[←402]

Either the Malabar Ghats or the ghats south of Coimbatore.

[←403]

Two hundred years after the introduction of Buddhism to Sri Lanka would be about BC 75, when the three pitakas were reduced to writing there.

[←404]

The Mahavihara was south of Anuradhapura.

[←405]

Probably the vihara with the tooth-relic.

[←406]

Possibly an error in the text; could be 30 li.

[←407]

Not identified clearly.

[←408]

Probably the famous rock-temples at Ajanta, in the Indhyadri range of hills.

[←409]

The ascetic Sthavira Achala; mentioned in an inscription on Caitya cave no. xxvi.

[←410]

An exaggerated account of the Chaityas; Yuan Chwang doesn't seem to have visited them personally.

[←411]

Seems to refer to two elephants sculptured on the rock in front of Cave XV, now scarcely recognizable.

[←412]

Confirmed by a grant of Dharasena II of Valabhi; the Sanskrit name of the founder is given as Atharya.

[←413]

A famous disciple of Vasubandhu.

[←414]

The old Prakrit name of Girnar near Junagadh in Kathiawar.

[←415]

Barmer in Rajasthan; many Kathiawar clans hailed from here.

[←416]

Extracts from The Life of Hsuan-tsang by his disciples Hui-li and Yen-ts‘ung; written after the pilgrim’s return to China, it shows his religious studies, royal patronage, and success in gathering manuscripts.

[←417]

The pilgrim's wishing thinking; the Ganga remains a potent force in Hindu belief to this day.

[←418]

Supplements the narrative of his visit to Sravasti.

[←419]

Monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen.

[←420]

Freedom of life; freedom of mind; freedom of having the conducive requirements; freedom of karma; freedom of rebirth; freedom of understanding; freedom of will; freedom of supernatural powers; freedom of Dharma; and freedom of wisdom.

[←421]

The glory of wisdom and of blessed virtues.

[←422]

Identified with the ruins of Atranjikhera, four miles south of Karsana.

[←423]

Ketas on the north side of the Salt Range, 16 miles from Pind Dadan Khan.

[←424]

A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago AD 671-695; I-Tsing, translated by J. Takakusu, Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998; originally pub. Clarendon Press, London, 1896.

[←425]

Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist Books, No. 1492.

[←426]

These included Nagarjuna's Suhrillekha, Matriketa's hymn in 150 verses, the Anitya-sutra.

[←427]

There are four sub-divisions, though I-Tsing mentions only three. One school is called the Mulasarvastivada, and as it is the same name as that of the original school, I–Tsing does not list is separately.

[←428]

According to the Samyuktavastu, Book vi (Nanjio's Catal., No. 1121), two Bhikshus from the south set out for Sravasti to see the Buddha. As the water around them was full of insects, the elder did not drink and died, and was born in heaven. The younger drank and was censured by Buddha. A similar story is told in the Jataka Commentary (Rhys Davids' Buddhists Birth Stories, vol. I, p. 278; and in Kullavagga V, 13, 2).

[←429]

Supposed to have happened in the sixteenth year of Buddha's ministry; see Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 73.

[←430]

Katurmaharagadevas, Mahavagga I, 6, 30.

[←431]

The Samyuktavastu, chap. xxxi; Samyuktaratna-sutra VII, 106.

[←432]

The five assemblies (parishads) are Bhikshus, Bhikshunis, Sikshamanas, Sramaneras, and Sramaneris.

[←433]

Mukilinda, in Mahavagga I, 3 comes to protect Buddha and hear his sermon; see SBE vol xiii, p. 80.

[←434]

Yojanas, spelt as yoganas throughout original text.

[←435]

A Chinese priest I-tsing met unexpectedly in India; his Sanskrit name was Pragnadeva.

[←436]

Three kinds of pure meat: (i) when it is not seen that it is being killed for oneself; (2) when it is not heard that it has been killed for oneself; (3) when it is not suspected that it may have been killed for oneself. See Mahavagga VI, 31,14, 2, SBE, vol. xvii, p. 117.

[←437]

The eight Chaityas are: Lumbini Garden at Kapilavastu; the Bodhi tree at Magadha; in Varanasi; Geta Garden at Sravasti; Kanauj; Rajagriha; Vaisali and Kusinagara.

[←438]

Gandhamadana, ‘Fragrant Mountain,’ lies in the region of the Anavatapta lake from which the four rivers, Sita, Ganga, Sindhu and Oxus originate. This is perhaps Manasarowar lake (lat.310N., long. 8103).

[←439]

Indians had an impression that Manjusri dwelt in China in I-tsing's time.

[←440]

Buddhaghosa in Mahavagga VI, 14, 7: Mutta-haritakan ti gomutta paribhavitam haritakam.

[←441]

The identity of this king is uncertain.

[←442]

A song about Buddha's last but one birth.

[←443]

The first Indian Buddhists who visited China in AD 67 and translated several sutras.

[←444]

Paramartha visited China in AD 548 and translated 31 works.

[←445]

Kumaragiva (Kumarajiva) visited China in AD 401 and translated 50 Sanskrit books into Chinese.

[←446]

The seven constituents of Bodhi are: recollection; investigation; energy; joy; calmness; contemplation; and equanimity.

[←447]

Two priests came to China AD 67; translations of Buddhist texts came loaded on a white horse, the White Horse Monastery was built at Loyang. Kasyapamatanga did one translation and Dharmaraksha five; Nanjio's Catal., App. ii, 1-2.

[←448]

K'ang-seng hui was an Indian of Tibetan origin who visited China in AD 241; Fa-hien visited India in AD 399–414 and is probably the 'dark elephant.'

[←449]

Tao-an died AD 389; Hui-yen submitted to the Eastern Tsin AD 317–419 and founded the White Lotus Society; he sent his disciples to Udyana to procure Sanskrit texts AD 408.

[←450]

Hui-hsiu and Fa-li lived under the Sui dynasty (AD 589–618); the former was a teacher of the Mahayana Samparigraha School.

[←451]

The Hye Ch'O Diary: Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Regions of India (Religions of Asia Series, No 2) by Hyecho, Jan Yun-Hua, Iida Shotaro, Yang Han-Sung, Laurence Preston (Ed.), Asian Humanities Press, PO Box 3056, Berkeley, California 94703 and Po Chin Chai Ltd. 8 – 5 Ga Dangsan-Dry Yeongdueng po-ku, Seoul, Korea, Year not stated.

[←452]

The Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha.

[←453]

Absence of slavery in India impressed the Greeks who came with Alexander the Great as well.

[←454]

Statues of the first five converts; now in the Calcutta Museum.

[←455]

Excavations show the column measured over 27½' in height and tapered from 2'4" diameter at the bottom to 1'10" diameter at the top; column was a short distance west of the main shrine.

[←456]

Identical with Yuan Chwang's record.

[←457]

Cunningham noted that all excavations near Sarnath have "revealed traces of fire, I myself found charred timber and half-burned grain. The same things were also found by Major Kittoe... [who] summed up his conclusions to me in a few words: 'All has been sacked and burnt, priests, temples, idols, all together. In some places, bones, iron, timber, idols, etc. are all fused into huge heaps; and this has happened more than once.'" Cunningham reports that some scholars believe "the place might have been burnt down by the Huns when they invaded northern India during the 5th and 6th century... [while others believe that] the Buddhist monuments might have suffered from the fury of the Moslem conquerors."

[←458]

This king should be Yasovarman, who sent his minister, Bhandanta Po-ta-hsin to the Chinese emperor Hsuan-tsang of the T-ang dynasty for diplomatic ties.

[←459]

Presumably Vatapi or Badami, capital of the Western Chalukyas, as this was the most important dynasty of the region at the time of Hye Ch'O's visit; though scholars argue that the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi could equally be indicated. A solution is not possible due to the brevity of the account.

[←460]

Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang mention a cave temple called Bhramara in the mountain of Undavilli near Bezwada.

[←461]

Nagarjuna actually requested a Satavahana king.

[←462]

Oriens Extremus, p. 176: "The King of Kashmir, in 713 AD, when the Korean general Ko Hsien Chih was alive, applied to the Chinese Emperor for aid against the Arabs."

[←463]

Gandhara was Buddhist under Kanishka; famous for its sculptures.

[←464]

Vasubandhu was born in Peshawar in 400 AD; Asanga was his younger brother.

[←465]

A popular story in the Jataka tales in which Gautama, king of Sibi, was tested by Sakra (as a pigeon) and Brahma (as an eagle). The king offered his own flesh to the eagle to save the life of the pigeon.

[←466]

Damascus was the capital of the Arab empire which extended from Spain and Morocco to Turkestan and Sind by 715 AD, and dominated the Mediterranean.

[←467]

The Eastern Roman Empire. Hye Ch'O says the clothing of Eastern Romans, Arabs and Persians was similar.

[←468]

Possibly a reference to the Parsi faith.

[←469]

According to National Geographic Magazine, December 1959, Atlas Plate 44, Ferghana lies between Tadzhik SSR and Kirgiz SSR.

[←470]

Shignan, Shughnan in Badakhshanskaya, Tajikistan (former USSR), is north-west of Gilgit, Kashmir, in Yuan Chwang.

[←471]

Since Yuan Chwang did not go to Shignan, Hye Ch'O's descriptions here are very valuable.

[←472]

According to Fujita, King P'ei-hsing's ancestral home was Kashgar.

[←473]

In Kucha, the Tokharistan language was used by the people of Tarim basin at Kucha and Karashr, which are part of Sin-kiang in China; this language is classified as Indo-European.

[←474]

The general protectorate of An-hsi maintained control of all nations of the Tarim basin and monitored nations to the west of Tashkurgen, and controlled the traffic and trade.

[←475]

Khotan along with Kucha and Kashgar directly belonged to the general protectorate of Anhsi; Chinese officials ran the civil administration. The Khotanese language is classified as Indo-European.

[←476]

The Ancient Khmer Empire, Lawrence Palmer Briggs, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 41, Part I, 1951, p 17. I am grateful to Prof. Lokesh Chandra for this information.

[←477]

Briggs' comments are inserted in brackets. Material in parentheses is either a literal translation of the original source or indicates what was implied by the original author.

[←478]

Monuments of Civilization. Ancient Cambodia. Donatello Mazzeo and Chiara Silvi Antonini. Foreword by Han Suyin, Cassell, London, 1978. I am grateful to Prof. Lokesh Chandra for this information.

[←479]

Samguk Yusa. Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea, Il Yon; Trans. Tae-Hung Ha, Grafton K. Mintz, Yonsei University Press, Seoul, Korea, 1972. I am indebted to Prof. Lokesh Chandra for this information.

[←480]

Hsia is the name of the earliest Chinese dynasty of which there is actual evidence.

[←481]

Previously described as a trouser.

[←482]

There is obviously some confusion in these dates.

[←483]

Based on the Lives of Eminent Korean Monks, Trans. with introduction by Peter H. Lee, Harvard-Yenching Institute Studies XXV, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969. It gives the reader an idea of the religious traffic to India.

[←484]

Yuan Chwang was in India between 629-645 AD.

[←485]

Based on Chinese Monks in India. Biography of Eminent Monks Who Went to the Western World in Search of the Law During the Great T'ang Dynasty, I-Ching, trans. Latika Lahiri, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1986

[←486]

Sumatra; I-ching came to India by sea and stayed here seven years from AD 688-695 en route to India, as also on his return voyage.

[←487]

In AD 685 the Dowager Empress Wu of the T'ang Dynasty usurped the throne for twenty years, and started this era and the Dynastic title of Chou from this date.

[←488]

T'ai-Tsung, the second Emperor of the T'ang Dynasty started this era in AD 627.

[←489]

In Bodhgaya, Bihar; the Sangharama was erected in the Gupta period.

[←490]

Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakosa, a general exposition of Abhidharma.

[←491]

Third section of the Tripitaka, Abhidharmapitaka.

Discourse on the Madhyamika Sastra.

[←493]

One of the works of Asanga of the fourth century AD; reputedly dictated to him by Maitreya Bodhisattva.

[←494]

Came to the court of Kanauj in AD 655; Harsha had already died, and he was not received with honour.

[←495]

Wife of the most powerful Tibetan ruler, Srongstan-Gampo, who compelled the Emperor of China to give him a lady from the Imperial Court in marriage. She was a devout Buddhist and brought her faith to Tibet.

[←496]

Built by Emperor Wu of the Liang Dynasty in the period of P'u-t'ung (AD 520-527).

[←497]

Dharani, a collection of protective magical mantras.

[←498]

Tree near the Dragon lake which grew out of the twig thrown by Buddha after cleaning his teeth.

[←499]

The third T'ang Emperor Kao-Tsung started this era in AD 650.

[←500]

A vihara established by a king in present Bangladesh is mentioned in the Gunaighar plate inscription of Gupta ruler Vinayagupta, dated AD 507, 18 miles north-west of Comilla.

[←501]

A district of Ch'ang-an in Shen-si province under the Han dynastry. Peking was called Ching-Chao under the Republic.

[←502]

Under the Western Hans, I-chou comprised parts of Szu-ch'uan and Yun-an.

[←503]

Modern Hanoi near Tonkin in North Vietnam was a Chinese province from 111 BC to AD 939.

[←504]

Started by the third Emperor Kao-Tsung of Ta'ng Dynasty in AD 664.

[←505]

Generic term for Hinayana texts.

[←506]

The Mahaparinirvana of the Hinayanist was first translated into Chinese by Po Fa-tsu in AD 290-360 and by Fa-hsien between AD 417-420 in Tao-Ch'ang monastery. The Chinese Tripitaka contains three Hinayana translations and seven of the Mahayana.

[←507]

Built in AD 648 at Ch'ang-an in the reign of the great T'ang Emperor T'ai-Tsung.

[←508]

Started by third Emperor Kao-Tsung of Ta'ng Dynasty in AD 656, six years after his ascension to the throne.

[←509]

Sangharama donated by Calukya dynasty for Buddhist monks, sixth century AD.

[←510]

Besides the Central Asian route, there were two more overland routes from China to India. One was through Yunan province, Upper Burma and Assam, but was not commonly used; the other was through Tibet and Nepal.

[←511]

First founded in China by Bodhidharma who probably arrived in China in the mid-sixth century AD.

[←512]

Jethian, six miles south-west of Rajagriha; Buddha visited the place and Asoka built a stupa there. B.C. Law says it is two miles from Tapavana in Gaya, Bihar.

[←513]

The eastern peak of Indra sala-guha mountain at Rajagriha, where a wild goose fell dead to satisfy the hunger of the Hinayanist monks in the monastery there.

[←514]

Mantras of mystic knowledge.

[←515]

Method of teaching of the T'ien-t'ai school in China, sixth century AD.

[←516]

Dr. N.R. Ray thinks this king is Rajaraja (bhata) of the Ashrafpur copper plate inscriptions.

[←517]

Envoy to Harsha, king of Kanauj, in AD 641.

[←518]

The place where Buddha descended from Trayastrimsa heaven accompanied by Indra and Brahma.

[←519]

Eminent monk of South India, AD 635.

[←520]

Started by third Emperor Kao-Tsung of T'ang Dynasty in AD 662.

[←521]

The Dowager Emperor Wu of the T'ang Dynasty usurped the throne for 20 years and changed the dynastic title to Chou in AD 690; to commemorate this event she began a new era in the same year.

[←522]

Celebrated monk of the T'ang period, AD 618-907.

[←523]

Constructed in the Chen-Kuan period, AD 627-650, of T'ang Emperor T'ai-Tsung in Ch'ang-an.

[←524]

Ruled sixteen years from AD 534 to 550. Their capital was at Yeh in Honan province.

[←525]

The Vaipulya Sutras or Sutras of' infinite meaning' are the Mahayana Sutras, supposed to be preached by the Buddha before he first moved the Wheel of Law. They are nine, and among the Mahayana Sutras have the greatest merit.

[←526]

Four requisites of the Bhiksu: civara, pindapata, senasana, and gilan-paccaya-bhesajja (Majjhima Nikaya I.33)

[←527]

Monastery of the Eastern grove built by the authorities at the request of a Buddhist monk Hui-yung at Lu mountain, called Purva Vihara.

[←528]

The four rituals taught by Confucius: Literature, Personal Conduct, Being one's true self, Honesty in social relationship.

[←529]

Started AD 685 by Empress Wu of the T'ang Dynasty.

The India They Saw

Foreign Accounts : 8th-15th Centuries

Edited by

Meenakshi Jain

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(Volume II)

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Prabhat Books
A Division of Prabhat Prakashan
ISO 9001:2008 Publishers

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

In the year 2004, on returning from South East Asia, Nobel Prize recipient, Sir Vidia Naipaul requested us to arrange a meeting with a group of Delhi based thinkers to share the impressions of his visit. He was simply overwhelmed with what he saw in South East Asian countries like Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia etc. We hurriedly, invited about twenty people to a get together with Sir Vidia. The meeting held on June 15, 2004 was attented by Sarva Shri Dinanath Mishra, Balbir Punj, Brij Kishore Sharma, Shankar Saran, Meenakshi Jain, Sandhya Jain, Ram Madhav, Devendra Swarup and some others. Sir Vidia described how he was astonished to see deep Indian cultural influence in the region not only in the past but even today. He felt sad that present day Indians appeared to have little recollection of the grandeur of their ancient civilization and its lasting contribution to the world civilization. He felt strongly that it would be a worth while endeavour to prepare a compendium of foreign perceptions of India down the ages.

During later discussions, it was decided that the project would cover the period from earliest times up to the mid-nineteenth century, the changed sensibility towards India thereafter consequent to the establishment of the British Colonial rule, being well known. The present volumes are the result of these deliberations.

We are thankful to Sandhya Jain and Meenakshi Jain for agreeing to take up the project despite their other professional commitments and completing it so meticulously. We are grateful to Prof. Devendra Swarup for having agreed to coordinate the project till its fruition. Sandhya Jain compiled and edited the material for the first volume, while Meenakshi Jain prepared the remaining three volumes. Both of them have recorded their experiences and impressions in detailed Introductions to their respective volumes separately.

We wish to place on record our heartfelt gratefulness to Sir Vidia for not only conceiving the project, but also for painstakingly going through volumes I and III and making many valuable suggestions which the editors have attempted to incorporate. We feel indebted to Prof. Lokesh Chandra and Dr. B.M. Pande for their valuable contribution in the preparation of the first volume. We are highly grateful to Prof. Devendra Swarup, without

whose continuous active guidance and involvement, this ambitious project would not have seen the light of the day.

We are conscious that many other compilations of foreign accounts on India are already available, but we do feel that this series of four volumes will add much to the present knowledge of our readers in this area and also pave the way for publication of many other volumes based on the first hand study of the original sources in foreign languages other than English as, it was painfully discovered during the preparation of these volumes that most of the material still lies untranslated into English, which is the only window available to most of the Indian Scholars. With this Note, we offer these volumes to our readers and cordially invite their comments and suggestions, which would help us to improve the quality of the later editions.

INTRODUCTION

The classical accounts of Greek and Roman writers, and subsequently, the works of Chinese pilgrims vividly portrayed the splendour of civilisation in ancient India. The last notable account of that era was by I-tsing, who visited the country towards the close of the seventh century.

The world scenario had by then altered significantly with the advent of Islam and the attendant era of Arab expansion. The Arabs conquered Baghdad in A.D. 634, Syria in A.D. 636, Persia between A.D. 636 and 650, Egypt in A.D. 642 and Carthage on the northern Africa coast in A.D. 698. In A.D. 711, they crossed the Gulf of Gibraltar and entered the Iberian Peninsula. The following year Sindh also came under their control. The string of conquests from Spain to India enabled the Arabs to link the two major economic units of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and dominate all the important maritime and caravan routes.

As a consequence of Muslim dominance, direct links between Europe and the East ceased. Europe became pre-occupied with the threat of Islam and fought nine Crusades between A.D. 1096 and 1291, albeit without any notable success. During these centuries, Europe almost wholly lost sight of the East as 'a land of reality.' The Bible increasingly became the primary source of geographical knowledge. The term 'India' was used to denote the subcontinent, the East Indies, indeed everything in the distant East. Many legends grew in Europe about a Christian community and a Christian king in India, who would assist the Crusaders in the fight against Islam. Europe during those centuries had only a hazy and distorted picture of the India known to the Greeks and Romans.

The age of Arab travellers, geographers, merchants and historians commenced with the Islamic ascendancy. Many Arab merchants and travellers to India kept diaries of their journey, while others conveyed information to geographers who wrote valuable accounts of the country. Among the earliest diaries of that period was of the merchant Sulaiman, written around A.D. 851.

India was then at a high point in her intellectual and cultural attainments. Masudi recorded the contemporary belief that 'wisdom (*hikma*) originally came from al-Hind.' The Arabs transmitted knowledge of Indian numerals, mathematics, philosophy and logic, mysticism, ethics, statecraft, military

science, medicine, pharmacology, toxicology (works on snakes and poison), veterinary science, astronomy and astrology to the outside world. Games like chess and *chausar* were also taken from India. An Arab author from Andalusia referred to an Indian book on tunes and melodies. Indian fables and literary works found reflection in the *Thousand and One Nights*. The early Arab attempts to study Indian culture and social life were manifested in the works of Sulaiman, Ibn Khurdadbib, Masudi, among others. Even before his arrival in India, the celebrated Alberuni had some Indian works in his library, which were translated into Arabic under the Abbasid caliph, Al Mansur (754-775), and the Barmakid *vazirs* of Harun ar-Rashid. Among these were the *Brahmasiddhanta* and the *Panchatantra*. This tradition ended with Alberuni in the first quarter of the eleventh century.

Arab travellers described the grandeur and wealth of the kings of India, singling out for special mention the Palas, the Gurjara Pratiharas and the Rashtrakutas. The Arab appellation for the Pala kingdom was 'the kingdom of Dharma,' after Dharmapala (r. 769-815), the greatest ruler of the dynasty. According to Arab accounts, Dharmapala possessed the largest armed force in the country, and was accompanied by as many as fifty thousand elephants when he went on war. The number of washermen in his army was reported to be an astounding ten to fifteen thousand. Arab writers relate that in the Pala country was woven a cotton cloth so fine that it could pass through a ring.

The Gurjara Pratiharas, the Al-Jurz of Arab writers, were depicted as the 'enemies of Islam' par excellence. They were said to possess a cavalry unrivalled by any other king of India. The Rashtrakutas, who ruled in the Deccan from about A.D. 743 to 974, were presented by Arab geographers as the greatest kings of al-Hind and the fourth greatest monarchs of the world.

Arab accounts also detailed the infinite variety of Indian products that had entered long distance trade. The importance of the trade in pepper was additionally testified by the growth of expatriate communities of Muslims, Jews and Christians on the Indian coast. Besides pepper, other items in demand included various kinds of ointments, medicinal substances, poisons, antidotes, perfumes, incense, ginger, aloe-wood, spikenard, camphor, cloves, nutmeg, sandalwood, musk, cinnamon, camphor, and rhinoceros

horn. In Arabic, words of Indian origin were mostly for spices, medicines and perfumes.

In addition, precious stones and diamonds, elephant tusks, and textiles like silk, brocade, cotton and jute were valuable items of trade. India had early mastered the technique of fast dyeing from natural sources. Indian steel and metallurgical products like swords were also highly prized.

Politically, while north India was being subjected to Arab and Turkish invasions which culminated in the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in A.D. 1206, the south moved on a different trajectory. In the last quarter of the tenth century, the Cholas on the Coromandel Coast (known as Mabar to the Arabs) replaced the Rashtrakutas as the paramount kings of India. The eminent rulers of that dynasty included Rajaraja (r. 985-1014) and his son Rajendra (r. 1014-1044). The Chola kingdom, based in the fertile Kaveri delta, also enjoyed proximity to the active sector of long-distance trade extending from southern India through Southeast Asia into South China. It was probably the desire to strengthen control over international trade that led Rajaraja to annex the northern part of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) between India and the regions to its east.

His successor, Rajendra, completed the conquest of Sri Lanka and thereafter dispatched a naval expedition against Srivijaya, a maritime trading kingdom in the island of Sumatra. The victory of the Chola fleet led to fifty years of Indian dominance over the Strait of Malacca, the vital sea passage between the Malayan peninsula and Indonesia, through which all trade to, and from, China was routed. By A.D. 1200, the Chola kingdom had withered away.

In A.D. 1336, was established the Vijayanagar kingdom, which stood as a bulwark against Muslim attacks from the north for over two centuries. It eventually became the largest empire ever created in South India. The capital city was a massive site; the defensive walls, intended to ward off invaders, overwhelmed viewers by their sheer scale. Recent research indicates that about 650 square kilometres were encircled by these walls. A cultural highlight was the nine-day Mahanavami festival associated with veneration of goddess Durga. In 1347, the Muslim Bahamani kingdom was also founded in the South.

Meanwhile, European leaders, still convinced they would receive assistance from the East in their struggle against Islam, began to view the

ascendant Mongols as possible allies. They persisted in this belief despite Mongol depredations in Poland and Hungry in A.D. 1240. The Mongols had then refrained from attacking the heart of Christendom, possibly because of the death of their leader, Genghis Khan.

In 1245, from the Council of Lyons, Pope Innocent IV dispatched two embassies to Mongolia. A Franciscan, John of Plano Carpini, accompanied by the Polish Friar Benedict as interpreter, was to go to the headquarters of the Grand Khan through Poland and Russia. John was the first European to travel east of Baghdad and return to tell his tale.

Shortly after John commenced his journey, the Council of Lyons declared that missions should be undertaken to Mongolia as part of Christendom's efforts to win a powerful Asiatic ally against Islam. The sack of Baghdad by the Mongols, in 1258, strengthened Christian hopes for an anti-Islam alliance. By the mid-thirteenth century, two routes to the Mongol Empire were opened, one in northern Europe through Poland, the other through Syria and the old trade routes of southwestern Asia.

The opening of the land routes between Europe and Mongolia was followed, in 1264, with the Mongol ruler, Kublai Khan, extending his sway over China south of the wall. That year he established his residence at Peking. Among his first visitors were the Venetian merchants, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo. Unable to satisfy Kublai Khan's curiosity about Europe, they returned as his emissaries with a request to the Pope to send a hundred learned men to Peking to instruct the Mongols about Europe. When the Polo brothers set out for Peking again in 1271, they were accompanied by Nicolo's young son, Marco.

Marco Polo passed through parts of India on his return journey home after seventeen years of stay in China. His visit marked the recommencement of direct contact between Europe and India after an interval of over a thousand years. Marco Polo found the commerce of India extending from the territories of Kublai Khan to the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. He described the shore of India as abundant in nature's choicest products. The palm tree gave its milk in lieu of wine, the bread fruit tree afforded wholesome food, the betel nut and spices, everything to satisfy the palate was available in profusion.

Around this time, the Popes became interested in the prospects of conversion to Christianity of people in Central and Eastern Asia who had

not embraced Islam. They urged zealous monks as well as traders to make their way through Tartar and Turkish countries to the Far East. Several monks indeed undertook the journey to China, visiting India en route, or on their return journey. Among them may be mentioned John of Monte Corvino (Italy), who was commissioned to carry the Gospel to the Grand Khan in 1289, and spent thirteen months in India. He foresaw a rich harvest of souls in India.

The Franciscan friar, Odoric of Pordenone (probably German or Bohemian in origin), also selected for apostolic duty in China, passed through western India in A.D. 1321. He described the cultivation of pepper and ginger in Malabar. He lived in China for at least three years and left a complete account of his travels.

Giovanni Dei Marignolli was the last of the Franciscan Papal envoys sent to China in the period of Mongol dominion. He reached China in 1342, stayed for three or four years, and sailed for India in 1346 or 1347. In A.D. 1368, with the overthrow of the Mongols in China, the curtain between China and Europe came down once again.

In A.D. 1321, Jordanus or Jordan (a French Dominican monk of Severac in south-west France) sought to establish a Catholic mission on the Malabar Coast in India. His account of India was the best produced in the Late Middle Ages.

By the mid-fourteenth century, Italian merchants, especially the Genoese, were active in India and China. As early as 1224, a society for the promotion of trade with India had been established in Genoa. Information about Chinese silk and Indian spices was current in the mercantile world of Italy. The commercial revolution in the Mediterranean world from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries was accompanied by a steady increase in population in Europe and a consequent growth of the European market. The Crusades had given the people of southern Europe a commercial frontier in the eastern Mediterranean region.

The growing demand in Europe was accompanied by an enhanced purchasing power. European merchants were quick to take advantage of the land routes opened by the Mongol conquests. In the attempt to gain direct access to emporiums in Asia, the Genoese led the way. The Venetians had also established friendly relations with the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt. Thus, occasionally, Christian Italians were able to travel in Arab ships from the

ports of Egypt and eastern Arabia to southern India. Among them was the Venetian merchant, Nicolo di Conti.

Besides the works of European travellers, several Chinese accounts of India are also available from the twelfth century.

This volume covers the period from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries. A general paucity of foreign works marks this epoch. In certain instances there are also problems in identifying the names and places mentioned in the accounts. The translation, too, appears faulty at times. Some statements are incredible and seem obvious exaggerations. Nonetheless, the accounts attest to Indian achievements in various fields like science, technology, architecture and crafts.

SELECT LIST OF TRAVELLERS AND WRITERS

(in chronological order)

Arab and Muslim writers

Sulaiman, the merchant, undertook several voyages to India and China during the first half of the ninth century. His travel diary, known as the *Akhbar us Sind wal Hind*, dated 851 AD, is the earliest by an Arab to have come down to us.

Jahiz (d. 864), a native of Basra, wrote a book exclusively on Indian religion which seems to have perished. Two of his *risalas* contain brief accounts on the religious practices and intellectual attainments of Indians.

Yaqubi (d. 900) was an officer in the Department of Correspondence under the Abbasids. He traveled widely and his universal history has a section on India.

Ibn al-Fakih (c. 902) was an Iranian geographer who wrote a five-volume work, the *Kitab ul Buldan,* an abridged version of which has survived. It contains valuable information on the social and economic life in the coastal regions of India.

Ibn Khurdadba (d. 911) attained high office under the Khalifas and employed his leisure times in geographical researches.

Abu Dulaf (d. 942), was an Arab poet and traveller, who visited Multan and the southern coast.

Buzurg bin Shahryar (10th century) as a ship captain used to sail from the ports of Iraq up to China. He recorded his experiences and those of other travellers in his work, *Ajaib ul Hind* (Marvels of India).

Abu Zaidul Hasan of Siraf (950) revised and supplemented the work of Sulaiman by reading and questioning travellers to those countries, among them Al Masudi.

Al Masudi visited nearly all the countries subject to Muslim rule and others besides. He said he travelled so far to the west (Morocco and Spain) that he

forgot the east and so far to the east (China) that he forgot the west. He was among the most admired writers in Arabic. He died in A.D. 956.

Al Istakhri was a native of Istakhr or Persepolis, and traveled through the Muhammadan countries from India to the Atlantic Ocean, from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea. He seems to have written in the mid tenth century (951).

Ibn Haukal was a native of Baghdad. He left Baghdad in A.D. 943 and after travelling to various lands under Muslim rule returned to the city in A.D. 968. The following year he went to Africa. He completed his work around A.D. 976 (or 989?).

Al Biruni, a native of Birun, near Khwarizm, was born around A.D. 970-1. He was an astronomer, geometrician, historian, and logician. He entered the services of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi and accompanied him to India. He spent a long time in Hindustan, chiefly in the Punjab, and learnt the Sanskrit language. He acquired an intimate knowledge of Hindu philosophy, religion, customs and beliefs. He died in A.D. 1038-9.

Al Utbi was Secretary to Sultan Mahmud. His work covers the entire reign of Subuktigin and of Mahmud up to A.D. 1020.

Abul Fazl Al Baihaki covers the period till A.D. 1059. He gives a graphic account of roughly fifty years of history of the Ghaznavids, including personal interviews with Mahmud Ghaznavi.

Muhammad U'fi lived in the reign of Iltutmish and dedicated his work to his minister, Nizam ul Mulk Muhammad. He was born in Bukhara and appears to have been a traveller.

Al Idrisi was born in Morocco towards the end of the eleventh century. He travelled in Europe and eventually settled in Sicily at the court of Roger II, at whose instance he wrote his book on geography. In the preface of his work, he cited the various authors he had consulted. Additional information was obtained from travellers, whose statements he compared and tested.

Ibn Asir, author of the *Kamilu-T Tawarikh,* was born in 1160 near Mosul. The work is a valuable account of the Ghaznavids and Ghorians. It contains few references to the Jats and interesting details on the Arab occupation of Sindh.

Hasan Nizami was born in Naishapur. Troubles in his native country led him to seek residence elsewhere. After a stay at Ghazni, he arrived in Delhi. He began his work in A. D. 1205, just a few months before the death of Muhammad Ghori. The history traces developments from the year A.D.1191 till part of the reign of Iltutmish.

Alauddin Juwaini was a native of Juwain, in Khurasan. He accompanied his father in the train of the Mongol governor in Persia, Arghun, to pay respects to the new emperor Mangu Khan. He was appointed governor of Baghdad by Hulaku Khan. His history stops at A.D. 1257. Its objective was to perpetuate the memory of Mangu Khan.

Minhaj us Siraj's family originally hailed from Juzjan, the country between Merv and Balkh. Minhaj came from Ghor to Sindh, Uch and Multan in 1227 and to Delhi in 1228. He was appointed to various posts by Iltutmish and successive Sultans of Delhi. He wrote a general history from the earliest times to A.D. 1259.

Zakariya Al Kazwini was born in Kazwin in Persia. He was not a traveller but compiled his works from other writings which he cited. He wrote around A.D. 1263 or 1275.

Rashiddun's *Jamiut Tawarikh* was completed in A.D. 1310. It was really the work of Al Biruni who had written almost four centuries earlier.

Abdullah Wassaf, the great historian of Shiraz, begins his work with the death of Mangu Khan and covers developments till the year A.D. 1328. His work is highly rated as a history on the Mongol dynasty; it has some references to India, particularly politics in the Pandyan kingdom.

Abul Feda (1273-1331) was a Syrian prince, who wrote several books including a universal history down to A.D. 1329. His *Taqwin ul Buldan*, a descriptive geography, contains information on India.

Ibn Battuta (d. 1377) was a Moorish scholar, who arrived in India in 1333. He held several posts under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq and travelled extensively in the country. He left in 1344.

Shihabuddin al Umari (of Damascus), in his *Masalik –ul Absar,* has provided a very important account of India in the fourteenth century. His

work is based primarily on the accounts of reliable eye-witnesses. It provides valuable information about Muhammad bin Tughlaq.

al-Qalqashandi, an Egyptian scholar, based his work, the *Subh-ul Asha,* on information derived from the *Masalik –ul Absar.*

Sharafuddin Yazdi wrote a partial biography of Timur in A.D. 1424. As far as the Indian expeditions of Timur are concerned, it just embellishes the *Malfuzat-I Timuri*.

Abdur Razzak was the ambassador of Timur's son, Mirza Shah Rukh, to the Vijayanagar court in 1442.

Historians and histories of Sindh

The ***Chach-Nama*** deals with the usurpation of the Brahman Chach and the Arab conquest of Sindh. It was translated from the Arabic by Muhammad Ali in the time of Nasiruddin Kabacha. It is difficult to fix the precise period of the composition of the original text in Arabic. It appears to have been written before A.D. 753, when a significant section of the people were Buddhists.

Al Biladuri lived in the mid-ninth century at the court of Khalif Al Mutawakkal. He died around A.D. 892-93. His work contains an account of the first Arab conquests in Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Transoxiana, Africa, Spain and Sindh. His work is among the earliest Arab chronicles, and deals with events till A.D. 842. He does not appear to have visited Sindh, but cites the authors on whom he relied for information.

The unknown author of the ***Majmalut Tawarikh*** says that his father was the compiler of a historical work, and that he himself had written a history of the Barmekides. He informs us that he began his book in A.D. 1126. It covers events till A.D. 1193.

European travellers

Benjamin of Tudela (1159-73), a Spanish Jew, in the year 1159 or 1160 started from Tudela on a journey of thirteen or fourteen years during which he visited large parts of the known world.

Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian, whose father and uncle had visited Central Asia between 1260 and 1271, started his journey in 1271. He reached the court of the Mongol, Kublai Khan after a hazardous journey of three and a half years. He stayed in China for 17 years and left in 1292. He visited parts of India on his way back home.

John of Monte Corvino (Italy) was the first of three monks who visited India soon after Marco Polo. John was a Franciscan friar who was sent as a missionary to China and subsequently appointed Archbishop of Peking by the Pope. He reached India in 1292 overland through Persia. From south India he crossed over to the Malay Peninsula and thence to Canton and Peking. He was the first European missionary to preach Christianity in India and China. With him begins the stream of Christian missionary criticism of Indian life and habits.

Odoric of Pordenone (probably German or Bohemian in origin and a friar of the Franciscan order), left home in 1316 to become a missionary in China. He went by sea from Italy to Trebizond on the coast of the Black Sea. From Ormuz he sailed to Salsette, near Bombay and reached Surat in about 1325. From Salsette he took a ship again to continue his journey to China. He sailed past the southern extremity of India to the vicinity of Madras, whence he crossed the Bay of Bengal to Sumatra and made his way past Java and Borneo till he reached China. He stayed in Peking for three years and returned to Europe through Tibet, Afghanistan, and Northern Persia.

Jordanus or Jordan, a French Dominican monk of Severac in south-west France, was sent by Rome to evangelize India in 1321. He was accompanied by three Italian friars and an Armenian lay brother. They followed the customary route by the Black Sea to Persia and the Persian Gulf, and thence to south-west India. According to his own statements, he was imprisoned four times in Muhammadan dungeons on the coast of India. His account of the Parsis is among the earliest by a foreigner.

Giovanni Dei Marignolli was sent by Pope Benedict XII with three other envoys to the great Tartar Khan then ruling China and Central Asia, and to the Christian princes of the Alan tribe of the Turks. After three years in Peking, they journeyed southwards down the coast of China in 1346 and

around the Malay Peninsula to Southern India. Marignolli stayed at Kulam in Travancore for sixteen months.

Nicolo Di Conti, a Venetian merchant, who had resided for some time at Damascus, and acquired fluency in Arabic, started on a journey to the East about 1430, taking his wife with him. For greater security for himself and his family, Conti posed as a Muhammadan. He traveled across Northern Arabia to Baghdad, thence to the Persian Gulf. In Persia, Conti learnt Persian and adopted the Persian dress. He came with some Persian merchants to Cambay from where he visited the great city of Vijayanagar. He returned to Venice in 1444, after an absence of twenty-five years. He dictated his narrative to Poggio Bracciolini, Secretary to Pope Eugenius IV.

Geronimo de Santo Stefano, a Genoese, at the close of the 15th century (1494-9) proceeded to India by way of the Red Sea. He followed much the same route as Conti and repeated many of his observations.

Athanasius Nikitin, a Russian, travelled to Persia and then to Gujarat. He stayed at Bidar and provides a vivid description of the Bahamani kingdom. His account of Vijayanagar, which he did not visit, is based on second-hand information.

Chinese travellers

Chou Kiu-fei, writing in A.D.1178, gave a valuable account of China's trade with other countries.

Chau Ju-kua, an inspector of foreign trade, compiled his work about A.D.1225. He has provided one of the most valuable notices on the kingdoms of South India.

Wang Ta –Yuan, a Chinese merchant, was a contemporary of Ibn Battuta. He visited foreign countries for purposes of trade.

Ma Huan was a Chinese Muslim interpreter to the expedition of 1412-1413. His work was first published in 1451.

Cheng Ho, a eunuch, was a Mussalman and the son of a *hajji*. He was accompanied in his voyages by Fei Hsin, whose account dated 1436 has survived.

Ma Twan-lin wrote in the mid-thirteenth century.

CHAPTER — 1

Natural Wealth

A. Some Descriptions of the Land
B. Climate
C. Flora and Fauna
D. Precious Stones and Metals

A. Some Descriptions of the Land

1. Isidore of Seville on eastern geography [c. 638 A.D.][1]

India derives its name from the river Indus, by which it is enclosed on the West. It stretches out from the southern area to the rising of the sun, and it extends on the North as far as the Caucasus mountain. It has many nations, towns and also the land of Taprobane which is filled with elephants. It has (the islands of) Chryse and Argyra which are rich in gold and silver, and also (the island of) Tyle which is never wanting in foliage. It has both rivers Ganges and Indus and Hyphasis which make the Indian famous…

2. Comparison of India and China, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind,* An Account of China and India[2]

India is much more spacious than China and is twice the size of the latter and the numbers of its kings are more [than those of China]. But China is more populated. Date palm is neither found in China nor in India [?], but they have the rest of the trees and fruits which we do not have. In India there are no grapes, while in China it is found in small quantities, but other fruits are found in abundance. They have more pomegranates in India [than in China]…

The rivers in both the countries are all of huge sizes: some of these are larger than our rivers. Rainfall throughout the two countries is heavy. In India there are many deserts while China is entirely populated.

3. The country about Cape Comorin, Abu Zaidu-l Hasan of Sira[3]

Among the stories which are current in the country (of Zabaj) [Java] about ancient times, there is one concerning a king of Kumar, the country which produces the aloes called kumari. This country is not an island, but is

situated (on the continent of India) on that side which faces the country of the Arabs.

4. Vast country, Al Masudi[4]

India is a vast country, extending over sea, and land, and mountains; it borders on the country of Zabaj [Java], which is the kingdom of the Maharaj, the king of the islands, whose dominions separate India and China, but are considered as part of India. India extends on the side of the mountains to Khurasan and Sind, as far as Tibet.

5. State of India, John of Monte Corvino in a letter written 22 December 1310[5]

The condition of the country of India aforesaid is this. The land is well enough peopled; and there be great cities therein, but the houses are wretched, being built of sandy mud, and usually thatched with leaves of trees. Hills there are few; rivers in some places are many, in others few. Springs there are few or none; wells in plenty; and the reason is this, that water is generally to be found at the depth of two or three paces, or even less. This well water is indeed not very good to drink, for it is somewhat soft and loosens the bowels; so they generally have tanks or excavations like ponds, in which they collect the rain water, and this they drink.

6. The Russian version of the letter reportedly sent by the Indian priest-king Prester John to the Greek ruler, Manuel Commenus, appeared in early thirteenth century. It was called, *The Story of the Indian Kingdom, of the great and famous state and all its wonders: how great its territory is, how many wonders and treasures there are and what its people, animals, birds and all sorts of jewels are like*[6]

[There were] wild elephants, unicorns, aurochs with golden horns, camels and all kinds of ferocious beasts…pepper grew there and there was a precious stone called emerald…an abundance of everything…[but] neither thief nor bandit nor envious person [were to be found].

7. Eulogium upon the Countries of Hind, Abdullah Wassaf[7]

India, according to the concurrent opinion of all writers, is most agreeable abode on the earth, and the most pleasant quarter of the world. Its dust is purer than air, and its air purer than purity itself; its delightful plains

resemble the garden of Paradise, and the particles of its earth are like rubies and corals…

It is related by sufficient informants, experienced travellers, who have long fixed their staff in the country of Hind and raised the standards of enquiry and research, that the length, breadth, and the number of its most celebrated provinces are as follows: Malibar, from the borders of Khor to the country of Kulam, is about 300 parasangs; that Bula, from the beginning of Kambayat to the borders of Malibar, is more than 400 parasangs; that Sawalik contains 125,000 cities and villages; and Malwa 1,893,000 towns and villages.

8. Cannot be compared with any other country, Shihabuddin al Umari[8]

This is a most important country which cannot be compared with any other country in the world in respect of its extensive territories, its abounding wealth and numerous armies, the grandeur of its Sultan [Muhammad bin Tughlaq] when he travels or is in residence and in respect of the might of his empire. The fame and renown of this country is well known.

…it is the country in whose seas there are pearls and in whose land there is gold, and in whose mountains there are rubies and diamonds, and in whose valleys there is aloe-wood and camphor, and in whose cities there are the thrones of the kings. Among its animals there are elephants and rhinoceros; from its iron are made the Indian swords; in it there are mines of iron, quick-silver and lead, and from some of its places there comes saffron, and in some of its valleys there are crystals; in it the good things of life are in abundance, prices here are cheap; its armies are numberless, and its territories are limitless.

9. Length of country three years by ordinary journey, Shihabuddin al Umari[9]

The learned and blessed Shaikh [Mubarak-Ibn-i-Mahmud al-Khambati]… says that this country is extremely extensive so that its length is three years by ordinary journey and its width is also three years, and its latitude is that which lies between *Somnat* and *Sarandib* [Ceylon] up to Ghazna and its longitude from the *Bay apposite to Aden* to the *Wall of Alexander* [the Great Wall of China] where the Indian Ocean meets the Atlantic Ocean. There are

closely situated towns with *mimbars,* thrones and districts, villages, market-places and bazars. No desolated place comes between them…

10. Healthy country, Shihabuddin al Umari[10]

I say: The Qadi Nizamuddin Yahya bin-Hakim brought to my knowledge an old work on the country. In it is mentioned that the whole of Multan consists of 1,26,000 villages (recorded) in the Diwan. Multan and Delhi are situated in the 3rd climate while the greater part of the country is situated in the 2nd and 3rd climates. It is a large country and is healthy except the rice growing fields. They are unhealthy and the low-lands are unwholesome. It is related in the same work that Mubarak b. Yusuf ath-Thaqafi obtained in Sind 40 *behar of gold,* every behar consisting of 333 *mann.* He said: From the countries of Ghazna and Qandhar (begin) the frontiers.

I inquired from Shaikh Mubarak about the mainland of India and the borderlands. He replied to me: in it there are about 1000 rivers, big and small, some of which resemble the Nile in length, others are smaller than it, others are still smaller and others are like the ordinary rivers. On the banks of the rivers are villages and cities and dense trees and verdant meadows…

11. Abundance of aromatic plants, *Subh-ul-A'sha*[11]

The author of *Masalik ul Absar* [Ibn Fazullah ul-Umari]…says, "in their mountains and islands there grow the trees of aloes-wood and camphor and all sorts of aromatic plants e.g. clove tree, spikenard (sunbul), dar-chini, Cinnamon (girfa), salikha, cardamom (qaqullah), cubeb, mace and many kinds of drugs of vegetable origin (aqaqir). And they have musk deer and civet cat. This together with all that is found in this country is on account of the extensiveness of the provinces, the remoteness of the sides and the distance of its boundaries.

12. Boundaries of India, Abul-Fida, the fourteenth century Syrian prince-geographer[12]

India is surrounded on the west by the Sea of Fars and the rest of it are the borders of Sind and the parts adjacent to it; on the south it is surrounded by the Indian Ocean; on the east by a desert, which separates India from China; and on the north by (the lands of the Turkish clans).

13. Extensive areas, Marvazi[13]

Their lands are numerous, with extensive areas, and the outlying parts of them are far-flung, stretching as they are down to the limit of habitation where cultivation and procreation cease and the existence of animals comes to an end.

14. Wealth of India, Timur[14]

…the Prince Muhammad Sultan said: "The whole country of India is full of gold and jewels, and in it there are seventeen mines of gold and silver, diamond and ruby and emerald and tin and iron and steel and copper and quicksilver, etc., and of the plants which grow there are those fit for making wearing apparel, and aromatic plants, and the sugar cane, and it is a country which is always green and verdant, and the whole aspect of the country is pleasant and delightful. Now, since the inhabitants are chiefly polytheists and infidels and idolaters and worshippers of the sun, by the order of God and his prophet, it is right for us to conquer them."

15. Ibn Majid, in a work dated 1489-90, on navigation which shows that Malaka was then in regular communication with India, Southern Arabia and the Red Sea[15]

As to what concerns the entry to Malaka while coming from Kalikut, sometimes the monsoon scatters the ships and sometimes carries them beyond it. The only exception is in the case of the well-armed ships coming from Campa, ready to set sail at the commencement of niruz or about that time. The monsoon brings back to Malaka ships from Hormuz and from Mekka and the late ships enter there (Malaka) on the 120th (day of niruz).

16. Pedro Covilham, who left Lisbon in May 1487 and was the first Portuguese to sail on the Indian Ocean on a Moorish ship and visit Cananore, Calicut and Goa, sent back the following report to King John[16]

That the ships which sailed down the coast of Guinea might be sure of reaching the termination of the continent, by persisting in a course to the south; and that when they should arrive in the eastern ocean, their best direction must be to inquire for Sofala, and the Island of the Moon [Madagascar].

17. Vasco da Gama comes in search of Christians and spices[17]

[Calecut] *[Arrival.]* That night [May 20] we anchored two leagues from the city of Calecut, and we did so because our pilot mistook *Capua,* a town at that place, for Calecut. Still further there is another town called *Pandarani.* We anchored about a league and a half from the shore. After we were at anchor, four boats *(almadias)* approached us from the land, who asked of what nation we were. We told them, and they then pointed out Calecut to us.

On the following day [May 21] these same boats came again alongside, when the captain-major sent one of the convicts to Calecut, and those with whom he went took him to two Moors from Tunis, who could speak Castilian and Genoese. The first greeting that he received was in these words: "May the Devil take thee! What brought you hither?" They asked what he sought so far away from home, and he told them that we came in search of Christians and of spices.

18. King Manuel, in a letter of July, 1499, relaying news of the Portuguese arrival in India to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, his recently acquired parents-in-law[18]

We learn that they did reach and discover India and other kingdoms and lordships bordering upon it; that they entered and navigated its sea, finding large cities, large edifices and rivers, and great populations, among whom is carried on all the trade in spices and precious stones…Of these they have brought a quantity, including cinnamon, cloves, ginger, nutmeg, and pepper, as well as other kinds, together with the boughs and leaves of the same; also many fine stones of all sorts, such as rubies and others.

SOME REGIONS OF INDIA

1. The Laccadive and Maldive Islands, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[19]

The third sea is the Sea of Harkandh [from Sanskrit *Harikeliya*, Bay of Bengal]. Between it and the Sea of Larvi there are numerous islands. It is said that they are one thousand and nine hundred islands, and they mark the boundaries of these two seas, namely Larvi [Lata for Gujarat] and Harkandh...

In these islands, ruled by the woman, coconut palms grow in abundance. The distance between one island and the other is two, three or four *farsakh,*

and each one of these is inhabited by people and has coconut palms. Their wealth consists of cowry shells and the queen hoards them in her treasury… The cowry shell comes above the surface of water when it is alive; so a branch of the coconut palm is taken and thrown on the surface of the water, and the cowry shell clings to it. They call it *al-kastaj.*

2. Multan, Al Masudi[20]

Multan is seventy-five Sindian parasangs from Mansura. Each parasang is eight miles. The estates and villages dependent on Mansura amount to three hundred thousand. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields.

3. Dabul [a famous seaport of Sind on the site of modern Karachi, named after a Buddhist temple *devalya*, destroyed by Muslims in A.D. 711], *Subh-ul-A'sha*[21]

Daybul: It is a city on the sea-shore situated in the second of seven climates…Ibn Sa'id says, "it lies on an entrance to the inland in the Bay of Sind and is the biggest and the most famous of the sea-ports of Sind and the articles of Daibul are exported from it." The author of *Taqwim ul-Buldan* mentions, that in it are found plenty of sesam…

4. Makran, Ibn Haukal[22]

Makaran contains chiefly pasturages and fields, which cannot be irrigated on account of the deficiency of water.

5. Budha [Sind], *Subh-ul-A'sha*[23]

Ibn Hauqal says, "it lies between the boundaries of Turan, Mukran and Multan and the cities of Mansura; it lies on the western side of the river Mihran. Its people have camels like the Bedouins; they live in huts and booths."

6. Janani [Sind], Ibn Battuta[24]

After crossing the river of Sind called Panj Ab, our way led through a forest of reeds, in which I saw a rhinoceros for the first time. After two days' march we reached Janani, a large and fine town on the bank of the river of Sind. Its people are a people called the Samira [probably Rajput Sammas], whose ancestors established themselves there on the conquest of Sind in the time of al-Hajjaj [712 A.D.]. These people never eat with

anyone, nor may anyone observe them while they are eating, and they never marry outside their clan.

7. Sehwan, Ibn Battuta[25]

From Janani [Sind] we travelled to Siwasitan [Sehwan], a large town, outside which is a sandy desert, treeless except for acacias. Nothing is grown on the river here except pumpkins, and the food of the inhabitants consists of sorghum and peas, of which they make bread. There is a plentiful supply of fish and buffalo milk, and they eat also a kind of small lizard stuffed with curcuma.

8. Marvels of some places, Gardizi[26]

The towns in which (*andar u*) these marvels are produced or found are situated from Quandahar (Gandhara) towards Kashmir, and also in (?) the province of Ganges (*Gang*). One of these towns is JALLANDHAR, in whose province is found much myrobalam, *terminalia bellerica, embilica officinalis*, and the *jashak* tree. The Indians say that a king of this country would live up to 250 years, while at any time he would ride, hunt, and have intercourse with women, just like young men, all this being due to medicines and wiles (*hila*)....

CHITRAKOT, which produces *shaytara yi hindi* while in its mountains there are numerous *jashak* trees and other things; here is the abode of the great men (nobles ?) and here their sages learn charms and every science. The towns UJJAYNI (*sic*) belongs to the worshippers of Mahakali and the astronomical tables of 'Arkand' were calculated from its longitude. In it are situated numerous repositories of books and wisdom.

9. Sindbad the Sailor's voyages may have been imaginary but were based on the knowledge of the Arabs of the time[27]

Thence we sailed to the island of pepper and to the peninsular of Comorin, in which is found the aloes wood, called *santy*. Thence we went to the pearl fisheries. I made a bargain with the divers, who brought me up a considerable number of beautiful pearls, and God heaped me with blessings…

10. Pearls in Malabar, Chau Ju-Kua[28]

The Nan-p'i country [the country of Nairs, Malabar] is in the extreme south-west. From San-fo-ts'i one may reach it with the monsoon in a little

more than a month. The capital of the kingdom is styled Mie-a-mo [Malabar], which has the same meaning as the Chinese expression *li-ssi* [priests]…

The climate is warm; there is no cold season. Rice, hemp, beans, wheat, millet, tubers and green vegetables supply their food; they are abundant and cheap…

The native products include pearls,…and *tou-lomien* (cotton cloth)…

11. Chinese come to trade in Nan-pi [Malabar], Ma Twan-lin[29]

The inhabitants of Nan-pi are very warlike. They manage skillfully the saber and the lance. They are shrewd archers. They know to mint and strike silver coins with alloy which bear the royal seal of the State and which serve as currency for commerce. They fish for pearls and make cotton cloth of all colours. Because of its distance, this country lived without any relation with China, when two merchants who were natives of the land and who were called Chi-lo-pa-tchi-li-yu, father and son, came to establish themselves in the centre of the town of Tsiouen-tcheou (of Fo-kien). After this, many Chinese vessels took the route to Nan-pi in order to carry on trade.

12. Quilon - land of spices, Rabbi Benjamin Of Tudela[30]

The pepper grows in this country; the trees which bear this fruit are planted in the fields, which surround the towns, and everyone knows his plantation. The trees are small and the pepper is originally white, but when they collect it, they put it into basins and pour hot water upon it; it is then exposed to the heat of the sun and dried in order to make it hard and more substantial; in the course of which process it becomes of a black colour. Cinnamon, ginger and many other kinds of spices also grow in this country.

13. Malabar, Abulfeda[31]

All Malabar is covered with forest and with trees entangling one another, thanks to the abundance of water. From Hannaur [Honavar] one goes to Basarour (Barcelore), a small place; beyond it, one comes to Manjarur (Mangalore), one of the largest towns of Malabar. Its king is an infidel. Manjarur is to the East of the localities already mentioned. After a three days' journey from Manjarur, one comes across a big mountain which projects into the sea and is seen by sailors from a distance; it is called Ra's Haili (promontory of Illy). At the extremity of Malabar we have Tandiyur, a

small place to the east of Ra's Haili, and there we find many gardens. The other localities of Malabar are Schaliyat (Jaliat) and Schinkili. One of these places is inhabited by Jews, but the narrator has omitted to note which. Kaulam is the last town of Malabar, the pepper country.

Cape Comorin

The first locality in the Coromandel from the side of Malabar is Ra's Komhori (Cape Comorin), mountain and town. Another town of Coromandel, Manifattanis, situated on the coast. The capital of Coromandel is Biyyardawal. It is the residence of the Sultan of Coromandel. Horses are brought to him from other countries.

Coromandel [Ma'bar]

The Coromandel, says Ibn Said, is celebrated by the reports of travellers. It is from there that they export muslin which has passed into proverb for its fitness. To the north lie the mountains adjacent to the country of Balhara, who is one of the kings of India; to the west the river of Suliyan falls in the sea. The Coromandel is three or four days' journey to the East of Caoulem. I should add that this ought to be with an inclination toward the south.

Caoulem [Kaulam]

Caoulem, says Ibn Said, is the last town in the pepper country towards the east. One sets sail from this town in order to go to Aden. A traveller has told me that Caoulem is a town situated on a gulf at the very end of the pepper country and that it includes a quarter for the Mussalmans and a Mosque. The town is built on a Sandy Plain. The orchards there are always numerous. One notices the *boqqam* tree (Brazil) which looks like a pomegranate and whose leaf is like that of a Jujube tree.

14. Calicut, Girolamo Sernigi, the Florentine merchant, in a letter to a colleague in Florence in July 1499[32]

[Calicut is] bigger than Lisbon, and peopled by Christian Indians…[The Zamorin of Calicut] keeps regal state…[The vessels in the harbour] carry neither arms nor artillery…in payment they [the Calicut merchants] only take gold and silver; coral and other merchandise of our parts they esteem but little…

15. Abundant Gujarat, Abdullah Wassaf[33]

Gujarat, which is commonly called Kambayat, contains 70,000 villages and towns, all populous, and the people abound in wealth and luxuries. In the course of the four seasons of the year seventy different species of beautiful flowers grow within that province. The purity of its air is so great that if the picture of an animal is drawn with the pen, it is life-like. And it is another matter of wonder that many plants and herbs are found wild and uncultivated there. You may always see the ground full of tulips even in the winter season. The air is healthy and the earth picturesque, neither too warm nor too cool, but in perpetual spring. The winter cultivation is brought about only through the moistness of dew, called *barasi.* When that harvest is over they begin summer cultivation, which is dependent upon the influence of the rain. The vineyards in this country bring forth blue grapes twice a year; and the strength of the soil is so great that the cotton plants spread their branches like willows and plane trees, and yield produce for several years successively.

Had the author full leisure to express fully the circumstances of that country, and to ascertain them from trustworthy men and historians, and to devote a long period of his life to explain them, still he would not be able to record even a portion of the marvels and excellences of that country.

16. Incomparable Kashmir, Timur[34]

Kashmir is an incomparable country…In the midst of that country there is a very large and populous city called Naghaz. The rulers of the country dwell there. The buildings are very large and are all of wood, and they are four or five stories high. They are very strong and will stand for 500 or 700 years. A large river runs through the middle of this city, as large as the Tigris at Baghdad, and the city is built upon both sides of it. The source of this river is within the limits of Kashmir in a large lake, some *parasangs* in length and breadth, which is called Vir-nak. The inhabitants have cast bridges over the river in nearly thirty places. These are constructed of wood, stone, or boats; seven of the largest are within the city, and the rest in the environs…

17. Bengal – a hell full of good things, Ibn Battuta[35]

This is a vast country, abounding in rice, and nowhere in the world have I seen any land where prices are lower than there; on the other hand it is a gloomy place, and the people of Khurasan call it “A hell full of good

things." I have seen fat fowls sold there at the rate of eight for a single dirham, young pigeons at fifteen to the dirham, and a fat ram sold for two dirhams. I saw too a piece of fine cotton cloth, of excellent quality, thirty cubits long, sold for two dinars, and a beautiful slave-girl for a single gold dinar, that is, two and a half gold dinars in Moroccan money. The first city in Bengal that we entered was Sudkawan [Satgaon or Chittagong], a large town on the coast of the great sea. Close by it the river Ganges, to which the Hindus go on pilgrimage, and the river Jun [Jumna, here obviously the Brahmaputra] unite and discharge together into the sea. They have a large fleet on the river, with which they make war on the inhabitants of the land of Laknawti.

18. Among the early Spaniards to write a travel narrative of India was an anonymous Franciscan monk who in the mid-fourteenth century wrote *Book of the knowledge of all the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships That Are in the World* [36]

It contains extensive lands, very rich and populous. The cities I came to were nine, called *Noncla* and *Chequimo, Demonela, Coximocha, Granbaet, Ganarrac, Mahobar, Gomar* and *Colon.* Know that in this kingdom...the pepper and ginger and aloe ripen, and many other spices, of which there are great harvests which are taken over all the world.

They call this province India the sandy [Sind and Rajputana], and the colour of the people is black. They use Turkish bows. They are wise people with good memories, and learned in all kinds of knowledge. The device of the King is a white flag with a gold pale.

I departed from the kingdom of *Dilini* and entered that of *Viguy* [Vijayanagar?] which is on the other coast of the Indian Sea. It is a very rich land, well supplied with all good things. The cities which I visited in the kingdom of *Viguy* were *Panona, Framisia. Tusi, Artillo, Corsa, Rusna, Armonea, Androuar, Moncaspi,* and *Pascar.*

...This kingdom of *Scim* [the India beyond the Ganges], is in India the high, which borders on the eastern sea. And from this kingdom of *Scim* comes the great mountain *Caucasum* which extends from the eastern sea to India the low. The kingdom of *Trimic* [Tibet] is all surrounded by mountains which give rise to many fountains and rivers. This land has a

very healthy climate…so that those who are born and live here have very long lives.

RIVERS AND SEAS

1. The Mihran [Indus] river in Sind, Al Masudi[37]

The river Mihran takes its course through the country of Mansura, and falls near Debal into the Indian Ocean. In the bays of this sea there are many crocodiles, as in the bay of Sindabur in the kingdom of Baghara [Balhara], in India; the bay of Zabaj, in the dominions of the Maharaj, and the gulfs of the aghyab [aghbab], which extend towards the island of Sarandib [Ceylon]. Crocodiles live more particu-larly in sweet water, and, as we have said, in the estuaries of India, the water of which is for the most part sweet, because the streams which form them are derived from the rains.

2. The Sea of India, John of Monte Corvino[38]

The state of things in regard to the Sea of India is this. The sea aboundeth greatly with fish; and in some parts of it they fish for pearls and precious stones. The havens are few and bad; and you must know that the sea here is the Middle Sea or Ocean. Traversing it towards the south there is no continent found but islands alone, but in that sea the islands are many, more than 12,000 in number. And many of these are inhabited, and many are not…

The shores of the said sea in some places run out in shoals for 100 miles or more so that ships are in danger of grounding. And they cannot make the voyage but once a year, for from the beginning of April till the end of October the winds are westerly, so that no one can sail towards the west; and again ’tis just the contrary from the month of October till March. From the middle of May till the end of October the wind blows so hard that ships which by that time have not reached the ports whither they are bound, run a desperate risk, and if they escape it is great luck. And thus in the past year there perished more than sixty ships; and this year seven ships in places in our own immediate neighbourhood, whilst of what has happened elsewhere we have no intelligence.

3. Meghna River, Ibn Battuta[39]

I journeyed to Habanq, an exceedingly large and beautiful city, traversed by the river, which descends from the Kamaru mountains. This river is

called the Blue River, and is used by travellers to Bengal and Laknawti. On its banks there are water wheels, orchards, and villages to right and to left, like the Nile in Egypt. Its people are infidels under Muslim rule, who are mulcted of half their crops and pay taxes over and above that. We traveled down the river for fifteen days between villages and orchards, just as if we were going through a bazaar. There are innumerable vessels on it and each vessel carries a drum; when two vessels meet, each of them beats its drum and they salute one another.

B. Climate

1. Winter in India, Al Masudi[40]

Anyone who passed winter in India during the season when we have summer in our country, it is said, 'so and so passed winter (*yassara)* in India.'

2. Climate of Mabar, John of Monte Corvino[41]

In India it is always warm, and there never is any winter; yet the heat is not extravagant. And the reason is, that there be at all times winds which temper the heat of the air. And the reason why there can be no winter is the position of the country with respect to the zodiac, as I shall now tell. That is to say, the sun when entering *Virgo, i.e.* on the 24th day of August, sends down his rays, as I have seen and in particular noted with my own eyes, quite perpendicularly, so as to cast no shadow on either side. And in like manner when he is entering *Aries, i.e.* at the end of March. And when he has gone through *Aries* he passes onwards the north, and casts shadows towards the south until...[the summer solstice] and then turns to *Virgo,* and after he has past through the sign of *Virgo* he then casts his shadow towards the north. And thus there is never so great an elongation of the sun as to admit of cold, and there are not two seasons. Or, as I have said before, there is no winter or cold season.

3. Climate temperate, Shihabuddin al Umari[42]

India has a temperate climate, the conditions of the seasons of which do not much change. It is neither extremely hot nor cold as if all the time were spring. In this (country) wind and pleasant zephyr gently blow. The rains fall continually for a period of four months, mostly towards the end of spring till the beginning of summer.

4. Heat 'perfectly horrible' in India the Less [includes Sindh, and probably Makran and India along coast as far as some point immediately north of Malabar], Friar Jordanus[43]

The days and nights do not vary there more than by two hours at the most...The heat there is perfectly horrible, and more intolerable to strangers that it is possible to say.

5. Days and nights are almost equal in India the Greater [extends from Malabar eastwards], Friar Jordanus[44]

In this Greater India, in the place where I was, the nights and days are almost equal, nor does one exceed the other in length at any season by so much as a full hour. In this India the sun keeps to the south for six months continuously, casting the shadows to the north; and for the other six months keeps to the north, casting the shadow to the south. In this India the Polestar is seen very low, insomuch that I was at one place where it did not show above the earth or the sea more than two fingers' breadth.

There the nights, when the weather is fine and there is no moon, are, if I err not, four times as clear as in our part of the world. There also, if I err not, between evening and morning, often all the planets may be seen; there are seen their influences (as it were) eye to eye, so that 'tis a delightful thing there to look out at night!'

From the place aforesaid is seen continually between the south and the east a star of great size and ruddy splendour, which is called Canopus, and which from these parts of the world is never visible. There are many marvelous things in the cycle of those (heavenly bodies) to delight a good astronomer.

6. A hot land, anonymous Franciscan monk of the *Book of the knowledge of all the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships That Are in the World* [45]

[Speaking of Scim, the India beyond the Ganges] Beyond these are the people of India who are near the equinoctial line. Their land is very hot. Most of their towns are on the sea shore and there are many islands. So that the air receives moisture from the sea, and tempers the dryness and heat. In this way are formed beautiful bodies and graceful forms, with fine hair; which are not produced by the heat except that it produces dark colour.

India the high is bounded by the eastern sea which is called Mare Sericum or Mare Cansasus.

7. Climate in Cochin, Ma Huan[46]

In this country there are two seasons, the wet and the dry. In the first two months of the rainy season there are only passing showers, during which time the people lay in a stock of provisions: in the next two months there is a continual downpour day and night, so that the streets and market places are like rivers, and no one is able to go out of doors; during the last two months the rain gradually ceases, and then not a drop falls for another six months. The soil is unproductive, pepper, however, grows on the hills and is extensively cultivated; this article is sold at five taels the Po-ho which is 400 cattis of Chinese weight.

C. Nature's Bounty – Flora and Fauna

FLORA

1. Coconut wine in the Nicobar Islands, Sulaiman[47]

…if it is drunk soon after it is extracted from the coconut tree, it is as sweet as honey, but if it is left for an hour it turns into wine, and if it is left for several days it turns into vinegar.

2. Trees at Mansura, Abu Ishak al Istakhri[48]

The date tree and the sugar cane grow here. The land of Mansura also produces a fruit of the size of the apple, which is called Laimun [sour lemon], and is exceedingly sour. The land also produces a fruit called Ambaj (mango), which is like the peach. The price of them is low, and they are plentiful.

3. A wide variety of trees, John of Monte Corvino[49]

And they have trees which produce fruit continually, so that on them you find fruit in every stage up to perfect ripeness at one time. In like manner they sow and reap at almost all seasons, and this because it is always warm and never cold. Aromatic spices are to be had good cheap, some more so and some less so, according to what spices they be. They have trees that produce sugar, and others that produce honey, and others that produce a liquor that has a smack of wine. And this the natives of those countries use

for drink. And those three things are to be had at very small cost. And the pepper plant is here also. It is slender and knotty like a vine; and indeed 'tis altogether very like a vine, excepting that it is more slender, and bears transplanting.

Ginger is a reedlike plant, and, like a cane-root, it can be dug and transplanted. But their canes here are more like trees, being sometimes a cubit in girth and more, with slender prickly branches round about, and small leaves.

The Brazil tree is a slender lofty and thorny tree, all red as it were, with leaves like fern. The Indian nuts are as big as melons, and in colour green like gourds. Their leaves and branches are like those of the date tree.

The cinnamon is of a medium bulk, not very high, and in trunk, bark, and foliage, is like the laurel; indeed, altogether it resembleth the laurel greatly in appearance. Great store of it is carried forth of the island which is hard-by Maabar [among the earliest references to the Ceylon cinnamon trade].

4. Many kinds of grains and fruits, Shihabuddin al Umari[50]

In it are many kinds of grains, wheat, rice, barley, peas, lentils, mash [Indian peas], lobiya [haricot] and sesame. As regards broad beans (ful), they are hardly found there. I say I think the absence of broad beans is due to the fact that it is a country of philosophers and according to them the beans spoil the essence of the intellect. Therefore, the Sabeans too have forbidden the use of them. He said: In it there are fruits; figs, grapes, plenty of pomegranates, sweet, sour and acid, bananas, peaches citron, lemon, lime, orange, sycamore, black mulberries which are called 'firsad', water-melon (Khiyar), yellow and green cucumber (qiththa) and melon. Figs and grapes are found in smaller quantities than the other fruits. As regards the quince it is found there and (also) imported to this (country). As regards pears and apples they are still rarer than quince. There are other fruits which are not known in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq; mangoes and mahwal and laha and naqhzak and other excellent and delightful fruits. As regards the coconut which is called 'Indian nut' no other thing can be compared to it and it is green and full of oil. As regards the *hammar,* it is called the 'Indian Tamarind.' It is a wild tree growing in abundance on the mountains. Coconut and bananas are less plentiful in Delhi than in neighbouring provinces where they are found in large quantities. Sugarcane is generally

found in plenty throughout the country. One of it is of a black variety which is bad as regards its cane. It is the best (variety) for chewing but not for crushing; it is not found elsewhere. From other varieties sugar is prepared in large quantities and is cheap as candy and the ordinary sugar. But it does not crystalise and is rather like white flour.

According to the report of Sheikh Mubarak bin Muhammad Shadhan there are in this country twenty-one varieties of rice. They have also turnips, carrots, pumpkin (vegetable marrow), badinjan (egg plant), asparagus, and ginger. They cook it when it is still green in the same manner as the carrot is cooked and it has an exquisite taste with which nothing can be compared. And there is also garden-beet, onion (garlic fum), fennel, thyme, and sweet smelling plants as rose, water-lily, violet, ban (nutmeg), and this is the same as Khallaf. Egyptian willow, narcissus, and this is (also called) abbar, narcissus, Jesamine, henna plant and this is faghiya. Similarly there is sesame oil and they use it for lighting purposes.

As regards olives they are obtained only by import. Honey is extremely abundant. Wax is only found in the palaces of the Sultan and its use is not allowed to anybody.

5. Trees and fruits in India the Less, Friar Jordanus[51]

In the entrance to India the Less are (date) palms, giving a great quantity of the sweetest fruit; but further on in India they are not found…There be always fruits and flowers there, divers trees, and fruits of divers kinds; for (example) there are some trees which bear very big fruit, called *chaqui* [jackfruit]; and the fruit is of such size that one is enough for five persons.

There is another tree which has fruit like that just named, and it is called Bloqui, quite as big and as sweet but not of the same species. These fruits never grow upon the twigs, for these are not able to bear their weight, but only from the main branches, and even from the trunk of the tree itself, down to the very roots.

Mango

There is another tree which has fruit like a plum, but a very big one which is called Aniba [mango]. This is a fruit so sweet and delicious as it is impossible to utter in words.

There be many other fruit trees of divers kinds, which it would be tedious to describe in detail…

Coconut

First of these is a certain tree called *Nargil* [cocoanut]; which tree every month in the year sends out a beautiful frond like (that of) a (date), palm-tree, which frond or branch produces very large fruit, as big as a man's head. There often grow on one such stem thirty of those fruits as big as I have said. And both flowers and fruits are produced at the same time beginning with the first month and going up gradually to the twelfth; so that there are flowers and fruit in eleven stages of growth to be seen together. A wonder! And a thing which cannot be well understood without being witnessed. From these branches and fruits is drawn a very sweet water. The kernel (at first) is very tender and pleasant to eat; afterwards it waxeth harder still, an oil is made from it of great medicinal virtue. And if anyone careth not to have fruit, when the fruit-bearing stem is one or two months old he maketh a cut in it, and bindeth a pot to this incision; and so the sap, which would have been converted into fruit, drops in; and it is white like milk, and sweet like must, and maketh drunk like wine, so that the natives do drink it for wine; and those who wish not to drink it so, boil it down to one-third of its bulk, and then it becometh thick, like honey; and 'tis sweet, and fit for making preserves, like honey and the honeycomb. One branch gives one potful in the day and one in the night, on the average throughout the year; thus five or six pots may be found hung upon the same tree at once. With the leaves of this tree they cover their houses during the rainy season. The fruit is that which we call *nuts of India;* and from the rind of that fruit is made the twine with which they stitch their boats together in those parts.

Palmyra

There is another tree of a different species, which like that gives all the year round a white liquor pleasant to drink, which tree is called Tari [tadi]. There is also another, called *Belluri,* giving a liquor of the same kind, but better.

Banyan

There be also many other trees, and wonderful ones; among which is one which sendeth forth roots from high up, which gradually grow down to the ground and enter it, and then wax into trunks like the main trunk, forming as it were an arch; and by this kind of multiplication one tree will have at

once as many as twenty or thirty trunks beside one another, and all connected together. 'Tis marvelous! And truly this which I have seen with mine eyes, 'tis hard to utter with my tongue. The fruit of this tree is not useful, but poisonous and deadly. There is (also) a tree harder than all, which the strongest arrows can scarcely pierce.

The trees in this India, and also in India the Greater, never shed their leaves till the new ones come.

To write about the other trees would be too long a business; and tedious beyond measure; seeing that they are many and divers, and beyond the comprehension of man…

Ginger

In this India there is green ginger, and it grows there in great abundance.

There be also sugarcanes in quantities; carobs also, of such size and bigness that it is something stupendous. I could tell very wonder-ful things of this India; but I am not able to detail them for lack of time. Cassia fistuala [an inferior cinnamon] is in some parts of this India extremely abundant…

There is no pepper there, nor any kind of spice except ginger.

6. Spices in India the Greater, Friar Jordanus[52]

In this India there are pepper and ginger, cinnamon, brazil [sappan-wood], and all other spices.

Ginger is the root of a plant which hath leaves like a reed. Pepper is the fruit of a plant something like ivy, which climbs trees, and forms grape-like fruit like that of the wild vine. This fruit is at first green, then when it comes to maturity it becomes all black and corrugated as you see it. 'Tis thus that long pepper is produced, nor are you to believe that fire is placed under the pepper, nor that it is roasted, as some will lyingly maintain.

Cinnamon is the bark of a large tree which has fruit and flowers like cloves.

7. World's pepper produced in Quilon, John De Marignolli[53]

And sailing on the feast of St. Stephen, we navigated the Indian sea until Palm Sunday, and then arrived at a very noble city of India called *Columbum,* where the whole world's pepper is produced. Now this pepper grows on a kind of vines, which are planted just like in our vineyards. These vines produce clusters which are at first like those of the wild vine, of

a green colour, and afterwards are almost like bunches of our grapes, and they have a red wine in them which I have squeezed out on my plate as a condiment. When they have ripened, they are left to dry upon the tree, and when shrivelled by the excessive heat the dry clusters are knocked off with a stick and caught upon linen cloths, and so the harvest is gathered.

These are things that I have seen with mine eyes and handled with my hands during the fourteen months that I stayed there. And there is no roasting of the pepper, as authors have falsely asserted, nor does it grow in forests, but in regular gardens; nor are the Saracens the proprietors but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public steel-yard, from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's legate, every month a hundred gold *fan,* and a thousand when I left.

8. Hili – "impossible to state the number of plants which cover the hills," Wang Ta-Yuan[54]

This country is between Hsiao Ku-nan (Kain Colan) and Ku-li-fo (Calicut) [Mt. Ely is actually north of Calicut], it is also known (to the Chinese) as the Hsiao Chiang- keou, or 'Little Harbour.' The hill is bare and flat, it extends over several thousand *(sic) li.*

The dwellings of the people are scattered about close together on every side with a sufficiency of land to supply the wants of each family, though the soil is far from good for tilling...

The natural products are pepper, superior to that of any other foreign port. It is impossible to state the number of plants which cover the hills (of Hsia-li). It is a creeper which grows like a wistaria vine, and which blooms in winter and bears fruit in summer. The people gather it and dry it in the sun to remove its pungent flavour. The pepper gatherers for the most part do not mind its flavour, but if they do, they get relief by using a decoction of C*h'uan-hsiung.* The pepper of all other foreign parts is all the surplus product of this county.

9. The Loahc tree, Odoric of Pordenone[55]

In this country there are trees which give wine which they call *loahc* and which is very intoxicating.

10. Pepper in Malabar, Odoric of Pordenone[56]

And now that ye may know how pepper is got, let me tell you that it groweth in a certain empire whereunto I came to land, the name whereof is Minibar [Malabar], and it groweth nowhere else in the world but there. And the forest in which the pepper groweth extendeth for a good eighteen days' journey, and in that forest there be two cities, the one where of is called Flandrina [Bandiranah, sixteen miles north of Calicut] and the other Cyngilin [Shinkali, port next below to Calicut]…

Now, in this country they get the pepper in this manner. First, then, it groweth on plants which have leaves like ivy, and these are planted against tall trees as our vines are here, and bear fruit just like bunches of grapes; and this fruit is borne in such quantities that they seem like to break under it. And when the fruit is ripe it is of a green colour, and 'tis gathered just as grapes are gathered at the vintage, and then put in the sun to dry. And when it is dried it is stored in jars [and of the fresh pepper also they make a confection, of which I had to eat and plenty of it]…At the extremity of that forest, towards the south, there is a certain city which is called Polumbum, in which is grown better ginger than anywhere else in the world. And the variety and abundance of wares for sale in that city is so great that it would seem past belief to many folk.

11. Ginger at Pacamuria and Helly, Nicolo Conti[57]

Proceeding onwards he sailed [from Cambay] for the space of twenty days, and arrived at two cities situated on the sea shore, one named Pacamuria, and the other Helly. In these districts grows ginger, called in the language of the country *beledi, gebeli,* and *neli.* It is the root of a shrub, which grows to the height of two cubits, with great leaves, similar to those of the blue lilies called *Iris,* with a hard bark. They grow like the roots of reeds, which cover the fruit. From these the ginger is obtained, on which they cast ashes and place it in the sun for three days, in which time it is dried.

12. The palm tree at Cahila, Nicolo Conti[58]

Beyond this city [of Mylapore] there is another, which is called Cahila, where pearls are found. Here also there grows a tree which does not bear fruit, but the leaf of which is six cubits in length and almost as many broad, and so thin that when pressed together it can be held in the closed hand [the palmyra tree]. These leaves are used in this country for writing upon instead

of paper, and in rainy weather are carried on the head as a covering to keep off the wet. Three or four persons travelling together can be covered by one of these leaves stretched out.

13. The jack tree in Malabar, Nicolo Conti[59]

A tree grows here in great abundance, the trunk of which produces fruit resembling the pineapple, but so large as to be lifted with difficulty by one man; the rind is green and hard, but yields nevertheless to the pressure of the finger. Within are from two hundred and fifty to three hundred apples, resembling figs, very sweet to the taste, and which are separated from each other by follicles. They have a kernel within, resembling the chesnut in hardness and flavour, flatulent, and which is cooked in the same manner as the chesnut; when thrown upon live embers, unless previously incised somewhat, it bounces up with a crackling noise. The external bark is used as provender for cattle [the jack tree]. The fruit of this tree is sometimes found under the earth in its roots; these excel the others in flavour; and for this reason it is the custom to set these apart for royal use. This fruit has no kernel. The tree is like a large fig tree, the leaves being in-tercised like those of the palm: the wood is equal to box-wood, and is therefore much prized for its applicability to many purposes. The name of this tree is *cachi.*

There is also another fruit, called *amba* [mango], green and resembling very much a nut, but larger than the nectarine; the outer rind is bitter, but within it is sweet like honey: before they are ripe they steep them in water to remove the acidity, in the same manner as we are in the habit of steeping green olives.

14. Ku-li, Calicut, Ma Huan[60]

To return to Calicut, much pepper is grown on the hills. Cocoanuts are extensively cultivated, many farmers owning a thousand trees; those having a plantation of three thousand are looked upon as wealthy proprietors…The jackfruit and the plantain abound in this country, which is also well supplied with melons, gourds, and turnips, and every other kind of vegetable.

15. Spices at Calicut, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano[61]

We found that pepper and ginger grew here. The pepper trees are similar to the ivy, because they grow round other trees wherever they can attach themselves; their leaves resemble those of the ivy. Their bunches are of the length of half a palm or more, and as slender as a finger: the grain grows

very thickly around. The reason why pepper does not grow in our region is, that we have none of the trees to plant. It is not true, as reported amongst us, that the pepper is scorched in order that it may not grow. When it is ripe and gathered in it is green, like ivy; it is left to dry in the sun, and in five or six days it becomes black and wrinkled as we see it. For the propagation of ginger they plant a piece of a small fresh root, about the size of a small nut, which at the end of a month grows large: the leaf resembles that of the wild lily.

FAUNA

1. Sperm whale in Indian Ocean, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[62]

In this [sea] is found a fish that appears occasionally. It has herbs and shells growing on its back. The captains of boats, sometimes, lay anchor against it thinking it to be an island, but when they realize their mistake they set sail from it. Sometimes, when this fish spreads out one of its two wings on its back, it appears like the sail of a ship. When it raises its head above water, you can see it as an enormous object. Sometimes it blows out water from its 'mouth', which resembles a lofty tower. Whenever the sea is calm and the fishes gather together, it collects them round with the help of its tail. Then it opens its mouth and the fishes dive into its belly as if diving into a well. The boats sailing on this sea are scared of it, so during the nightfall they blow the trumpets resembling those of the Christians, for they are afraid that it might lean heavily against their boat and cause it to be drowned.

This sea has a fish that we have caught. It is twenty cubits long. Then we opened up its stomach and took out from inside another fish belonging to the same species; and when we opened up the stomach of this second one, we again found a similar [fish] inside it. Each one of these was alive and wriggling and resembled one another in shape. This huge fish called *al-wal,* even though it has an enormous constitution, has an [enemy] fish called *al-Lashk,* which is about a cubit long. Thus, whenever this fish *(al-wal)* becomes violent and oppressive and starts doing harm to the other fishes of the sea, this small fish sets against it and, sticking itself at the root of its gill (lit. ear), does not leave it till it has killed it. It [small fish] usually clings to

the boat, so this large fish does not come near the boat to avoid the small one.

There is another fish in this sea whose face, it is related, resembles that of a human being. It flies above water. This fish is called *al-mij*. There is another fish that lies in wait for it under water, and as soon as it drops this fish swallows it. It is called *alanqatus*. All the fishes eat up each other.

2. Rhinoceros, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[63]

In his country is also found the marked *al-bishan* [Sanskrit visana, a horn] and that is *al-karkaddan* [Sanskrit khadgadanta, rhinoceros]. It has a single horn on the front side of its forehead, and inside the horn one finds the impression of the image of a creature, for example, the image resembling a human being. The horn is all black and the image inside it is white. In stature this rhinoceros is smaller than the elephant and tends to be black in colour. It resembles the buffalo and is strong; no animal commands the same strength as he does. It has no joints in its knees nor in its forelegs. From its legs up to its armpit it is one [solid] piece, and the elephant runs away from it. It ruminates like the oxen and the camels, and its meat is allowed [to be eaten], and we have eaten it. It is found in large numbers in the forests of this kingdom, and is found all over India except that the horns of this [particular type] are excellent. Sometimes one finds inside the horn the image of a man, a peacock, a fish or other images. The Chinese manufacture girdles out of it. The price of a single girdle in China goes up to two thousand, three thousand or even more *dinars* depending upon the beauty of the picture. All this is purchased in the kingdom of Dharma with cowry which is the money of this kingdom.

3. A rare animal, Muhammad U'fi[64]

Abu Rihan mentions in his writings that within the boundaries of Hindustan, to the east of the Ganges, in the forests of Oudh, there exists an animal called Sharu. It is larger than a rhinoceros, and has two long horns and a small trunk. On the back it has four protuberances resembling four feet. It is so powerful that it will attack an elephant and tear him asunder. No animal has strength enough to contend against it, nor does man venture to hunt it, in fact nothing has power over it except death. Besides natural death, one cause of its destruction is that it often takes up an animal on its

horns and tosses it in the air. The flesh adhering to the horns creates worms, which falling on its back, eat into the flesh till it becomes very sore; they then attack its stomach and destroy it. Or, if there be a high mountain near, when it thunders, it will rush as if to attack (some unseen foe) and falling from the mountain destroy itself. People go out to pick up its horns. Its specific peculiarities (*khassiyat*) are not known.

This animal resembles a camel. It has two protuberances on the back and it generally has teeth, the limbs and organs of the body are venomous, and no other animal can escape it. Its spittle, dung, etc., are all deadly poison. Whatever meets its eye becomes its prey, for it runs as swift as the wind, and overtakes all creatures. It kills every animal that it may encounter. If anyone takes refuge from it in the top of a high tree which it cannot get up, it stands at the foot, and curling its tail into a sort of ladle, it tosses its water up – this in a very few moments brings its victim down. If any one to avoid it gets into a well, it will stand at the brink and cast its dung and urine down, and if one drop of this falls upon a man he will die.

4. Horses imported, Shihabuddin al Umari[65]

Camels are few; they are only for the Sultan and for those from among the Khans, Amirs, Wazirs and high office-bearers who are with him.

Horses are numerous, there are two kinds: Arabian and pack horses, and mostly their work is not worth the praise. Therefore, they are imported to India from the neighbouring countries of the Turks. Arabian horses are brought from Bahrain, Yemen and Iraq in spite of the fact that in the interior of India there are Arabian horses of noble descent: which are cheap in price, but they are only few in number. When the horses stay in India for a long time, their legs become weak.

As regards the mules and donkeys, it is according to their opinion, a great disgrace and a shame to ride them. No jurist or man of letters will think it proper to ride a mule. As regards the donkey, it is a great insult and disgrace to ride it according to them, but everyone rides the horse. The loads of the noblemen are carried on horses, and common people carry them on oxen. They are quick-footed and go with long strides.

5. Trained elephants in India the Greater, Friar Jordanus[66]

These animals [elephants] are marvellous; for they exceed in size and bulk and strength, and also in understanding, all the animals of the world. This

animal hath a big head; small eyes, smaller than a horse's; ears like the wings of owls or bats; a nose reaching quite to the ground extending right down from the top of his head; and two tusks standing out of remarkable magnitude (both in) bulk and length, which are (in fact) teeth rooted in the upper jaw. This animal doth everything by word of command; so that his driver hath nothing to do but say once, 'Do this,' and he doeth it; nor doth he seem in other respects a brute, but rather a rational creature. They have very big feet, with six hoofs like those of an ox, or rather of a camel. This animal carrieth easily upon him, with a certain structure of timber, more than thirty men; and he is a most gentle beast, and trained for war, so that a single animal counteth by himself equal in war to 1,500 men and more; for they bind to his tusks blades or maces of iron wherewith he smiteth. Most horrible are the powers of this beast, and specially in war.

Two things there be which cannot be withstood by arms; one is the bolt of heaven; the second is a stone from an artillery engine; this is a third! For there is nothing that either can or dare stand against the assault of an elephant in any manner. A marvelous thing! He kneeleth, lieth, sitteth, goeth, and cometh, merely at his master's word. In short, it is impossible to write in words the peculiarities of this animal.

6. The elephants of Hindustan, Timur[67]

It had been constantly dinned into the ears of my soldiers that the chief reliance of the armies of Hindustan was on their mighty elephants; that these animals, in complete armour marched into battle in front of their forces, and that arrows and swords were of no use against them; that in height and bulk they were like small mountains, and their strength was such that at a given signal they could tear up great trees and knock down strongly built walls; that in the battle-field they could take up the horse and his rider with their trunks and hurl them into the air. Some of the soldiers, in the doubt natural to man, brought some little of what they had heard to my attention, so when I assigned their respective positions to the princes and *amirs* of the right and left wing and of the centre, I enquired of the learned and good men that accompanied my army, such as…where they would like to be placed in the day of battle. They had been with me in many campaigns and had witnessed many a great battle, but the stories about the elephants of India had so affected them that they instantly replied that they would like to

be placed with the ladies while the battle was in progress. So to allay the apprehensions of this class of men I gave orders that all the buffalos which had been taken and placed with the baggage should be brought up; I then had their heads and necks fastened to their legs, and placed the animals inside the *abattis*.

7. Elephants of the Delhi Sultan, Timur[68]

I sent a party of men into the city to bring out the elephants which Sultan Mahmud had abandoned when he fled. They found 120 enormous elephants and several rhinoceroses, which they brought out to my Court. As the elephants passed by me I was greatly amused to see the tricks which their drivers had taught them. Every elephant, at the sign of the driver, bowed his head to the ground, made his obeisance, and uttered a cry. At the direction of their drivers they picked up any object from the ground with their trunks and placed it in their driver's hands, or put it into their mouths and kept it. When I saw these mighty animals, so well trained and so obedient to weak man, I was greatly astonished, and I ordered that they should be sent to Turan and Iran, to Fars, and Azur, and Rum, so that the princes and nobles throughout my dominions might see these animals. Accordingly I sent five to Samarkand, two to Tabriz, one to Shiraz, five to Hirat, one to Sharwan, and one to Azurbaijan.

8. "A very intelligent animal," Gonzalez de Clavijo, emissary of Enrique III of Castile to Tamerlane from 1403-1406[69]

The elephant is a very intelligent animal and obeys readily what his guide wishes him to do. The man who guides him, sits on his neck, with his legs across the beast's ears. He carries a goad in his hand, with which he scratches its head, and makes it go where he wishes, for when he makes a sign with the goad, it goes in the direction pointed out. When it fights, the guide is armed, as well as the elephant. It walks like a bear, it jumps, and at each jump, it wounds with swords fastened to the trunk. When they wish these elephants to fight, the guides hit them on the forehead with the goad, and make great wounds; and when they feel the wounds, they give loud grunts, like pigs, and with open mouth, rush on in the direction pointed out by the guide. The wounds heal in the night, if they leave the beasts in the open air, but if they are put under a roof, they will die. When the guide orders the elephant to take anything off the ground, however heavy it may

be, it raises it with its trunk and gives it to the men who are in the castle on its back; and when those in the castle want to come down, they order it to stoop, and it stretches out its fore and hind legs in opposite directions, and touches the ground with its belly, while the men descend by cords which hang from the castle…

I hold it to be true, from what I…saw; that one elephant is worth a thousand men in a battle; for when they are amongst men, they rush about wounding everyone; and when they are themselves wounded, they become more fierce, rush about more wildly, and fight better. As the tusks are too high up for them to wound with them, they fasten swords to them, so that they may wound the people under them. They go a day or two without eating, and they are even able to go three days without food.

9. Royal elephants at Vijayanagar, Abder Razzak[70]

Although the king possesses a considerable number of elephants in his dominions, the largest of these animals are kept near the palace, in the interior of the first and second fortress, between the north and the west. These elephants copulate, and bring forth young. The king possesses one white elephant of an extremely great size, on whose body are scattered here and there grey spots like freckles. Every morning this animal is led out before the monarch, and the sight of him seems to act as a happy omen. The elephants of the palace are fed upon *kitchri*. This substance is cooked, and it is taken out of the copper in the elephant's presence; salt is thrown on it, and fresh sugar is sprinkled over it, and the whole is then mixed well together. They then make balls of it, weighing about two *man,* and, after steeping them in butter, they put them into the elephant's mouth. If one of these ingredients has been forgotten, the elephant attacks his keeper, and the king punishes this negligence severely. These animals take this food twice a day.

Each elephant has a separate compartment, the walls of which are extremely solid, and the roof composed of strong pieces of wood. The neck and the back of these animals are bound with chains, the end of which is strongly fastened to the top of the roof. If they were fixed otherwise, the elephant would easily undo them: the fore feet also are held by chains.

10. Mode of catching elephants, Abder Razzak[71]

The mode of catching the elephant is as follows. On the road which the animal takes when he goes to drink, they dig a trench, and cover the mouth of it over, but very lightly. When an elephant falls into it, two or three days are allowed to elapse before anyone goes near him. At the end of that time a man comes and strikes the animal with several blows of a stick well applied: upon this another man shows himself, and violently drives away the man who struck the blows, and, seizing his stick, hurls it a great way off; after which he throws some food to the elephant, and goes away. For several days the first of these men comes to beat the elephant, and the second prevents him from continuing to do so. Before long the animal becomes very friendly with this latter individual, who by degrees, approaches the elephant, and offers him fruits, for which this animal is known to have a liking. He then scratches him and rubs him, and the elephant, won over by this maneuver, submits without resistance, and allows a chain to be passed round his neck.

Elephant hunting by kings

Even the sovereigns of Hindoostan take part in hunting the elephant. They remain a whole month, or even more, in the desert or in the jungles, and when they have taken any of these animals, they are very proud of it. Sometimes they cause criminals to be cast under the feet of an elephant that the animal may crush them to pieces with his knees, his trunk, and his tusks. The merchants who trade in elephants go to seek them in the island of Ceylon, and export them to different countries, where they sell them according to the tariff, which varies by the *ghez.*

11. Serpents in Malabar, Nicolo Conti[72]

There are also serpents without feet, six ells in length, wild, but harmless unless irritated [pythons]. They are pleased with the sight of little children, and by this means are enticed into the presence of men. In the same province, and also in another called Susinaria, there is found another kind of serpent with four feet, and an oblong tail like that of large dogs, which are hunted for food. It is as harmless as kids or goats, and the flesh is prized as the best kind of food.

This region also produces other serpents of a remarkable form, one cubit in length and winged like bats. They have seven heads arranged along the body, and live in trees. They are extremely rapid in flight, and the most

venomous of all, destroying men by their breath alone. There are also flying cats, for they have a pellicle extending from the fore to the hinder feet and attached to the body, which is drawn up when they are at rest. They fly from tree to tree by extending their feet and shaking their wings. When pursued by hunters they fall to the earth when fatigued by flying, and so are taken.

12. Wildlife in Aland, Athanasius Nikitin[73]

In that Aland (Aladinand?) there is a bird, *gookook,* that flies at night and cries 'gookook,' and any roof it lights upon, there the man will die; and whoever attempts to kill it, will see fire flashing from its beak. Wild cats rove at night and catch fowls; they live in the hills and among stones. As to monkeys, they live in the woods and have their monkey *kniaz,* who is attended by a host of armed followers. When any of them is caught they complain to their *kniaz*, and an army is sent after the missing; and when they come to a town they pull down the houses and beat the people; and their armies, it is said, are many. They speak their own tongues and bring forth a great many children; and, when a child is unlike its father or its mother, it is thrown out on the high road. Thus they are often caught by the Hindoos, who teach them every sort of handicraft, or sell them at night, that they may not find their way home, or teach them dancing.

13. Birds in India the Less, Friar Jordanus[74]

As for birds I say plainly that they are of quite different kinds from what are found on this side of the world; except, indeed, crows and sparrows; for there be parrots and popinjays in very great numbers, so that a thousand or more may be seen in a flock. These birds, when tamed and kept in cages, speak so that you would take them for rational beings. There be also bats really and truly as big as kites. These birds fly nowhither by day, but only when the sun sets. Wonderful! By day they hang themselves up on trees by the feet, with their bodies downwards, and in the day time they look just like big fruit on the tree.

There are also other birds, such as peacocks, quails, Indian fowls, and others, divers in kind; some white as white can be, some green as green can be, some parti-coloured, of such beauty as is past telling.

14. Birds in India the Greater, Friar Jordanus[75]

Of birds I say this: that there be many different from those of Lesser India, and of different colours; for there be some white all over as snow; some red

as scarlet of the grain; some green as grass; some parti-coloured; in such quantity and delectability as cannot be uttered. Parrots also, or popinjays, after their kind, of every possible colour except black, for black ones are never found; but white all over, and green, and red, and also of mixed colours. The birds of this India seem really like creatures of Paradise...

There is also in this India a certain bird, big like a kite, having a white head and belly, but all red above, which boldly snatches fish out of the hands of fishermen and other people, and indeed (these birds) go on just like dogs.

There is also another big bird, not like a kite, which flies only at night, and utters a voice in the night season like the voice of a man wailing from the deep.

What shall I say then? Even the Devil too there speaketh to men, many a time and oft, in the night season, as I have heard [a reference to the night-hawk].

Everything indeed is a marvel in this India! Verily it is quite another world!

15. Talking parrots, Timur[76]

Bahadur Nahir [from the city of Kutila] sent to me as a tribute two white parrots which could talk well and pleasantly. The envoys presented them to me, and told me that these two parrots had belonged to Sultan Tughlik Shah, and that they had lived at the courts of the Sultans ever since. The sight of these parrots and the sound of their voices gave me great satisfaction, so I gave directions that they should be brought before me in their cages every day that I might listen to their talk.

16. A unique bird, Nicolo Conti[77]

He says that on the boundaries of central India there is an unique bird called semenda, in. the beak of which there are, as it were, several distinct pipes with many openings. When death approaches, this bird collects a quantity of dry wood in its nest, and, sitting upon it, sings so sweetly with all its pipes that it attracts and soothes the hearers to a marvellous degree; then igniting the wood by flapping its wings, it allows itself to be burnt to death. In a short time a worm is produced from the ashes and from this worm the same kind of bird is again produced. The inhabitants have made a pipe of admirable sweetness for singing, in imitation of the bill of this bird.

17. Insects in India the Greater, Friar Jordanus[78]

There is there also a certain kind of wasps, which make it their business to kill very big spiders whenever they find them, and after-wards to bury them in the sand, in a deep hole which they make, and so to cover them up that there is no man in the world who can turn them up, or find the place.

There is also a kind of very small ants, white as wool, which have such hard teeth that they gnaw through even timbers and the joints of stones, and, in short whatever dry thing they find on the face of the earth, and mutilate woollen and cotton clothes. And they build out of the finest sand a crust like a wall, so that the sun cannot reach them, and so they remain covered. But if that crust happens to get broken, so that the sun reaches them, they incontinently die.

As regards insects, there be wonders, so many, great, and marvelous, that cannot be told.

D. Precious Stones and Metals

1. Stones like cat's eyes in Malabar, Chau Ju-Kua[79]

There is in this country a river of brackish water, which, at a certain point where its different channels meet, becomes very broad. At this point its banks are bold cliffs in the face of which sparks (lit., stars) can constantly be seen, and these by their vital powers fructify and produce small stones like cat's-eyes, clear and translucid.

They lie buried in holes in (these) hills until some day they are washed out by the rush of a flood, when the officials send men in little boats to pick them up. They are prized by the natives.

2. Precious stones in India the Less, Friar Jordanus[80]

In this India are many and divers precious stones, among which are the best diamonds under heaven. These stones never can be dressed or shaped by any art, except what nature has given. But I omit the properties of these stones, not to be prolix. In this India are many other precious stones, endowed with excellent virtues, which may be gathered by anybody; nor is anyone hindered.

3. Metals in India the Less, Friar Jordanus[81]

In this India there exist not, nor is found, any metal but what comes from abroad, except gold, iron, and electrum.

4. Pearls in India the Greater, Friar Jordanus[82]

Between that island [Ceylon] and the main are taken pearls or marquerites, in such quantity as to be quite wonderful. So indeed that there are sometimes more than 8,000 boats or vessels, for three months continuously, (engaged in this fishery). It is astounding, and almost incredible, to those who have not seen it, how many are taken.

5. Precious stones at Cambay, Nicolo Conti[83]

Sailing in this wise together, he arrived in the course of a month at the very noble city of Cambay, situated in the second gulf [Gulf of Cambay] after having passed the mouth of the river Indus. In this country are found those precious stones called sardonixes.

6. Diamond mines, Nicolo Conti[84]

At fifteen days' journey beyond Bizenegalia, towards the north, there is a mountain called Albenigaras, surrounded by pools of water which swarm with venomous animals, and the mountain itself is infested with serpents. This mountain produces diamonds. The ingenuity of man, not having been able to find any mode of approaching the mountain, has, however, discovered a way of getting at the diamonds produced on it. There is another mountain near it, a little higher. Here, at a certain period of the year, men bring oxen, which they drive to the top, and having cut them into pieces, cast the warm and bleeding fragments upon the summit of the other mountain, by means of machines which they construct for that purpose. The diamonds stick to these pieces of flesh. Then come vultures and. Eagles flying to the spot, which, seizing the meat for their food, fly away with it to places where they may be safe from the serpents. To these places the men afterwards come, and collect the diamonds which have fallen from the flesh.

Other stones, which are considered precious, are procured with less difficulty. They dig holes near sandy mountains in places where the stones are found, and continue their excavations until they come to sand mixed with water. This sand they collect and wash with water, through sieves made for the purpose. The sand passes away through the sieve, and the stones, if any, are left behind: this mode of digging for stones of this description prevails universally. Great care is exercised by the masters to prevent theft by the workmen or servants, – overseers being appointed, who

not only shake the clothes of the operators, but even examine every part of their persons.

End-notes

1. Kia Tan [730-805], the great geographer of the Tang period, on the sea route to India, Hirth and Rockhill, p., 101

From Annam there exists (land) communication with Tien-chu (India), but as Ta-mo (Dharma, the first Buddhist patriarch in China) came by sail all the way to P'an-yu (Canton), we may draw the conclusion that this sea-route is the more practicable one to follow.

2. The *Primera cronica general* [a project of King Alfonso X (1252-1284) of Spain], refers to India as a symbol for the outer limits of the known world, Bryant p., 38

[In the list of peoples who aided Pompey in his struggle with Julius Caesar, are included] those from the farthest confines of the Orient, those from the banks of the river Ganges, those from the river Yndo, who are from the Indias, those from the river Ydaspe which enters into the Yndo,…and other peoples from other lands beyond which history does not name…[In another place, it states that the conquests of the Emperor Trajan extended beyond the Tigris and Euphrates, and he] came to even the ends of India, where no conquerer had ever reached, unless it was the great Alexander.

3. The work *Ling-wai-tai-ta* on India, Hirth and Rockhill, p., 101

Among the hundreds of countries in the West that are famous, the one which ranks the highest of all is Wang-sho-ch'ong, the Mid-India (Yin-tu) of the Tien-chu country, which owes its great fame to being the birthplace of the Buddha.

Tradition says that to the east of this country is the Hei-shui river or 'Black water-muddy river' [Irrawadi?] and a Sea. Still farther east beyond this are the Western Regions (Turkestan), the T'u-fan (the Tibetans), Ta-li (Yu-nan) and Kiau-chi (Tongking). To the west of this country is the Eastern Ocean of the Ta-shi (Arabs), and still farther west than this are the realms of the Ta-shi. To the south of (Mid-India) is an island called the kingdom of Si-lan (Ceylon), and its sea is called the Sea of Si-lan.

In olden times the envoy Chang K'ien being in Ta-hia (Bactria) learnt that the land of Shou-tu (India) was 1000 *li* south-east of Tahia. He also learnt that the kingdom of Ta-li (S.W. Yu-nan) was not more than forty stages from Wang-sho ch'ong (Mid-India).

4. Even travellers who took the land route across Asia from China to the West were interested in India; Friar William of Rubruck on his conversation with envoys of an Indian ruler who had brought presents for the Mongol ruler, Mangu Khan in A.D. 1254, Rockhill, p, 248

With the feast of Pentecost (31st May [1254]) they began preparing the letter which he (the Chan) was to send you. In the meanwhile he came back to Caracarum, and held his great ceremony on the octave of Pentecost (7th June), and he wanted all the ambassadors to be present the last day of it. He sent also for me…I saw also the envoy of a certain Soldan of India, who had brought eight leopards and ten greyhounds taught to sit on horses' backs, as leopards sit. When I asked them concerning India, in what direction it was from that place, they pointed to the west. And these envoys went back with me for nearly three weeks, always going westward.

❑

CHAPTER — 2

Social Life, Customs and Manners

A. Some Descriptions of the People
B. Cleanliness, Dress and Appearance
C. Diet
D. Dwellings
E. Glimpses of People in Some Regions
F. Festivals
G. Funeral Rites

A. Some Descriptions of the People

1. Distinctive traits, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[1]

Sometimes they (Indians) fight each other over sovereignty, but this is rare: I have not seen anyone ousting another person from his kingdom except the people who are next to the land of pepper. Whenever a king subjugates a kingdom, he entrusts the kingdom to a person belonging to the family of the defeated king, who remains under his authority. The people of the kingdom do not accept any other arrangement except this…Neither the Indians nor the Chinese get circumcised.

2. Comparison of India and China, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[2]

The Chinese have no science *('ilm)*. Their religion originated in India; they assert that it were the Indians who procured their idols for them, and that they are the people who possess religion. The inhabitants of both the countries believe in metempsychosis, but they differ in the details *(furu, lit.* consequences) of their religious practices. The Indians have medicine and philosophy. The Chinese also have medicine, but their medical science is mostly cauterisation. They have knowledge of astronomy, but in India it is more popular.

3. Abstemious by temperament, Sulaiman [3]

The Chinese are men of pleasure; but the Indians condemn pleasure, and abstain from it. They do not take wine, nor do they take vinegar, which is

made of wine. This does not arise from religious scruples, but from their disdain of it. They say, "The prince who drinks wine is no true king." The Indians are surrounded by enemies, who war against them, and they say "How can a man who inebriates himself conduct the business of a kingdom?"

Not warlike

The Indians sometimes go to war for conquest, but the occasions are rare. I have never seen the people of one country submit to the authority of another, except in the case of that country which comes next to the country of pepper [Malabar]. When a king subdues a neighboring state, he places over it a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince, who carries on the government in the name of the conqueror. The inhabitants would not suffer it to be otherwise.

4. 'Highly meritorious,' Jahiz of Basra[4]

The inhabitants of India are highly meritorious in astrology and medicine. They have a peculiar script. In medicine too they have a supreme insight. They have in their possession some strange secrets of the art of Aesculapius. They have medicines for some very fell diseases. In making busts and statues, in making pictures out of colours, and in architecture they are superb. They are the inventors of chess which is a game of mental gymnastics. They make fine swords and know how to wield them. They know incantations to annihilate the effects of poisoning and to cure aches. Their music is also enchanting. One of their musical instruments is known as *Kanka* (?) which is played on by striking a chord strung in a gourd. It sounds like the guitar and the conch shell…there is every variety of dance, and they have got different kinds of script. There is an uncommon fund of poetical wealth and oratorical affluence in their possession. They know the arts of medicine, philosophy and ethics. The book *Kalah wa Dimna,* has come to us from them. They have plenty of courage and common-sense and many qualities which are wanting even in the Chinese. Cleanliness is a noted feature. They have good looks, tall stature and a taste for perfumes. It is from their land that the peerless ambergris comes for the use of kings. Streams of high thinking flowed down from India to Arabia… They are the inventors of astronomical calculations. Their women are expert singers and their men are expert cooks. Dealers in monetary transactions do not entrust

their purses to any except them. The treasurer of every such dealer in Iraq must be a Sindhi or a son of a Sindhi. Their natural bias is towards figuring, monetary transactions and things like these. They make very honest and faithful servants.

5. Practice telepathy, Ibn Khurdadhbih[5]

The Indians claim that they can achieve their objectives with the help of magic. With its help they can cure poison and remove it from anyone who has been poisoned. They also practise telepathy and with its help they cause things to happen or prevent them from taking place and also cause harm or benefit. Again, they produce phantoms to the bewilderment of the sage. Then they claim that they can control the rains and cold.

6. Kings tolerant, Buzurg bin Shahriyar[6]

The Indian Rajahs are particularly well-disposed towards the Muslims.

7. Men of wisdom, Yaqubi[7]

The Indians are men of wisdom and vision, and in wisdom are superior to all other nations. Their views on astronomy are most authentic. Their dictums in medicine are preferable.

8. Nothing indecent to be seen, Abu Zaidu-l Hasan, of Sira[8]

There is no kingdom which has a more dense population than Kumar. Here every one walks on foot. The inhabitants abstain from licentiousness, and from all sorts of wine. Nothing indecent is to be seen in this country.

9. Endowed with sagacity, Al Masudi[9]

A group of the people of insight and investigation, who have devoted their attention to and contemplated over the nature and origin of this world, have stated that in the ancient times the Indians were the people endowed with righteousness and sagacity…

10. Distinct from all other black people, Al Masudi[10]

There prevails a great difference of language and religion in these kingdoms, and they are frequently at war with each other. The most of them believe in the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindus are distinct from all other black people, as the Zanjis, the Damadams, and others, in point of intellect, government, philosophy, strength of constitution, and purity of colour.

Abstain from drinking wine

The Hindus abstain from drinking wine, and censure those who consume it; not because their religion forbids it, but in the dread of its clouding their reason and depriving them of its powers. If it can be proved of one of their king's, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if his mind is affected.

11. An anonymous late 10th century Persian text, *Hudud al-alam* [The Limits of the World] has this section on Hindustan[11]

[Hindustan] possesses many amenities, a numerous population, and many kings…all through Hindustan, wine is held to be unlawful and adultery to be licit.…all the inhabitants are idolaters…[the] numerous idols of gold and silver [are tended by Brahmins; *zahidan wa brahmanan*]…whenever one of the chiefs dies, all the inferiors living under his shadow kill themselves.

12. Al- Bakri, the Arab author, on the similarity of customs in Russia and India[12]

They [the Russians] have customs like those of the Indians.

13. Land known for the wisdom of its people, Arab scholar, Sa'id ibn Ahmad al-Andalusi, in his *Tabaqat al-umam*, among the earliest books on the history of science[13]

The first nation to have cultivated science is India…India is known for the wisdom of its people. Over many centuries, all the kings of the past have recognised the ability of the Indians in all the branches of knowledge…The Indians, known to all nations for many centuries, are the metal [essence] of wisdom, the source of fairness and objectivity. They are people of sublime pensiveness, universal apologues, and useful and rare inventions...To their credit the Indians have made great strides in the study of numbers and of geometry. They have acquired immense information and reached the zenith in their knowledge of the movements of stars [astronomy]…After all that they have surpassed all other peoples in their knowledge of medical sciences.

14. Hindus entirely different from Muslims, Alberuni[14]

For the reader must always bear in mind that the Hindus entirely differ from us in every respect, many a subject appearing intricate and obscure

which would be perfectly clear if there were more connection between us. The barriers which separate Muslims and Hindus rest on different causes...

Differences in manners and customs

…in all manners and usages they differ from us to such a degree as to frighten their children with us, with our dress, and our ways and customs, and as to declare us to be devil's breed, and our doings as the very opposite of all that is good and proper. By the by, we must confess, in order to be just, that a similar depreciation of foreigners not only prevails among us and the Hindus, but is common to all nations towards each other…

Another source of difference – self-conceit of Hindus

…there are other causes, the mentioning of which sounds like a satire – peculiarities of their national character, deeply rooted in them, but manifest to everybody. We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid. They are by nature niggardly in communi-cating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan and Persis, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is.

One of their scholars, Varahamihira, in a passage where he calls on the people to honour the Brahmans, says: "the Greeks, though impure, must be honoured, since they were trained in sciences, and therein excelled others. What, then, are we to say of a Brahman, if he combines with his purity the height of science?" In former times, the Hindus used to acknowledge that the progress of science due to the Greeks is much more important than that which is due to themselves. But from this passage of Varahamihira alone you see what a self-lauding man he is, whilst he gives himself airs as doing justice to others. At first I stood to their astronomers in the relation of a

pupil to his master, being a stranger among them and not acquainted with their peculiar national and traditional methods of science. On having made some progress, I began to show them the elements on which this science rests, to point out to them some rules of logical deduction and the scientific methods of all mathematics, and then they flocked together round me from all parts, wondering, and most eager to learn from me, asking me at the same time from what Hindu master I had learnt those things, whilst in reality I showed them what they were worth, and thought myself a great deal superior to them, disdaining to be put on a level with them. They almost thought me to be a sorcerer, and when speaking of me to their leading men in their native tongue, they spoke of me as the sea or as *the water which is so acid that vinegar in comparison* is *sweet*...

Similar attitude of ancient Greeks

The heathen Greeks, before the rise of Christianity, held much of the same opinions as the Hindus; their educated classes thought much the same as those of the Hindus; their common people held the same idolatrous views as those of the Hindus. Therefore I would like to confront the theories of the one nation with those of the other simply on account of their close relationship, not in order to correct them…

15. People skilful, Gardizi[15]

The people of India are skillful, clever, and shrewd. They make good and subtle things. From their midst come many sages, especially in the province (*vilayat*) of Kashmir. Their arts are very prodigious. In their religion there are differences, as well as in their customs. I have set forth here information about them such as I could find, in order that it should be known.

The Indians are very fastidious in maintaining (the rules of) relationship and will not take a wife from anywhere, or give a girl away unless the match suit their origin.…

Excel in singing and dancing

(They excel in) the art of singing and dancing and in the construction of implements of merriment: they operate *(bijunbanand)* some wonderful stringed instruments *(rud)* in a most difficult way while no other limb *(andam)* is moving (unnecessarily).

They have invented *(nihada-and)* manifold arms in great numbers (?) and they fabricate implements *(saz)* of war, such as horns *(buq)* and drums, as

well as contraptions producing fearful *(faji)* and terrifying sounds, such as the voice of the elephant or the roaring of the lion or of the tiger, so that he who hears then becomes terror-stricken and horror and dismay fill his heart.

And (they) also (make) stringed instruments for merriments and concerts.

The men producing such things are in the east of India (in the region) called KAMRUP. They make such things that whoever sees them or hears them admits that they are not human beings, but peris.

16. Love painting, Sharif al Idrisi of the royal family of Africa[16]

No other art is given preference over the art of drawing or making pictures. The art of pottery is placed on a par with it in being superior (to other arts).

17. Naturally inclined to justice, Sharif al Idrisi[17]

The Indians are naturally inclined to justice and never depart from it in their actions. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements are well known, and they are so famous for these qualities that people flock to their country from every side; hence the country is flourishing and their condition prosperous. Among other characteristic marks of their love of truth and horror of vice, the following is related: When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him has only to draw a circular line upon the ground and to make his debtor enter it which the latter never fails to do and the debtor cannot leave this circle without satisfying his creditor or obtaining the remission of the debt.

18. *Yin-du* famous for medicines, walnuts, precious stones, Chang Te[18]

The country of *Yin-du* (Hindustan) is the nearest to China. The population of it is estimated at twelve millions of families. There are in that country famous medicines, great walnuts, precious stones, *Ki she* (cloves), *pin t'ie* (fine steel) and other products. In this kingdom there are large bells suspended near the palace of the ruler. People who have to prefer a complaint strike against the bell. Then their names are registered and their cause is investigated. The houses are made of reeds. As it is very hot there in summer, people pass the whole time in water…diamonds came from *Yin-du*.

19. Sitting on ground honourable, Marco Polo[19]

Their mode of sitting is upon carpets on the ground; and when asked why they sit in that manner, they reply that a seat on the earth is honourable; that as we are sprung from the earth, so we shall again return to it; that none can do it sufficient honour, and much less should any despise the earth.

Unwarlike

The people go to battle with lances and shields, but without clothing, and are a despicable unwarlike race. They do not kill cattle nor any kind of animals for food, but when desirous of eating the flesh of sheep or other beasts, or of birds, they procure the Saracens, who are not under the influence of the same laws and customs, to perform the office.

No wine drinking

These people abstain from drinking wine made from grapes; and should a person be detected in the practice, so disreputable would it be held, that his evidence would not be received in court. A similar prejudice exists against persons frequenting the sea, who, they observe, can only be people of desperate fortunes, and whose testimony, as such, ought not to be admitted.

Boys start earning when thirteen

As soon as a son attains the age of thirteen years, they set him at liberty, and no longer suffer him to be an inmate in his father's house; giving him to the amount, in their money, of twenty to twenty-four groats. Thus provided, they consider him as capable of gaining his own livelihood, by engaging in some kind of trade and thence deriving a profit. These boys never cease to run about in all directions during the whole course of the day, buying an article in one place, and selling it in another. At the season when the pearl fishery is going on, they frequent the beach, and make purchases from the fishermen or others, of five, six, or more (small) pearls, according to their means, carrying them afterwards to the merchants, who, on account of the heat of the sun, remain sitting in their houses, and to whom they say: "These pearls have cost us so much; pray allow such a profit on them as you may judge reasonable." The merchants then give something beyond the price at which they had been obtained. In this way likewise they deal in many other articles, and become excellent and most acute traders. When business is over for the day, they carry to their mothers the provisions necessary for their dinners, which they prepare and dress for them; but these never eat anything at their fathers' expense.

Black colour sign of beauty

In this province the natives, although black, are not born of so deep a dye as they afterwards attain by artificial means, esteeming blackness the perfection of beauty. For this purpose, three times every day, they rub the children over with oil of sesame. The images of their deities they represent black, but the devil they paint white, and assert that all the demons are of that colour.

Addicted to divination

The people are gross idolaters, and much addicted to sorcery and divination. When they are about to make a purchase of goods, they immediately observe the shadow cast by their own bodies in the sunshine; and if the shadow be as large as it should be, they make the purchase that day. Moreover, when they are in any shop for the purpose of buying anything, if they see a tarantula, of which there are many there, they take notice from which side it comes, and regulate their business accordingly. Again, when they are going out of their houses, if they hear anyone sneeze, they return into the house, and stay at home. They are very abstemious in regard to eating, and live to an advanced age. Their teeth are preserved sound by the use of a certain vegetable which they are in the habit of masticating. It also promotes digestion, and conduces generally to the health of the body.

20. Men civil and friendly, John of Monte Corvino[20]

But India is a region of great extent, and it hath many realms and many languages. And the men thereof are civil and friendly enough, but of few words, and remind me somewhat of our peasants. They are not, strictly speaking, black, but of an olive colour, and exceedingly well formed both women and men. They go barefoot and naked, except that they wear a cloth round the loins, and boys and girls up to eight years of age wear nothing whatever, but go naked as they came from their mother's womb. They shave not the beard; many times a day they wash; bread and wine they have none. of the fruit that we make use of they have few or none; but for their daily food they use rice and a little milk; and they eat grossly like pigs, to wit, with the whole hand or fist, and without a spoon. In fact, when at their food they do look more like pigs than men.

21. Great security in the country, John of Monte Corvino[21]

There is great security in the country. Bandits and robbers are seldom met with; but they have many exactions to pay. There are few craftsmen, for craft and craftsmen have little remuneration, and there is little room for them. They commonly use swords and daggers like ourselves; and if actually they have a battle they make short work of it, however great the forces be, for they go to battle naked, with nothing but sword and dagger. They have among them a few Saracen mercenaries, who carry bows.

22. Rhabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda and later Archbishop of Mainz, in his work *De Universo*[22]

[The Indian] …possesses the gold of wisdom and the silver of eloquence and the gems of all virtues in sufficient measure.

23. Have the greatest control over their passions, Shihabuddin al Umari[23]

Its people have wisdom and great intelligence. of all nations they have the greatest control over their passions and devote themselves most to what is regarded as bringing one near unto God….

The Indians are the most learned people in the branches of philosophy, medicine, arithmetic and (skilled) in all the wonderful crafts which it is impossible to imitate.

24. Most learned people, Subh-ul-A'sha[24]

The author of *Masalik ul Absar* [Ibn Fazullah ul-Umari]…continues, "Mohammad b. 'Abdur Rahim al-Qaist has described this country, in his book *Tuhfat ul-Albab* saying: huge country, great justice, considerable wealth, fine management, constant satisfaction, and security wherewith there is no fear in the country of India. The Indians are the most learned people in the branches of Philosophy, Medicine, Geometry and in all the wonderful arts."

25. A Spaniard, an anonymous Franciscan monk in his *Book of the knowledge of all the Kingdoms, Lands, and Lordships That Are in the World*[25]

They are men of clear understanding and good memories, learned in the sciences and live according to law. They say that the men who first heard of science and learning were these and that the Persians heard of these things from them…

26. Excel in riches, politeness, and magnificence, Nicolo Conti[26]

All India is divided into three parts: one, extending from Persia to the Indus; the second, comprising the district from the Indus to the Ganges; and the third, all that is beyond. This third part excels the others in riches, politeness, and magnificence, and is equal to our own country in the style in civilisation. For the inhabitants have most sumptuous buildings, elegant habitations, and handsome furniture; they lead a more refined life, removed from all barbarity and coarseness. The men are extremely humane, and the merchants very rich, so much so that some will carry on their business in forty of their own ships, each of which is valued at fifty thousand gold pieces. These alone use tables at their meals, in the manner of Europeans, with silver vessels upon them; whilst the inhabitants of the rest of India eat upon carpets spread upon the ground. There are no vines, nor is the use of wine known among the Indians; but they make a drink similar to wine of pounded rice mixed with water, the juice of certain trees, of a red colour, being added to it. In Taprobana they cut off the branches of a tree called *thal*, and hang them up on high: these branches give out a sweet juice, which is a favourite drink with them.

Holy lake

There is also a lake lying between the Indus and the Ganges, the water of which possesses a remarkable flavour and is drunk with great pleasure. All the inhabitants of that district, and even those living at a great distance, flock to this lake for the purpose of procuring the water. By means of relays of carriers mounted on horse-back, they draw the water fresh every day.

They have no corn or bread, but live upon a certain kind of meal, rice, flesh, milk, and cheese. They have a great quantity of poultry, capons, partridges, pheasants, and other wild birds. They are much addicted to fowling and hunting.

They have no beards, but very long hair. Some tie their hair at the back of their head with a silken cord, and let it flow over their shoulders, and in this way go to war. They have barbers like ourselves.

The men resemble Europeans in stature and the duration of their lives. They sleep upon silken mattresses, on beds ornamented with gold. The style of dress is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk, and of these they make their garments.

Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees, and over this a garment of linen or silk, which, with the men, descends to just below the knees, and with the women to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they only wear sandals, with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues. In some places the women have shoes made of thin leather, ornamented with gold and silk. By way of ornament they wear rings of gold on their arms and on their hands; also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems.

Public women are everywhere to be had, residing in particular houses of their own in all parts of the cities, who attract the men by sweet perfumes and ointments, by their blandishments, beauty, and youth; for the Indians are much addicted to licentiousness; but unnatural crimes are unknown among them.

The manner of adorning the head is various, but for the most part the head is covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, the hair being bound up with a silken cord. In some places they twist up the hair upon the top of the head, like a pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of various colours interwoven with gold, hang suspended over the hair. Some wear false hair, of a black colour, for that is the colour held in highest estimation. Some cover the head with the leaves of trees painted, but none paint faces, with the exception of those who dwell near Cathay.

27. Pestilence unknown, Nicolo Conti[27]

Pestilence is unknown among the Indians; neither are they exposed to those diseases which carry off the population in our own countries: the consequence is that the number of these people and nations exceeds belief. They armies consist of a million of men and upwards.

28. Good at calculations, Ma Huan[28]

They have no abacus on which to make their calculations, but in its place they use their toes and fingers, and, what is very wonderful, they are never wrong in their reckonings.

29. Bow on meeting, Athanasius Nikitin[29]

On meeting together, they bow to each other like the monks, touching the ground with both hands, but say nothing.

B. Cleanliness, Dress and Appearance

1. Bathe frequently, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[30]

The Indians take a bath every day before having their meals. The Indians do not cohabit with the woman during the period of menstruation; they make them leave their homes and keep away from them [from their impurity]. [On the other hand] the Chinese cohabit with them during the period of menstruation and do not make them leave [their homes). The Indians clean their teeth and no one takes food before cleaning them or before having a bath, but the Chinese do not follow this practice.

2. At Kulin, anoint bodies with turmeric, Chau Ju-Kua[31]

Whenever they (i.e., the inhabitants) have taken a bath, they anoint their bodies with *yu-kin* (turmeric), as they like to have their bodies gilt like that of a Buddha.

3. Bathe twice a day, Marco Polo [32]

Both men and women wash their whole bodies in water twice every day, that is, in the morning and the evening. Until this ablution has taken place they neither eat nor drink; and the person who should neglect this observance, would be regarded as a heretic.

4. Bathe in cold water, Nicolo Conti[33]

Warm baths are not used amongst them, excepting by Indians of the superior classes to the north of the Ganges. The others wash themselves many times in the day with cold water.

DRESS AND APPEARANCE

1. Keep long beards, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind,* An Account of China and India[34]

The Indians keep long beards. I have often seen a man with a beard as long as three cubits; they do not trim their moustache. Most of the Chinese have no beards which is natural to most of them. In India, when a person dies, they completely shave his head and beard.

2. Dress at Mansura and Multan, Abu Ishak al Istakhri[35]

The dress of the people is like that of the people of Irak, but the dress of their kings resembles that of the kings of India in respect of the hair and the tunic...

The people of Multan wear trousers, and most of them speak Persian and Sindi, as in Mansura.

3. Dress at Kulin, the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*[36]

The people of Ku-lin are black, they wrap their bodies in white cotton cloth, wear their beards and all their hair loose and uncovered. They wear red leather shoes, so they look when walking as if they had the painted feet of a *lo-han...* The king wraps his body in cotton-cloth, when he goes out he is carried in a litter *(juan-tou)* of cotton cloth, or else he rides on an elephant.

4. Dress at the court of T'ien-chu, Chau Ju-Kua[37]

The king dresses in brocaded silk, and his hair is wound into a spiral knot on the crown of his head; the rest of the hair is cut short. When holding his court in the morning he sits on a *tong* skin – *tong* being the name of an animal – ornamented with representations of various objects painted in red wax; and his courtiers make obeisance to him and pray for his life. When he goes forth he rides on horseback, and his saddle and bridle are thickly set with dark gold and silver. His followers, three hundred in number, are armed with spears and swords.

His consort wears a gold embroidered scarlet dress with large sleeves. Once a year she shows herself in public, when considerable bounty is given to the poor.

"In this country there is holy-water which can still the wind and waves. The foreign traders fill opaque glass bottles with it, and when they suddenly get in a rough sea they still it by sprinkling this water on it."

5. Dress of king of Maabar, Marco Polo [38]

The natives of this part of the country always go naked, excepting that they cover with a piece of cloth those parts of the body which modesty dictates. The king is no more clothed than the rest, except that he has a piece of richer cloth; but is honourably distinguished by various kinds of ornaments, such as a collar set with jewels, sapphires, emeralds, and rubies, of immense value. He also wears, suspended from the neck and reaching to

the breast, a fine silken string containing one hundred and four large and handsome pearls and rubies. The reason for this particular number is, that he is required by the rules of his religion to repeat a prayer or invocation so many times, daily, in honour of his gods, and this his ancestors never failed to perform. The daily prayer consists of these words, *pacauca, pacauca, pacauca* which they repeat one hundred and four [eight?] times. On each arm he wears three gold bracelets, adorned with pearls and jewels; on three different parts of the leg, golden bands ornamented in the same manner; and on the toes of his feet, as well as on his fingers, rings of inestimable value. To this king it is indeed a matter of facility to display such splendid regalia, as the precious stones and the pearls are all the produce of his own dominions.

6. Dress of people at Calicut, Abder Razzak[39]

The blacks of this country have the body nearly naked; they wear only bandages round the middle, called *lankoutah* [langot], which descend from the navel to above the knee. In one hand they hold an Indian poignard, which has the brilliance of a drop of water, and in the other a buckler of ox-hide, which might be taken for a piece of mist. This costume is common to the king and to the beggar.

As to the Mussulmauns, they dress themselves in magnificent apparel after the manner of the Arabs, and manifest luxury in every particular. After I had an opportunity of seeing a considerable number of Mussulmauns and Infidels, I had a comfortable lodging assigned to me, and after the lapse of three days was conducted to an audience with the king [the Zamorin]. I saw a man with his body naked, like the rest of the Hindus.

7. Dress at Junnar, Athanasius Nikitin[40]

In the land of India it is the custom for foreign traders to stop at inns; there the food is cooked for the guests by the landlady, who also makes the bed and sleeps with the stranger. Women that know you willingly concede their favours, for they like white men. In the winter, the people put on the fata and wear it round the waist, on the shoulders, and on the head; but the princes and nobles put trousers on, a shirt and a kaftan (a long coat), wearing a fata on the shoulders, another as a belt round the waist, and a third round the head.

C. Diet

1. Eat rice, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[41]

The food of the Indians consists of rice, and that of the Chinese wheat and rice. The Indians do not eat wheat.

2. Permissible and forbidden food, Alberuni [42]

Originally killing in general was forbidden to them, as it is to the Christians and Manicheans. People, however, have the desire for meat, and will always fling aside every order to the contrary. Therefore the here-mentioned law applies in particular only to the Brahmans, because they are the guardians of the religion, and because it forbids them to give way to their lusts. The same rule applies to those members of the Christian clergy who are in rank above the bishops, viz. the metropolitans, the *catholici,* and the patriarchs, not to the lower grades, such as presbyter and deacon, except in the case that a man who holds one of these degrees is at the same time a monk.

As matters stand thus, it is allowed to kill animals by means of strangulation, but only certain animals, others being excluded. The meat of such animals, the killing of which is allowed, is forbidden in case they die a sudden death. Animals the killing of which is allowed are sheep, goats, gazelles, hares, rhinoceroses *(gandha),* the buffaloes, fish, water and land birds, as sparrows, ring- doves, francolins, doves, peacocks, and other animals which are not loathsome to man nor noxious.

That which is forbidden are cows, horses, mules, asses, camels, elephants, tame poultry, crows, parrots, nightingales, all kinds of eggs and wine. The latter is allowed to the Sudra. He may drink it, but dare not sell it, as he is not allowed to sell meat.

3. Diet in Malabar, Chau Ju-Kua[43]

The people are very dainty in their diet; they have a hundred ways of cooking their food, which varies every day.

There is an officer called *Han-lin* who lays the viands and drinks before the king, and sees how much food he eats, regulating his diet so that he may not exceed the proper measure…

4. Mode of eating and drinking, Marco Polo [44]

It ought to be noticed, that in eating they make use of the right hand only, nor do they ever touch their food with the left. For every cleanly and delicate work they employ the former, and reserve the latter for the base uses of personal abstersion, and other offices connected with the animal functions.

They drink out of a particular kind of vessel, and each individual from his own, never making use of the drinking pot of another person. When they drink they do not apply the vessel to the mouth, but hold it above the head, and pour the liquor into the mouth, not suffering the vessel on any account to touch the lips. In giving drink to a stranger, they do not hand their vessel to him, but, if he is not provided with one of his own, pour the wine or other liquor into his hands, from which he drinks it, as from a cup.

5. Inhabitants of Diu drink rain water, Abulfeda[45]

A traveller states the following: Div is an Island which faces Kanbait (Cambay) from the southern side. Its inhabitants practice piracy and live in reed huts. Their drink is rain water.

6. Rice eaten in India the Less, Friar Jordanus[46]

Wheaten bread is there not eaten by the natives, although wheat they have in plenty; but rice is eaten with its seasoning, only boiled in water. And they have milk and butter and oil, which they often eat uncooked.

7. Hindus eat no meat, Athanasius Nikitin[47]

The Hindoos eat no meat, no cow flesh, no mutton, no chicken. The banquets were all on pork; and pigs are in great abundance. They take their meals twice a day, but not at night, and drink no wine nor mead; but with Mahommedans they neither eat nor drink. Their fare is poor. They eat not with one another nor with their wives, and live on Indian corn, carrots with oil, and different herbs. Always eating with the right hand, they will never set the left hand to anything nor use a knife; the spoon is unknown. In travelling everyone has a stone pot to cook his broth in. They take care that Mahommedans do not look into their pot, nor see their food, and should this happen they will not eat it; some, therefore, hide themselves under a linen cloth lest they should be seen when eating…They sit down to eat, and wash their hands and feet, and rinse their mouths before they do so.

8. Addicted to betel, Marco Polo[48]

All the people of this city [Kael], as well as the natives of India in general, are addicted to the custom of having continually in their mouths the leaf called *tembul;* which they do, partly from habit, and partly from the gratification it affords. Upon chewing it, they spit out the saliva to which it gives occasion. Persons of rank have the leaf prepared with camphor and other aromatic drugs, and also with a mixture of quicklime. I have been told that it is extremely conducive to health.

9. Guests honoured with betel, Shihabuddin al Umari[49]

Shibli told me that wine is not found in Delhi either in public or in secret because this sovereign is so severe against it and dislikes those who are addicted to it. Further the narrator continues: the Indians have no inclination for wine and alcoholic drinks, and content themselves with betel and this is permitted, and is agreeable without doubt and possesses qualities some of which are not found in wine. It perfumes the breath, promotes the digestion, cheers up the soul immensely and imparts extraordinary joy along with strengthening the intellect and clarifying the memory and is delightful in taste. As regards its components it is the leaf of betel, and betel-nut and lime which are specially prepared. He said: the people of this country do not consider an honour greater than this. When a man becomes the guest of another and honours him with all sorts of meals and roasts and sweets and drinks and perfumes and aromatics and he does not present along with them betel, it would not be considered for him an honour and he would not be considered to have honoured him. Likewise when a highly placed person wants to show regard to another, he offers him betel.

D. Dwellings

1. On the Coromandel Coast, Chau Ju-Kua[50]

"The walls of their rooms and the mats they sit on are besmeared with cow-dung, which they look upon as a clean substance. In their houses they set up altars, three feet high and which are reached by three steps, and on which daily in the morning they burn incense and offer flowers; this is called 'the offering to Fo.'"

When Arab *(Ta-shi)* foreigners come to this country they give them seats outside the doors and lodge them in separate houses supplied with beddings and household utensils.

2. Ingeniously contrived cots with mosquito nets, Marco Polo [51]

The natives make use of a kind of bedstead, or cot, of very light cane-work, so ingeniously contrived that when they repose on them, and are inclined to sleep, they can draw close the curtains about them by pulling a string. This they do in order to exclude the tarantulas, which bite grievously, as well as to prevent their being annoyed by fleas and other small vermin; whilst at the same time the air so necessary for mitigating the excessive heat, is not excluded. Indulgences of this nature, however, are enjoyed only by persons of rank and fortune; others of the inferior class lie in the open streets.

3. Ming ambassador on the royal dwelling at Pandua in 1415[52]

The dwelling of the King is all of bricks set in mortar, the flight of steps leading up to it is high and broad. The halls are flat-roofed and white-washed inside. The inner doors are of triple thickness and of nine panels. In the audience hall all the pillars are plated with brass ornamented with figures of flowers and animals, carved and polished. To the right and left are long verandahs on which were drawn up (on the occasion of our audience) over a thousand men in shining armour, and on horseback outside, filling the courtyard, were long ranks of (our) Chinese (soldiers) in shining helmets and coats of mail, with spears, swords, bows and arrows, looking martial and lusty. To the right and left of the King were hundreds of peacock feather umbrellas and before the hall were some hundreds of soldiers mounted on elephants. The king sat cross-legged in the principal hall on a high throne inlaid with precious stones and a two-edged sword lay across his lap.

4. Houses at Cochin, Ma Huan[53]

The houses are built of the wood of the cocoanut tree and are thatched with its leaves, which render them perfectly watertight.

E. Glimpses of people in some parts of India

THE ISLANDS

1. Women rulers in Laccadive and Maldive Islands, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[54]

Between it [Sea of Harkandh i.e., Bay of Bengal] and the Sea of Larvi [Lata for Gujarat] there are numerous islands…These islands are ruled by a woman…

It is said that no one can surpass the inhabitants of these islands in skill to the extent that they make the chemises out of a single piece woven together with the two sleeves, the two gores and the collar. They build boats and houses and work with similar skill in the manufacture of other industries…

2. People in the Andamans, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[55]

On the other side of these [islands] there are two islands, and between them there is the sea. They are called Andaman. Their inhabitants are cannibals. They are black with curly hair, and have ugly faces and eyes and long legs. Each one has a pudenda, that is to say, his penis, nearly a cubit long; and they are naked. They have no canoes; and if they had them, they would have eaten up anyone passing by them. Sometimes it so happens that the boats slow down, and their speed is retarded due to the [strong] wind. The [drinking] water in the boats gets used up; and so they [sailors] approach these (islands) and refill the water. Hence, sometimes they [the cannibals] capture some of them [the sailors], but most of them escape.

3. Barter in Nicobar Islands, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[56]

Lanjabalus…[Its inhabitants] do not understand Arabic nor any of the languages which the merchants know. These people do not wear any clothes. They are white and scanty bearded. They [the sailors] relate that they have never seen their womenfolk. This is because it is the men who come out to them from the island in canoes carved out of a single piece of wood. They carry with them coconut, sugarcane, bananas and coconut wine. This is a kind of drink *(sharab)*, white in colour. When it is taken soon after it is extracted from the palm-tree, it tastes sweet like honey; but if it is left for an hour, it turns into wine *(sharaban)*, and if it is left for some days, it turns into vinegar. They sell it in exchange for iron. Sometimes a little quantity of ambergris is found by them which they sell in exchange for a piece of iron. They carry on commercial transactions by signs, exchanging things by hand, for they do not understand the language. They are expert

swimmers. Sometimes, they carry away the iron forcibly from the merchants and do not give them anything [in return].

4. Ox worshipped in Nicobar Islands, Odoric of Pordenone[57]

Departing from that country and sailing towards the south over the Ocean Sea, I found many islands and countries, where among was one called Nicoveran. And this is a great isle, having a compass of a good 2,000 miles, and both the men and the women there have faces like dogs. And these people worship the ox as their god, wherefore they always wear upon the forehead an ox made of gold or silver, in token that he is their god. All the folk of that country, whether men or women, go naked, wearing nothing in the world but an handkerchief to cover their shame. They be stalwart men and stout in battle, going forth to war naked as they are with only a shield that covers them from head to foot. And if they hap to take any one in war who cannot produce money to ransom himself withal they do straightway eat him. But if they can get money from him they let him go.

And the king of that country weareth round his neck a string of three hundred very big pearls, for that he maketh to his gods daily three hundred prayers. He carrieth also in his hand a certain precious stone called a ruby, a good span in length and breadth, so that when he hath this stone in his hand it shows like a flame of fire. And this, it is said, is the most noble and valuable gem that existeth at this day in the world, and the great emperor of the Tartars of Cathay hath never been able to get it into his possession either by force or by money, or by any device whatever. This king attends to justice and maintains it, and throughout his realm all men may fare safely.

5. People live in caves in the Nicobars, Ma Huan[58]

In the Great Sea are the Tsui-lan shan (the Nicobar Islands). There are three or four islands (in the group). The highest is called Su-tu-man. Sailing before the north-east wind they can be reached from Mao shan (Pulo Weh) in three days.

The people all live in caves. All of them, males as well as females, go naked like wild animals, so they grow no rice, but feed on yams, bananas, jackfruit, and such like things, or on fish and prawns.

There is a foolish story to the effect that if they wore but little piece of cotton to hide their nakedness, they would have ulcers and sores. This is because when anciently the Buddha crossed the sea, on coming here he took

off his clothing and bathed, when the natives stole them. The Buddha thereupon cursed them. It is also commonly said that this is the country of Ch'ih-luan-wu [?].

SIND AND MULTAN

6. The infidels of Sind, Ibn Haukal[59]

The infidels who inhabit Sind are called Budha and Mand. They reside in the tract between Turan, Multan, and Mansura, to the west of the Mihran. They breed camels, which are sought after in Khurasan and elsewhere, for the purpose of having crosses from those of Bactria.

The city where the Budhites carry on their trade is Kandabil, and they resemble men of the desert. They live in houses made of reeds and grass. The Mands dwell on the banks of the Mihran, from the boundary of Multan to the sea, and in the desert between Makran and Famhal. They have many cattle sheds and pasturages, and form a large population.

7. The Jats, Ibn Haukal[60]

Between Mansura and Makran the waters from the Mihran form lakes, and the inhabitants of the country are the Indian races called Zat. Those who are near the river dwell in houses formed of reeds, like the Berbers, and eat fish and aquatic birds…Another clan of them, who live remote from the banks, are like the Kurds, and feed on milk, cheese, and bread made of millet.

8. Jats a robust race, Timur[61]

On the 8th of the month I marched from Ahruni, through the jungle to a village called Tohana. In answer to the inquiries I made about the inhabitants, I learned that they were a robust race, and were called *Jats.* They were Musulmans only in name and had not their equals in theft and highway robbery. They plundered caravans upon the road, and were a terror to Musulmans and travellers. They had now abandoned the village and had fled to the sugarcane fields, the valleys, and the jungles. When these facts reached my ears I prepared a force which I placed under the direction of Tokal Bahadur, son of the Hindu Karkarra, and sent it against the *Jats.* They accordingly marched into the sugarcanes and jungles. I also sent Maulana Nasirud din in pursuit of them. When these forces overtook the *Jats* they

put 200 to the sword and made the rest prisoners. A large stock of cattle was captured, and my soldiers returned to camp.

It was again brought to my knowledge that these turbulent *Jats* were as numerous as ants or locusts, and that no traveller or merchant passed unscathed from their hands. They had now taken flight, and had gone into jungles and deserts hard to penetrate. A few of them had been killed, but it was my fixed determination to clear from thieves and robbers every country that I subdued, so that the servants of God, and Musulmans and travellers might be secure from their violence.

My great object in invading Hindustan had been to wage a religious war against the infidel Hindus, and it now appeared to me that it was necessary for me to put down these *Jats* and to deliver travellers from their hands. I consequently placed the care of the baggage and of all the plunder which had been gained in my victories in the charge of Amir Sulaiman Shah, to convey it with the heavy baggage to the town of Samana.

On the 9th of the month I despatched the baggage from Tohana, and on the same day I marched into the jungles and wilds, and slew 2,000 demon-like *Jats*. I made their wives and children captives, and plundered their cattle and property. Thus I delivered the country from the terror it had long suffered at the hands of the marauding *Jats*.

9. The Meds, Al-Idrisi[62]

Mamhal is situated between Sind and India. Upon the confines of the desert just mentioned there dwells a hardy race called Mand [Med]. They graze their flocks to within a short distance of Mamhal. These people are numerous. They have many horses and camels, and they extend their incursions as far as Dur [Alor] upon the banks of the Mihran, and sometimes they penetrate even as far as the frontiers of Makran.

10. The Nadhas, Al-Idrisi[63]

From Multan to the vicinity of Mansura the country is occupied by a warlike race, called Nadha. It consists of a number of tribes scattered about between Tubaran Makran, Multan, and Mansura, like the Berber nomads. The Nadhas have peculiar dwellings, and marshes in which they take refuge, on the west of the Mihran. They possess excellent camels, and, particularly, a sort which they breed, called Karah. This is held in high esteem in Khurasan and the rest of Persia. It resembles the camel of Balkh

and the female camel of Samarkand, for it is of good temper and has two humps; not like the camels of our countries, which have only one.

11. Inhabitants of Sind, Chau Ju-Kua[64]

"Nan-ni-hua-lo city [perhaps in Sindh] has a triple wall. The inhabitants morning and evening bathe and besmear their bodies with *yu-kin* (turmeric), so as to look like golden coloured images (lit., Buddhas)." A large proportion of them are called P'o-lo-mon (Brahmans), as they are genuine descendants of Fo [Brahma]. ...

The native products include the best quality of putchuck, and fine white flowered (or dotted) cotton stuffs. The people eat much butter, rice, beans and vegetables: they rarely eat fish or meat.

A road leads to the Western Regions (Si-yu); when there are raids (on Nan-ni-hua-lo?) by the light horsemen of the Western Regions [early Muslim invaders of Sindh?], the only resistance they offer is to lock their gates. In a few days provisions run short, and (the raiders) withdraw of their own accord.

12. People in India the Less, Friar Jordanus[65]

Here be many and boundless marvels: and in this first India beginneth, as it were, another world; for the men and women be all black, and they have for covering nothing but a strip of cotton tied round the loins, and the end of it flung over the naked neck...

The people of this India are very clean in their feeding; true in speech, and eminent in justice, maintaining carefully the privilege of every man according to his degree, as they have come down from old times.

SOUTH INDIA

13. People of Malabar, Chau Ju-Kua[66]

The people of this country are of a dark brown complexion, the lobes of their ears reach down to their shoulders. They are skilled in archery and dexterous with the sword and lance. They love fighting and ride elephants in battle, when they also wear turbans of coloured silks.

They are extremely devout Buddhists [a confusion with Hindus].

14. People in Coromandel, Chau Ju-Kua[67]

"The inhabitants are hot-tempered and reckless of life; nay, in the presence of the king they will fight man to man with swords and die without regret."

"Father and son, elder and younger brother, have their meals cooked in separate kettles and served in separate dishes; yet they are deeply alive to family duties."

15. People at T'ien-chu [the coast of Madras?], Chau Ju-Kua[68]

"The country of T'ien-chu is subordinate to the country of Tats'in;" its rulers are all selected by Ta-ts'in.

It is the custom of the people to plait their hair and to let it hang down, but the temples and the crown of the head are covered with a silken turban. In their dwellings they use plaster instead of tiles. They have walled cities in which the people dwell…

They are clever jugglers. They have bows and arrows, armour, spears, flying-ladders, saps, and also the contrivances called the 'wooden oxen' and the 'gliding-horses'; yet they are cowards in battle. They are good astronomers and calculators of calendar (or astrologers). They all study the Si-tan-chang-shu [Siddhanta book of rules]... They use the leaves of the *pei-to* [Sanskrit patra] as paper.

In the periods *chong-kuan* (A.D. 627-650) and *tien-sho'u* (690-692) of the T'ang (this country) sent envoys with tribute (to our Court). In the y*ung-hi* period (of the Sung, A.D. 948-988) a priest by name Lo-hu-na [Rahula?] arrived (in Ts'uan-cho'u) by sea; he called himself a native T'ien-chu. The foreign traders, considering that he was a foreign priest, vied with each other in presenting him gold, silks, jewels and precious stones, but the priest had no use for them himself. He bought a piece of ground and built a Buddhist shrine in the southern suburb of Ts'uan-chou; it is the Pau-lin-yuan of the present day.

16. People at Hili [Ely, on the Malabar Coast], Wang Ta-Yuan[69]

The climate is hot, the usages of the people pure. They are hot-headed, and wherever they go, they carry about with them their bows and arrows. Men and women cut their hair and wrap around them *Liu pu* (i.e., cotton cloth from the Maldive Islands).

They cede the path to each other; they will not pick up things on the highways; their customs approach those of antiquity (in honesty). Should

anyone steal an ox, the chief verifies the number of oxen, and (or) the rightful owner seizes all the property of the offender, and he is put to death.

17. Customs at Malabar, Ibn Battuta[70]

Mulaybar [Malabar]…is the pepper country. It extends for two months' journey along the coast from Sandabur [Goa] to Kawlam [Quilon, in Travancore]. The road over the whole distance runs beneath the shade of trees, and at every half-mile there is a wooden shed with benches on which all travellers, whether Muslims or infidels, may sit. At each shed there is a well for drinking and an infidel who is in charge of it. If the traveller is an infidel he gives him water in vessels; if he is a Muslim he pours the water into his hands, continuing to do so until he signs to him to stop. It is the custom of the infidels in the Mulaybar lands that no Muslim may enter their houses or eat from their vessels; if he does so they break the vessels or give them to the Muslims. In places where there are no Muslim inhabitants they give him food on banana leaves. At all the halting-places on this road there are houses belonging to Muslims, at which Muslim travellers alight, and where they buy all that they need. Were it not for them no Muslim could travel by it.

On this road, which, as we have said, extends for a two months' march, there is not a foot of ground but is cultivated. Every man has his own orchard, with his house in the middle and a wooden palisade all round it. The road runs through the orchards, and when it comes to a palisade there are wooden steps to go up by and another flight of steps down into the next orchard. No one travels on a animal in that country, and only the sultan possesses horses. The principal vehicle of the inhabitants is a palanquin carried on the shoulders of slaves or hired porters; those who do not travel on palanquins go on foot, be they who they may. Baggage and merchandise is transported by hired carriers, and a single merchant may have a hundred such or thereabouts carrying his goods. I have never seen a safer road than this, for they put to death anyone who steals a single nut, and if any fruit falls no one picks it up but the owner. Indeed we sometimes met infidels during the night on this road, and when they saw us they stood aside to let us pass. Muslims are most highly honoured amongst them, except that, as we have said, they do not eat with them nor allow them into their houses. In the Mulaybar lands there are twelve infidel sultans, some of them strong

with armies numbering fifty thousand men, and others weak with armies of three thousand. Yet there is no discord whatever between them, and the strong does not desire to seize the possessions of the weak. At the boundary of the territories of each ruler there is a wooden gateway, on which is engraved the name of the ruler whose territories begin at that point. This is called the 'Gate of Security' of such-and-such a prince. If any Muslim or infidel criminal flees from the territories of one and reaches the Gate of Security of another, his life is safe, and the prince from whom he has fled cannot seize him, even though he be a powerful, prince, with a great army. The rulers in these lands transmit their sovereignty to their sister's sons, to the exclusion of their own children.

Barcelore

The first town in the land of Mulaybar that we entered was the town of Abu-Sarur [Barcelore], a small place on a large inlet and abounding in coco-palms. Two days journey brought us to Fakanur [Bacanor, now Barkur], a large town on an inlet; here there is a large quantity of sugar canes, which are unexcelled in the rest of that country. The chief of the Muslim community at Fakanur is called Basadaw. He possesses about thirty warships, commanded by a Muslim called Lula, who is an evildoer and a pirate and a robber of merchants. When we anchored, the sultan sent his son to us to stay on board the ship as a hostage. We went on shore to visit him and he treated us with the utmost hospitality for three nights, as a mark of respect for the sultan of India and also from a desire to make some profit by trading with the personnel of our vessels. It is a custom of theirs that every ship that passes by a town must needs anchor at it and give a present to the ruler. This they call the 'right of *bandar.'* If anyone omits to do this, they sail out in pursuit of him, bring him into the port by force, double the tax on him, and prevent him from proceeding on his journey for as long as they wish. Three days after leaving Fakanur we reached Manjarur [Mangalore], a large town on the inlet called ad-Dumb, which is the largest inlet in the land of Mulaybar. This is the town at which most of the merchants from Fars and Yemen disembark, and pepper and ginger are exceedingly abundant there. The sultan of Manjarur is one of the principal rulers in that land, and his name is Rama Daw. There is a colony of about four thousand Muslims there, living in a suburb alongside the town. Conflicts frequently

break out between them and the townspeople, but the sultan makes peace between them on account of his need of the merchants.

Eli

After staying at Manjarur for three days, we set sail for the town of Hili [Ili or Eli], which we reached two days later. It is large and well-built, situated on a big inlet which is navigable for large vessels. This is the farthest town reached by ships from China; they enter only this port, the port of Kawlam, and Calicut. The town of Hili is venerated by both Muslims and infidels on account of its cathedral mosque, and seafarers make many votive offerings to it. This mosque contains a number of students, who receive stipends from its revenues, and it has a kitchen from which travellers and the Muslim poor are supplied with food. Thence we sailed to Jurfattan [Cannanore], Dahfattan, and Budfattan; the sultan of these towns is called Kuwayl, and is one of the most powerful sultans of Mulaybar. At Dahfattan there is a great *ba'in* and a cathedral mosque, which were built by Kuwayl's grandfather, who was converted to Islam. Most of the inhabitants of Budfattan are Brahmans, who are venerated by the infidels and who hate the Muslims; for this reason there are no Muslims living among them. From Budfattan we sailed to Fanda-rayna [Panderani], a large and fine town with orchards and bazaars. The Muslims occupy three quarters in it, each of which has a mosque. It is at this town that the Chinese vessels pass the winter. Thence we travelled to the city of Qaliqut [Calicut], which is one of the chief ports in Mulaybar and one of the largest harbours in the world. It is visited by men from China, Sumatra, Ceylon, the Maldive, Yemen and Fars, and in it gather merchants from all quarters.

18. People at Cochin, Fel Hsin[71]

Men and women do their hair in a knot and wear a short shirt and a piece of cotton stuff wrapper around them.

There is a caste of people called Mu-kua (Mukuva); they have no dwellings but live in caves, or nests in the trees. They make their living by fishing in the sea. Both sexes go with the body naked and with a girdle of leaves or grass hanging before and behind. If one of them meets someone, he must crouch down and hide himself by the way side, where he must wait until he has passed by.

In their customs they are very honest. Those walking along make way for each other; they will not pick up anything on the road. They have not the bastinado as a punishment, they draw a circle with lime on the ground which (the culprit) is forbidden (to pass beyond). .

19. People at Honavar, Ibn Battuta[72]

Next day we reached the town of Hinawr [Honavar, Onore], which is on a large inlet navigable for large ships. During the *pushkal,* which is the rainy season, this bay is so stormy that for four months it is impossible to sail on it except for fishing. The women of this town and all the coastal districts wear nothing but loose unsewn garments, one end of which they gird round their waists, and drape the rest over their head and shoulders. They are beautiful and virtuous, and each wears a gold ring in her nose. One peculiarity amongst them is that they all know the Koran by heart. I saw in the town thirteen schools for girls and twenty-three for boys, a thing which I have never seen elsewhere. Its inhabitants live by maritime commerce, and have no cultivated land. The ruler of Hinawr is Sultan Jalal ad-Din, who is one of the best and most powerful sultans. He is under the suzerainty of an infidel sultan named Haryab...The people of Mulaybar [Malabar] pay a fixed sum annually to Sultan Jala ad-Din, through fear of his sea-power. His army is composed of about six thousand men, horse and foot. On another occasion I stayed for eleven months at his court without ever eating bread, for their sole food is rice.

20. People at Vijayanagar richly adorned, Abder Razzak[73]

This empire contains so great a population that it would be impossible to give an idea of it without entering into the most extensive details. In the king’s palace are several cells, like basins, filled with bullion, forming one mass. All the inhabitants of this country, both those of exalted rank and of an inferior class, down to the artizans of the bazaar, wear pearls, or rings adorned with precious stones, in their ears, on their necks, on their arms, on the upper part of the hand, and on the fingers.

EASTERN INDIA

21. Magadha, Chau Ju-Kua[74]

Concerning. Wang-sho-ch'ong [Magadha], tradition says that north of Kiau-chi (Tongking), "one comes to Ta-li (Yun-nan) and west of Tali one comes to Wang-sho-ch'ong in less than forty days journey."…

P'ong-k'ie-lo of the West has a capital called Ch'a-na-ki [?]. The city walls are 120 *li* in circuit. The common people are combative and devoted solely to robbery. They use (pieces of) white conch shells ground into shape as money. The native products include fine swords, *to'u-lo* [tula, Sanskrit, cotton] cotton stuffs and common cotton cloth.

Some say that the law of the Buddha originated in this country for Huan-tsang, the master of the *Tripitaka* in the T'ang period, (when) he got the Buddhist Classic (to bring to China) had already reached the West.

22. The people of Bengal, Wang Ta-yuan[75]

These people owe all their tranquility and prosperity to themselves, for its source lies in their devotion to agriculture, whereby a land originally covered with jungle has been reclaimed by their unremitting toil in tilling and planting…The riches and integrity of its people surpass, perhaps, those of Ch'iu-chiang (Palembang) and equal those of Chao-wa (Java).

23. An account by a Chinese envoy at Padua in 1415 AD[76]

[The men] wear a white cotton turban and a long white cotton shirt. On their feet they wear low sheepskin shoes with gold thread. The smarter ones think it the correct thing to have designs on them. Everyone of them is engaged in business, the value of which may be ten thousand pieces of gold.

WESTERN INDIA

24. People of Hu-ch'a-la [the earliest reference to Gujarat in a Chinese work], Chau Ju-Kua[77]

The inhabitants of this country are white and clean looking; both men and women wear double rings hanging down from holes in their ears; they wear close fitting clothes with a cotton sarong wrapped around them. On their heads they wear white hoods, and on their feet shoes of red leather. They are forbidden to eat flesh.

25. The Marathas, Ibn Battuta [78]

The inhabitants of Dawlat Abad belong to the tribe of Marhata [Marathas], whose women God has endowed with special beauty,

particularly in their noses and eyebrows. The infidels of this town are merchants, dealing principally in jewels, and their wealth is enormous. In Dawlat Abad there is an exceedingly fine and spacious bazaar for singers and singing-girls, containing numerous shops, each of which has a door leading to the house of its proprietor. The shop is beautified with carpets, and in the centre of it there is a sort of large cradle on which the singing-girl sits or reclines. She is adorned with all kinds of ornaments and her attendants swing her cradle. In the centre of the bazaar there is a large carpeted and decorated pavilion in which the chief musician sits every Thursday after the afternoon prayer, with his servants and slaves in front of him. The singing-girls come in relays and sing and dance before him till the sunset prayer, when they withdraw. In the same bazaar there are mosques for the prayer-services. One of the infidel rulers in India used, on passing through this bazaar, to alight at the pavilion and the singing-girls used to sing before him. One of the Muhammadan sultans used to do the same.

We continued on our way to Nadhurbar (Nandur-bar], a small town inhabited by the Marhatas, who possess great skill in the arts and are physicians and astrologers. The nobles of the Marhatas are Brahmans and Katris [Kshatriyas]. Their food consists of rice, vegetables, and oil of sesame, and they do not hold with giving pain to or slaughtering animals. They wash themselves thoroughly before eating and do not marry among their relatives, unless those who are cousins six times removed. Neither do they drink wine, for this in their eyes is the greatest of vices.

26. People at Chaoul, a flourishing seaport before the Portuguese conquest, thirty miles south-east of Bombay, Athanasius Nikitin[79]

This is an Indian country. People go about naked; with their heads uncovered and bare breasts; the hair tressed into one tail, and thick bellies. They bring forth children every year and the children are many; and men and women are black. When I go out many people follow me, and stare at the white man.

Their kniaz [Russian for chief] wears a *fata* [a silken garment] on the head; and another on the loins; the boyars wear it on the shoulders and on the loins; the *kniaginies* wear it also round the shoulders and the loins. The servants of the kniaz and of the boyars attach the *fata* round the loins, carrying in the hand a shield and a sword, or a scimitar, or knives, or a

sabre, or a bow and arrows – but all naked and barefooted. Women walk about with their heads uncovered and their breasts bare. Boys and girls go naked till seven years, and do not hide their shame.

KASHMIR

27. The people of Kashmir, Rashidu-d Din[80]

The people of Kashmir do not ride on quadrupeds, but are carried on men's shoulders in a Katut, which resembles a throne. The servants of the Government are always on the alert, and watch the passes and strongholds of the country. They do not allow strangers to enter the country, except by ones and twos. This prohibition extends even to Jews and Hindus, how then can anyone else gain admittance? The principal entrance is at Birahan, half way between the Sind and Jailam. From that place to the bridge, at the confluence with the Jailam of the Kusari and Mamhari, which flow from the mountains of Shamilan, is eight parasangs. Thence you arrive, at a distance of five days' journey, at a defile through which the Jailam runs.

At the end of the defile lies Dawaru-l Marsad, on both sides of the river. There the Jailam enters the plains, and turns towards Adashtan [Puranadhishtana, the 'old chief city'], the capital of Kashmir, which it reaches at a distance of two days' journey. The city of Kashmir is four parasangs from Adashtan. It is built on both banks of the Jailam, on which there are many bridges and boats. The source of the Jailam is in the mountains of Harmakut, near the source of the Ganges. This mountain is impassable on account of the exceeding cold, for the snow never melts, even when the sun is in Cancer or Leo. On the other side of it lies Maha Chin, *i.e.,* great Chin. After the Jailam has left the mountains, it reaches Adashtan in two days. Four parasangs from that, it expands into a lake, a parasang square on the borders of which there is much cultivation, and a dense population. It then leaves the lake, and enters another defile near the city of Ushkara.

F. Festivals

1. Festivals at Vijayanagar, Nicolo Conti[81]

Thrice in the year they keep festivals of especial solemnity. On one of these occasions the males and females of all ages, having bathed in the

rivers or the sea, clad themselves in new garments, and spend three entire days in singing, dancing, and feasting. On another of these festivals they fix up within their temples, and on the outside on the roofs, an innumerable number of lamps of oil of Susimanni, which are kept burning day and night [On Dipavali oil lamps are lighted only at night not during daytime].

On the third, which lasts nine days [Mahanavami or Dasara], they set up in all the highways large beams, like the masts of small ships, to the upper part of which are attached pieces of very beautiful cloth of various kinds, interwoven with gold. On the summit of each of these beams is each day placed a man of pious aspect, dedicated to religion, capable of enduring all things with equanimity, who is to pray for the favour of God. These men are assailed by the people, who pelt them with oranges, lemons, and other odoriferous fruits, all which they bear most patiently. There are also three other festival days, during which they sprinkle all passers by, even the king and queen themselves, with saffron-water [probably description of 'holi'], placed for that purpose by the wayside. This is received by all with much laughter.

2. The Mahanadi festival at Vijayanagar, Abder Razzak[82]

The idolaters, who exercise an imposing authority in this country, with a view of displaying their pride, their power, their tyranny, and their glory, prepare every year a royal feast, a banquet worthy of a sovereign. This solemnity bears the name of Mahanadi. The manner in which it is celebrated is as follows. In pursuance of orders issued by the king of Bidjanagar, the generals and principal personages from all parts of his empire, which extends over a space of three months' journey, presented themselves at the palace.

They brought with them a thousand elephants, resembling the waves of a troubled sea, or a stormy cloud, which were covered with brilliant armour, and with castles magnificently adorned, in which were jugglers and artificers. On the trunks and ears of these animals had been drawn, with cinnabar and other substances, extraordinary pictures and figures of wonderful beauty. When the chiefs of the army, with the eminent personages and learned Brahmins from each province, as well as the elephants, were collected at the appointed time in the palace, during three consecutive days, in the month of *Redjeb,* the vast space of land

magnificently decorated, in which the enormous elephants were congregated together, presented the appearance of the waves of the sea, or of that compact mass of men which will be assembled together at the day of the resurrection. Over this magnificent space were erected numerous pavilions, to the height of three, four, and five stories, covered from top to bottom with figures in relief. They represented everything that the imagination can picture, men, wild beasts, birds, and animals of every kind, down to flies and gnats: everything was drawn with extraordinary skill and delicacy. Some of these pavilions were arranged in such a manner, that they could turn rapidly round and present a new face. At each moment a new chamber or a new hall presented itself to the view.

In the front of this place rose a palace with nine pavilions, magnificently ornamented. In the ninth the king's throne was set up. In the seventh was allotted a place to the humble author of this narrative, from which everyone was excluded excepting the author's friends. Between the palace and the pavilions, in an extremely beautiful situation, were musicians and storytellers, who sang and invented tales. The part of musicians is generally filled by women. Some young girls, with cheeks as full as the moon, and with faces more lovely than the spring, clothed in magnificent dresses, and showing features which, like the freshest rose, charmed every heart, were placed behind a pretty curtain opposite the king. On a sudden the curtain was raised and again fell, and the damsels arranged themselves for the dance, with a grace calculated to seduce every sense and captivate every mind. The jugglers execute some feats of skill which are quite wonderful: they place on the ground three pieces of wood, which touch each other, each of which is one cubit in length, half a cubit in breadth, and three quarters of a cubit in height; on the top of the two first they place two other pieces, of nearly the same length and breadth, and above the second piece, which lies on the top of the first, they place another, a little smaller, so that the first and second pieces of wood form as it were steps by which to reach the third piece, which crowns the whole. A large elephant, trained to this exercise, stepping upon the first and second pieces of wood ascends the third, the surface of which is scarcely broader than the sole of one of the feet of this animal. While the elephant supports himself with his four feet upon this beam, they raise behind him the other pieces of wood. The animal once placed on the top of this beam, follows with his trunk all the airs which the

musicians play, and moving in cadence with the time, raises and lowers his trunk alternately.

After this they erect a column of ten *ghez* in height, on the top of which they fix a long piece of wood, like the beam of a pair of scales, and which has a hole in the middle. At one end of this beam they attach a stone, the weight of which is equivalent to that of the elephant, and at the other end, at the distance of one *ghez* they place a broad plank, which is of one *ghez* in length; by means of a cord they lower the end to which the plank is fastened and on this the elephant mounts. His keeper then lets go the cord by little and little, until the two extremities of the piece of wood are exactly balanced, like the beams of a pair of scales, and at a height of ten *ghez*. This piece of wood, one end of which bears the elephant and the other a stone of corresponding weight, turns, after the fashion of a semicircle, making a half rotation from right to left, in presence of the king; and in this elevated position the elephant follows all the airs of the musicians, and makes the movements in cadence.

All the musicians, orators, and jugglers, receive from the king gold and suits of apparel. During three consecutive days, from the moment when the burning sun like a peacock of enchanting plumage displayed himself proudly in the midst of the heavens, until that in which the raven of darkness unfolded its wings, the royal festival, was prolonged in a style of the greatest magnificence.

It would be impossible, without entering into details of too great a length, to describe in this place the picture of the different kinds of fireworks, sports in which fireworks were employed and games and amusements which this fete presented. On the third day, at the moment when the king arose, the humble author of this narrative was conducted into the presence of the monarch. The throne, which was of an extraordinary size, was made of gold, and enriched with precious stones of extreme value; the whole workmanship was perfect in its delicacy and ingenuity. It is probable, that in all the kingdoms of the world, the art of inlaying precious stones is no where better understood than in this country.

Meeting with King

Before the throne was a square cushion, on the edges of which were sewn three rows of pearls of the most beautiful water. During the three days the

king remained seated on this cushion behind the throne. When the fete of Mahanadi was ended, at the hour of evening prayer, the monarch sent to summon me. On my arrival at the palace I was introduced in the midst of four *estrades,* which were about ten *ghez* both in length and in breadth. The roof and the walls were entirely formed of plates of gold, enriched with precious stones.

Each of these plates was as thick as the blade of a sword, and was fastened with golden nails. Upon the *estrade*, in the front, is placed the throne of the king, and the throne itself is of very great size. The pomp of the king when seated thereon was most imposing. He questioned me on particular points respecting his majesty the happy Khakan, his emirs, his troops, the numbers of his horses, and also respecting his great cities, such as Samarcand, Herat, and Shirez. He expressed towards the emperor sentiments of the greatest friendship, and said to me: "I shall send, together with an able ambassador, some rows of elephants, two *tokouz* (twice nine) of eunuchs, and other presents."

G. Funeral ceremonies

1. Funeral rites, Alberuni[83]

In the most ancient times the bodies of the dead were exposed to the air by being thrown on the fields without any covering; also sick people were exposed on the fields and in the mountains, and were left there. If they died there, they had the fate just mentioned; but if they recovered, they returned to their dwellings.

Thereupon there appeared a legislator who ordered people to expose their dead to the wind. In consequence they constructed roofed buildings with walls of rails, through which the wind blew, passing over the dead, as something similar is the case in the grave-towers of the Zoroastrians.

After they had practised this custom for a long time, Narayana prescribed to them to hand the dead over to the fire, and ever since they are in the habit of burning them, so that nothing remains of them, and every defilement, dirt and smell is annihilated at once, so as scarcely to leave any trace behind.

Greeks parallels

Nowadays the Slavonians, too, burn their dead, whilst the ancient Greeks seem to have had both customs, that of burning and that of burying.

Socrates speaks in the book *Phaedo,* after Crito had asked him in what manner he wanted to be buried: “As you wish, when you make arrangements for me. I shall not flee from you.” Then he spoke to those around him: “Give to Crito regarding myself the opposite guarantee of that which he has given to the judges regarding myself; for he guaranteed to them that I should stay, whilst you now must guarantee that I shall not stay after death, I shall go away, that the look of my body may be tolerable to Crito when it is *burned* or *buried,* that he may not be in agony, and not say: ‘Socrates is carried away, or is burned or buried.’ Thou, O Crito, be at ease about the burial of my body. Do as thou likest, and especially in accordance with the laws.”

Galenus says in his commentary to the apothegms of Hippocrates: “It is generally known that Asclepius was raised to the angels in a column of fire, the like of which is also related with regard to Dionysos, Heracles, and others, who laboured for the benefit of mankind. People say that God did thus with them in order to destroy the mortal and earthly part of them by the fire, and afterwards to attract to himself the immortal part of them, and to raise their souls to heaven.”

In these words, too, there is a reference to the burning as a Greek custom, but it seems to have been in use only for the great men among them.

In a similar way the Hindus express themselves. There is a point in man by which he is what he is. This point becomes free when the mixed elements of the body are dissolved and scattered by combustion.

Fire nearest road to God

Regarding this return (of the immortal soul to God), the Hindus think that partly it is effected by the rays of the sun, the soul attaching itself to them and ascending with them, partly by the flame of the fire, which raises it (to God). Some Hindu used to pray that God would make his road to himself a straight line, because this is the nearest road, and that there is no other road upwards save the fire or the ray.

Similar to this is the practice of the Ghuzz Turks with reference to a drowned person; for they place the body on a bier in the river, and make a cord hang down from his foot, throwing the end of the cord into the water. By means of this cord the spirit of the deceased is to raise himself for resurrection.

The belief of the Hindus on this head was confirmed by the words of Vasudeva, which he spoke regarding the sign of him who is liberated from the fetters (of bodily existence). "His death takes place during *utta-rayana (i.e.* the northern revolution of the sun from the winter solstice to the summer solstice), during the white half of the month, *between lighted lamps, i.e.* between conjunction and opposition (new moon and full moon), in the seasons of winter and spring."

Similar views of Mani

A similar view is recognised in the following words of Mani: "The other religious bodies blame us because we worship sun and moon, and represent them as an image. But they do not know their real natures; they do not know that sun and moon are our path, the door whence we march forth into the world of our existence (into heaven), as this has been declared by Jesus." So he maintains.

People relate that Buddha had ordered the bodies of the dead to be thrown into flowing water. Therefore his followers, the Shamanians, throw their dead into the rivers.

Manner of burial

According to the Hindus, the body of the dead has the claim upon his heirs that they are to wash, embalm, wrap it in a shroud, and then to burn it with as much sandal and other wood as they can get. Part of his burned bones are brought to the Ganges and thrown into it, that the Ganges should flow over them, as it has flowed over the burned bones of the children of Sagara, thereby forcing them from hell and bringing them into paradise. The remainder of the ashes is thrown into some brook of running water. On the spot where the body has been burned they raise a monument similar to a milestone, plastered with gypsum. The bodies of children under three years are not burned.

Those who fulfil these duties towards the dead afterwards wash themselves as well as their dresses during two days, because they have become unclean by touching the dead.

Those who cannot afford to burn their dead will either throw them somewhere on the open field or into running water…

Tree of Prayag

At the junction of the two rivers, Yamuna and Ganges, there is a great tree called *Prayaga,* a tree of the species called *vata.* It is peculiar to this kind of tree that its branches send forth two species of twigs, some directed upward, as is the case with all other trees, and others directed downward like roots, but without leaves. If such a twig enters into the soil, it is like a supporting column to the branch whence it has grown. Nature has arranged this on purpose, since the branches of this tree are of an enormous extent (and require to be supported). Here the Brahmans and Kshatriyas are in the habit of committing suicide by climbing up the tree and throwing themselves into the Ganges.

Greek parallels

Johannes Grammaticus relates that certain people in ancient Greek heathendom, "whom I call the wor*shippers of the devil"* – so he says – used to beat their limbs with swords, and to throw themselves into the fire, without feeling any pain there from.

As we have related this as a view of the Hindus not to commit suicide, so also Socrates speaks: "Likewise it does not become a man to kill himself before the gods give him a cause in the shape of some compulsion or *dire necessity,* like that in which we now are."

Further he says: "We human beings are, as it were, in a prison. It does not behove us to flee nor to free ourselves from it, because the gods take notice of us, since we, the human beings, are servants to them."

2. Maha Brahmin funeral priests, Gardizi[84]

Another group are the MAHABRI.FTI [Maha Brahmin, a despised section of Brahmins who perform funeral rites?]. Their custom is that a man goes to a graveyard and there collects the burnt bones of the dead. Then he enters a village and cries abusing the people: "O, rebels, o sinners, who have become captives of your passion and slaves of your nature and have succumbed (*uftada*) to the rebellion (*fitna*) of your passions. How long will you be killing your fathers and raping your mothers?" that is to say, "men and women will never reach repentance (*tauba na-yaband*) until they have become like me and trodden my path; let them know themselves and humble themselves in order to endear themselves (to God)".

3. Do not raise tombs, Al-Idrisi[85]

The people of India burn their dead and do not raise tombs for them. When the king dies they construct a vehicle of an appropriate size, and raised about two palms above the ground. On this they place the bier surmounted by the crown, and the corpse, clad in all its funeral ornaments, being laid upon the bier, it is dragged by slaves all round the city. The head is uncovered and the hair drags upon the ground. This is done that every one may see (the corpse), and a herald goes before uttering, in the Indian language, words of which the following is the sense, – "People! behold your king, so and so by name, son of so and so. He lived happily and mightily for so many years. He is no more, and all that he possessed has escaped from his hands. Nothing now remains to him and he will feel no more pain. Remember, he has shown you the way which you must follow." This being said, when all the ceremonies are concluded, they take the corpse to the place where the bodies of kings are burnt, and commit it to the flames. These people do not grieve and lament very much on these occasions.

In all the countries of Hind and Sind there are Musulmans and they bury their dead secretly by night in their houses, but like the Indians they do not give way to long lamentations.

4. Embalming, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela[86]

The inhabitants do not bury their dead, but embalm them with certain spices, put them upon stools and cover them with cloths, every family keeping apart. The flesh dries upon the bones and as these corpses resemble living beings, one of them recognises his parents and all the members of his family for many years to come.

❑

CHAPTER — 3

Languages, Literature, Science, Legal System

A. Languages
B. Literature
C. Science
D. Legal System

A. Languages

1. Language of Sindh different from that of India, Al Masudi[1]

The language of Sind is different from that of India. Sind is the country which is nearer the dominions of the Moslims, India is farther from them. The inhabitants of Mankir, which is the capital of the Balhara, speak the Kiriya [Kannada] language, which has this name from Kira, the place where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saimur, Subara, Tana, and other towns, a language called Lariya [an early form of Prakrit] is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries [Sanskrit Lata, the region about the mouth of the Narmada]; and this is the Larawi sea, which has been described above.

2. Sanskrit – language of enormous range, Alberuni[2]

(Sanskrit is a language) of an enormous range, both in words and inflections, something like the Arabic, calling one and the same thing by various names, both original and derived, and using one and the same word for a variety of subjects, which, in order to be properly understood, must be distinguished from each other by various qualifying epithets, for nobody could distinguish between the various meanings of a word unless he understands the context in which it occurs, and its relation both to the following and the preceding parts of the sentence. The Hindus, like other people, boast of this enormous range of their language, whilst in reality it is a defect.

Further, the language is divided into a neglected vernacular one, only in use among the common people, and a classical one, only in use among the upper and educated classes, which is much cultivated, and subject to the rules of grammatical inflection and etymology, and to all the niceties of grammar and rhetoric.

Besides, some of the sounds (consonants) of which the language is composed are neither identical with the sounds of Arabic and Persian, nor resemble them in any way. Our tongue and uvula could scarcely manage to correctly pronounce them, nor our ears in hearing to distinguish them from similar sounds, nor could we transliterate them with our characters. It is very difficult, therefore, to express an Indian word in our writing, for in order to fix the pronunciation we must change our orthographical points and signs, and must pronounce the case-endings either according to the common Arabic rules or according to special rules adapted for the purpose…

As in other foreign tongues, so also in Sanskrit, two or three consonants may follow each other without an intervening vowel – consonants which in our Persian grammatical system are considered as having a *hidden* vowel. Since most Sanskrit words and names begin with such consonants without vowel, we find it very difficult to pronounce them.

Besides, the scientific books of the Hindus are composed in various favourite metres, by which they intend, considering that the books soon become corrupted by additions and omissions to preserve them exactly as they are, in order to facilitate their being learned by heart, because they consider as canonical only that which is known by heart, not that which exists in writing. Now it is well known that in all metrical compositions there is much misty and constrained phraseology merely intended to fill up the metre and serving as a kind of patchwork, and this necessitates a certain amount of verbosity. This is also one of the reasons why a word has sometimes one meaning and sometimes another.

From all this it will appear that the metrical form of literary composition is one of the causes which make the study of Sanskrit literature so particularly difficult.

3. Instruments of writing, Alberuni[3]

The Hindus have in the south of their country a slender tree like the date and cocoanut palms, bearing edible fruits and leaves of the length of one yard, and as broad as three fingers, one put beside the other. They call these leaves *tari (tala* or *tar = Borassus fla-belliformis),* and write on them. They bind a book of these leaves together by a cord on which they are arranged, the cord going through all the leaves by a hole in the middle of each.

In Central and Northern India people use the bark of the *tuz* tree, one kind of which is used as a cover for bows. It is called *bhurja.* They take a piece one yard long and as broad as the outstretched fingers of the hand, or somewhat less, and prepare it in various ways. They oil and polish it so as to make it hard and smooth, and then they write on it. The proper order of the single leaves is marked by numbers. The whole book is wrapped up in a piece of cloth and fastened between two tablets of the same size. Such a book is called *puthi (cf. pusta, pustaka).* Their letters, and whatever else they have to write, they write on the bark of the *tuz* tree.

Alphabet

As to the writing or alphabet of the Hindus...it once had been lost and forgotten; that nobody cared for it, and that in consequence people became illiterate, sunken into gross ignorance, and entirely estranged from science. But then Vyasa, the son of Parasara, rediscovered their alphabet of fifty letters by an inspiration of God. A letter is called *akshara.*

Some people say originally the number of their letters was less, and that it increased only by degrees. This is possible, or I should even say necessary…

The great number of the letters of the Hindu alphabet is explained, firstly, by the fact that they express every letter by a separate sign if it is followed by a vowel or a diphthong or a *hamza (visarga),* or a small extension of the sound beyond the measure of the vowel; and, secondly, the fact that they have consonants which are not found together in any other language, though they may be found scattered through different languages – sounds of such a nature that *our* tongues, not being familiar with them, can scarcely pronounce them, and that *our* ears are frequently not able to distinguish between many a cognate pair of them.

Write left to right like Greeks

The Hindus write from the left to the right like the Greeks. They do not write on the basis of a line, above which the heads of the letters rise whilst their tails go down below, as in Arabic writing. On the contrary, their ground-line is above, a straight line above every single character, and from this line the letter hangs down and is written under it. Any sign *above* the line is nothing but a grammatical mark to denote the pronunciation of the character above which it stands.

Siddhamatrika

The most generally known alphabet is called *Siddhamatrika* which is by some considered as *originating* from Kashmir, for the people of Kashmir use it. But it is also used in Varanasi. This town and Kashmir are the high schools of Hindu sciences. The same writing is used in Madhyadesa, *i,e.* the middle country, the country all around Kanauj, which is also called Arya-varta.

Nagara

In Malava there is another alphabet called *Nagara,* which differs from the former only in the shape of the characters.

Ardhanagari

Next comes an alphabet called *Ardhanagari i.e. half-nagara,* so called because it is compounded of the former two. It is used in Bhatiya and some parts of Sindh.

Other alphabets

Other alphabets are the *Malwari,* used in Malwashau, in Southern Sind, towards the seacoast; the *Saindhava,* used in Bahmanwa or Almansura; the *Karnata,* used in Karnatadesa, whence those troops come which in the armies are known as *Kannara;* the *Andhri,* used in Andhradesa; the *Dirwari (Dravidi),* used in Dirwara-desa (Dravidadesa); the *Lari,* used in Laradesa (Lata-desa); the *Gauri (Gaudi),* used in Puryadesa, *i.e.* the Eastern country; the *Bhaikshuki,* used in Udunpur in Purvadesa. This last is the writing of Buddha.

On the word Om

The Hindus begin their books with *Om,* the word of creation, as we begin them with ‘In the name of God.’ The figure of the word *om* is…This figure does not consist of letters; it is simply an image invented to represent this word, which people use, believing that it will bring them a blessing, and meaning thereby a confession of the unity of God. Similar to this is the manner in which the Jews write the name of God, viz. by three Hebrew *yods.* In the Thora the word is written *YHVH* and pronounced *Adonai;* something they also say *Yah.* The word *Adonai,* which they pronounce is not expressed in writing.

Numerical signs

The Hindus do not use the letters of their alphabet for numerical notation, as we use the Arabic letters in the Hebrew alphabet. As in different parts of India the letters have different shapes, the numeral signs too, which are called *anka,* differ. The numeral signs which *we* use are derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs. Signs and figures are of no use if people do not know what they mean, but the people of Kashmir mark the single leaves of their books with figures which look like drawings or like the Chinese characters, the meaning of which can only be learned by a very long practice. However, they do not use them when reckoning in the sand.

In arithmetic all nations agree that all the *order* of numbers *(e.g.* one, ten, hundred, thousand) stand in a certain relation to the ten; that each order is the tenth part of the following and the tenfold of the preceding. I have studied the names of the *orders* of the numbers in various languages with all kinds of people with whom I have been in contact, and have found that no nation goes beyond the thousand. The Arabs, too, stop with the thousand, which is certainly the most correct and the most natural thing to do. I have written a separate treatise on this subject.

Those, however, who go beyond the thousand in their numeral system are the Hindus, at least in their arithmetical technical terms, which have been either freely invented or derived according to certain etymologies, whilst in others both methods are blended together. They extend the names of the *orders* of numbers until the 18th *order* for religious reasons, the mathematicians being assisted by the grammarians with all kinds of etymologies.

The 18th *order* is called *Parardha, i.e.,* the half of heaven, or, more accurately, *the half of that which is above.* For if the Hindus construct periods of time out of Kalpas, the unit of this *order* is *a day of God (i.e.* a half *nychthemeron).* And as we do not know any body larger than heaven, half of it *(parardha),* as *a half of the greatest body,* has been compared with *a half of the greatest day.* By doubling it, by uniting night to day, we get the *whole* of the greatest day. There can be no doubt that the name *Parardha* is accounted for in this way, and that *parar* means *the whole of heaven...*

Some Hindus maintain *that there is a 19th order beyond the Parardha, called Bhuri, and that this is the* limit of reckoning…

Numerical notations

The Hindus use the numeral signs in arithmetic in the same way as we do. I have composed a treatise showing how far possibly, the Hindus are ahead of us in this subject. Hindus compose their books in Slokas. If, now, they wish, in their astronomical handbooks, to express some numbers of the various *orders,* they express them by words used to denote certain numbers either in one *order* alone or at the same time in two *orders (e.g.* a word meaning either 20 or both 20 and 200). For each number they have appropriated quite a great quantity of words. Hence, if one word does not suit the metre, you may easily exchange it for a synonym which suits. Brahmagupta says; "If you want to write *one,* express it by everything which is unique, as *the earth, the moon; two* by everything which is double, as, *e.g. black* and *white, three* by everything which is threefold; the *nought* by *heaven,* the *twelve* by the names of the sun."…

4. The book, *Kyun yu Chun*, written in A.D. 1075 in Korea, points to the similarity of the Yi-do script with Sanskrit[4]

The Yi-do resembles the Sanskrit in its inflections.

5. Write on leaves, John of Monte Corvino[5]

They have indeed an alphabet which they use to keep their accounts, and to write prayers or charms for their idols; albeit they have no paper, but write upon leaves of trees like unto palm leaves.

6. Write perpendicularly, Nicolo Conti[6]

The inhabitants of Cambay alone use paper; all other Indians write on the leaves of trees, of which they make very beautiful books.

7. Art of writing, Abder Razzak[7]

The writing of this people is of two kinds: in one they write their letters with a kalam of iron upon a leaf of the Indian nut (the cocoa-nut tree), which is two *ghez* in length and two fingers in breadth. These characters have no colour, and the writing lasts but a short time. In the second kind of writing they blacken a white surface, they then take a soft stone, which they cut like a kalam, and which they use to form the letters; this stone leaves on the black surface a white colour, which lasts a very long time, and this kind of writing is held in high estimation.

8. Language in Bengal, Ma Huan[8]

[Bengali was] the language in universal use…[The Bengalis'] paper is white; it is made out of the bark of a tree, and is as smooth and glossy as deer's skin.

B. Literature

1. Grammatical and metrical literature, Alberuni[9]

The two sciences of grammar and metrics are auxiliary to the other sciences. of the two, the former, grammar, holds the first place in their estimate, called *vyakarana, i.e.* the law of the correctness of their speech and etymological rules, by means of which they acquire an eloquent and classical style both in writing and reading. We Muslims cannot learn anything of it, since it is a branch coming from a root which is not within our grasp – l mean the language itself…

Chhanda

Grammar is followed by another science, called *Chandas, i.e.* the metrical form of poetry, corresponding our metrics – a science indispensable to them, since all their books are in verse. By composing their books in metres they intend to facilitate their being learned by heart, and to prevent people in all questions of science ever recurring to a *written* text, save in a case of bare necessity. For they think that the mind of man sympathizes with everything in which there is symmetry and order, and has an aversion to everything in which there is no order. Therefore most Hindus are passionately fond of their verses, and always desirous of reciting them, even if they do not understand the meaning of the words, and the audience will snap their fingers in token of joy and applause. They do not want prose compositions, although it is much easier to understand them….

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE

2. The Vedas, Puranas, and other works, Alberuni[10]

Veda means knowledge of that which was before unknown. It is a religious system which, according to the Hindus, comes from God, and was promulgated by the mouth of Brahman. The Brahmins recite the Veda without understanding its meaning and in the same way they learn it by heart, the one receiving it from the other. Only few of them learn its

explanation, and still less is the number of those who master the contents of the Veda and their interpretation to such a degree as to be able to hold a theological disputation…

The Veda contains commandments and prohibitions, detailed statements about reward and punishment intended to encourage and to deter; but most of it contains hymns of praise, and treats of the various kinds of sacrifices to the fire, which are so numerous and difficult that you could hardly count them.

They do not allow the Veda to be committed to writing, because it is recited according to certain modulations, and they therefore avoid the use of the pen, since it is liable to cause some error, and may occasion an addition or a defect in the written text. In consequence it has happened that they have several times forgotten the Veda and lost it. For they maintain that the following passage occurs in the conversations between God and Brahman relating to the beginning of all things, according to the report of Saunaka who had received it from the planet Venus: "You will forget the Veda at the time when the earth will be submerged; it will then go down to the depths of the earth, and none but the fish will be able to bring it out again. Therefore I shall send the fish, and it will deliver the Veda into your hands. And I shall send the boar to raise the earth with its tusks and to bring it out of the water."

Further, the Hindus maintain that the Veda, together with all the rites of their religion and country, had been obliterated in the last Dvapara-yuga,… until it was renewed by Vyasa, the son of Parasara.

The *Vishnu Purana* says: "At the beginning of each Manvantara period there will be created anew a lord of a period whose children will rule over the whole earth, and a prince who will be the head of the world, and angels to whom men will bring fire-offerings, and the *Great Bear,* who will renew the Veda which is lost at the end of each period."

This is the reason why, not long before our time, Vasukra, a native of Kashmir, a famous Brahmin, has of his own account undertaken the task of explaining the Veda and committing it to writing. He has taken on himself a task from which everybody else would have recoiled, but he carried it out because he was afraid that the Veda might be forgotten and entirely vanish out of the memories of men, since he observed that the characters of men

grew worse and worse, and that they did not care much for virtue, nor even for duty…

As we have already mentioned, the books of the Hindus are metrical compositions like the Rajaz poems of the Arabs. Most of them are composed in a metre called *sloka.* The reason…being that a prose text is much more exposed to corruption than a metrical one...

According to their tradition, Vyasa divided it into four parts: R*igveda, Yajurveda, Samaveda,* and *Atharvaveda.*

Vyasa had four *sishya, i.e.* pupils. He taught a separate Veda to each of them, and made him carry it in his memory. They are enumerated in the same order as the four parts of the Veda: *Paila, Vaisampayana, Jaimini, Sumantu*.

The Rigveda

Each of the four parts has a peculiar kind of recitation. The first is Rigveda, consisting of metrical compositions called *ric,* which are of different lengths. It is called Rigveda as being the totality of the *ric.* It treats of the sacrifices to the fire, and is recited in three different ways. First, in a uniform manner of reading, just as every other book is read. Secondly, in such a way that a pause is made after every single word. Thirdly, in a method which is the most meritorious, and for which plenty of reward in heaven is promised. First you read a short passage, each word of which is distinctly pronounced; then you repeat it together with a part of that which has not yet been recited. Next you recite the added portion alone, and then you repeat it together with the next part of that which has not yet been recited. Continuing to do so till the end, you will have read the whole text twice.

The Yajurveda

The Yajurveda is composed of *kandin.* The word is a derivative noun, and means *the totality of the kandin.* The difference between this and the Rigveda is that it may be read as a text connected by the rules of Samdhi, which is not allowed in the case of Rigveda. The one as well as the other treats of works connected with the fire and the sacrifices…

The Samaveda

The Samaveda treats of the sacrifices, commandments, and prohibitions. It is recited in a tone like a chant, and hence its name is derived, because *saman* means *the sweetness of recitation.* The cause of this kind of recital is that Narayana, when he appeared on earth in the shape of Vamana, and came to the king Bali, changed himself into a Brahman and began to recite the Samaveda with a touching melody, by which he exhilarated the king, in consequence of which there happened to him the well-known story.

The Atharvanaveda

The Atharvanaveda is as a text connected by the rules of Samdhi. It does not consist of the same compositions as the Rig and Yajur Vedas, but of a third kind called *bhara.* It is recited according to a melody with a nasal tone. This Veda is less in favour with the Hindus than the others. It likewise treats of the sacrifices to the fire, and contains injunctions regarding the dead and what is to be done with them.

The Puranas

As to the Puranas, we first mention that the word means *first, eternal.* There are eighteen Puranas, most of them called by the names of animals, human or angelic beings, because they contain stories about them, or because the contents of the book refer in some way to them, or because the book consists of answers which the creature whose name forms the title of the book has given to certain questions. The Puranas are of human origin, composed by the so-called Rishis…

The Smriti

The book *Smriti* is derived from the Veda. It contains commandments and prohibitions, and is composed by…twenty sons of Brahman…

Other texts

Besides, the Hindus have books about the jurisprudence of their religion, on theosophy, on ascetics, on the process of becoming god and seeking liberation from the world, as, *e.g.* the book composed by Gauda the anchorite, which goes by his name; the book *Samkhya,* composed by Kapila, on divine subjects; the book of *Patanjali,* on the search for liberation and for the union of the soul with the object of its meditation; the book *Nyayabhasha,* composed by Kapila, on the Veda and its interpretation, also showing that it has been created, and distinguishing within the Veda

between such injunctions as are obligatory only in certain cases, and those which are obligatory in general; further, the book *Mimamsa,* composed by Jaimini, on the same subject; the book *Laukayata,* composed by Brihaspati, treating of the subject that in all investigations we must exclusively rely upon the apperception of the senses; the book *Agastyamata,* composed by Agastya, treating of the subject that in all investigations we must use the apperception of the senses as well as tradition; and the book *Vishnu-dharma.* The word *dharma* means *reward,* but in general it is used for *religion;* so that this title means *The religion of God,* who in this case is understood to be Narayana. Further, there are the books of the six pupils of Vyasa, viz. *Devala, Sukra, Bhargava, Vrihaspati, Yajavalkya,* and *Manu.* The Hindus have numerous books about all the branches of science. How could anybody know the titles of all of them, more especially if he is not a Hindu, but a foreigner?

The Mahabharata

Besides, they have a book which they hold in such veneration that they firmly assert that everything which occurs in other books is found also in this book, but not all which occurs in this book is found in other books. It is called *Bharata,* and composed by Vyasa, the son of Parasara at the time of the great war between the children of Pandu and those of Kuru. The title itself gives an indication of those times. The book has 100,000 slokas in eighteen parts, each of which is called *Parvan*...

These eighteen parts are followed by another one which is called *Harivamsa-Parvan,* which contains the traditions relating to Vasudeva.

In this book there occur passages which, like riddles, admit of manifold interpretations. As to the reason of this the Hindus relate the following story – Vyasa asked Brahman to procure him somebody who might write for him the *Bharata* from his dictation. Now he intrusted with this task his son Vinayaka, who is represented as an idol with an elephant's head, and made it obligatory on him never to cease from writing. At the same time Vyasa made it obligatory on him to write only that which he understood. Therefore Vyasa, in the course of his dictation, dictated such sentences as compelled the writer to ponder over them, and thereby Vyasa gained time for resting awhile.

C. Science

INDIAN NUMERALS

1. It is generally believed that Indian numerals with place value were introduced to the West about A.D. 773, when an Indian pandit, Kankah, brought the astronomical *Sindhind* to the court of al-Mansur at Baghdad. However, a passage from the Syrian writer Severus Sebokt [A.D. 662] provides the earliest known reference to Indian numerals outside India[11]

The subtle discoveries of the Hindus in astronomy, discoveries which are more ingenious than those of the Greeks and the Babylonians, and their clever method of calculation, their computation which surpasses words, I mean that which is made with nine signs…[The reference to nine signs does not necessarily prove the absence of zero. Till the sixteenth century, a distinction was maintained between the nine signs and zero].

2. Al-Khwarizmi [died A.D. 850] wrote a book on the Indian method of reckoning which formed the basis of Arabic mathematics for several centuries. Rabbi Ben Ezra [b. 1095] remarked on al-Khwarizmi's use of Hindu methods[12]

[al-Khwarizmi] and all later Arabic scholars do their multiplications, divisions, and extraction of roots as is written in the book of the (Hindu) scholar which they possess in translation.

3. Literature on sciences, Alberuni[13]

ASTRONOMY

If a science or an idea has once conquered the whole earth, every nation appropriates part of it. So do also the Hindus. Their belief about the cyclical revolutions of times is nothing very special, but is simply in accordance with the results of scientific observation.

The science of astronomy is the most famous among them, since the affairs of their religion are in various ways connected with it. If a man wants to gain the title of an astronomer, he must not only know scientific or mathematical astronomy, but also astrology. The book known among Muslims as *Sindhind* is called by them *Siddhanta, i.e. straight,* not crooked

nor changing. By this name they call every standard book on astronomy, even such books as, according to our opinion, do not come up to the mark of our so-called *Zij, i.e.* handbooks of mathematical astronomy. They have five Siddhantas :-

I. *Surya-siddhanta, i.e.* the Siddhanta of the sun, composed by Lata.

II. *Vasisha-siddhanta,* so called from one of the stars of the Great Bear, composed by Vishnucandra.

III. *Pulisa-siddhanta,* so called from Paulisa, the Greek, from the city of Saintra, which I suppose to be Alexandria, composed by Pulisa.

IV. *Romaka-siddhanta,* so called from the Rum, *i.e.* the subject of the Roman Empire, composed by Srishena.

V. *Brahma-siddhanta,* so called from Brahman, composed by Brahmagupta, the son of Jishnu, from the town of Bhillamala between Multan and Anhilwara, 16 *yojana* from the latter place (?).

The authors of these books draw from one and the same source, the Book *Paithamaha,* so called from *the first father, i.e.* Brahman.

Varhamihira has composed an astronomical hand-book of small compass called *Panca-siddhantika,* which name ought to mean that it contains the pith and marrow of the preceding five Siddhantas. But this is not the case, nor is it so much better than they as to called the most correct one of the five. So the name does not indicate anything but the fact that the number of Siddhantas is five.

Brahmagupta says: “Many of the Siddhantas are Surya, others Indu, Pulisa, Romaka, Vasishtha, and Yavana, *i.e.* the Greeks; and though the Siddhantas are many, they differ only in words, not in the subject-matter. He who studies them properly will find that they agree with each other.”

Up to the present time I have not been able to procure any of these books, save those of Pulisa, and of Brahmagupta. I have commenced translating them, but have not yet finished my work…

Tantra

Such books as do not reach the standard of a Siddhanta are mostly called *Tantra* or *Karana.* The former means *ruling under a governor,* the latter means *following, i.e.* following behind the Siddhanta. Under *governors* they understand the *Acaryas,* the sages, anchorites, the followers of Brahman.

There are two famous *Tantras* by *Aryabhata* and *Balabhadra,* besides the *Rasayana-tantra* by *Bhanu-yasas* (?)...

As for *Karanas,* there is one *(lacuna)* called by his name, besides the *Karana-khanda-khadyaka* by Brahmagupta…

Samhita

Samhita, means *that which is collected,* books containing something of everything, *e.g.* forewarnings relating to a journey derived from meteorological occurrences; prophecies regarding the fate of dynasties; the knowledge of lucky and unlucky things; prophesying from the lines of the hand; interpretation of dreams, and taking auguries from the flight or cries of birds. For Hindu scholars believe in such things. It is the custom of their astronomers to propound in their Samhitas also the whole science of meteorology and cosmology.

Jatakas

Each one of the following authors has composed a book, *Jataka, i.e.* book of nativities, viz.:-

Parasara, Jivasarman, Satya, Mau, the Greek, Manittha,

Varahamihira has composed two Jatakas, a small and a large one. The latter of these has been explained by Balabhadra, and the former I have translated into Arabic. Further, the Hindus have a large book on the science of the astrology of nativities called *Saravali, i.e.* the chosen one, similar to the *Vazidaj* (= Persian *guzida*?), composed by Kalyana-Varman, who gained high credit for his scientific works. But there is another book still larger than this, which comprehends the whole of astrological sciences, called *Yavana, i.e.* belonging to the Greeks.

Of Varahamihira there are several small books, *e.g. Shatpancasika,* fifty-six chapters on astrology; *Hora-panca-hotriya* (?), on the same subject.

Travelling is treated of in the book *Yogayatra* and the book *Tikani(?)-yatra,* marriage and marrying in the book *Vivaha-patala,* architecture in the book *(lacuna)...*

Medicine

Medicine belongs to the same class of sciences as astronomy, but there is this difference, that the latter stands in close relation to the religion of the Hindus. They have a book called by the name of its author, *i,e. Caraka,*

which they consider as the best of their whole literature on medicine. According to their belief, Caraka was a Rishi in the last Dvapara-yuga, when his name was *Agnivesa,* but afterwards he was called *Caraka, i.e,* the intelligent one, after the first elements of medicine had been laid down by certain Rishis, the children of *Sutra.* These latter had received them from Indra, Indra from Asvin, one of the two physicians of the Devas, and Asvin had received them from Praja-pati, *i.e,* Brahman, *the first father.* This book has been translated into Arabic for the princes of the house of the Barmecides.

The Panchatantra

The Hindus cultivate numerous other branches of science and literature, and have a nearly boundless literature. I, however, could not comprehend it with my knowledge. I wish I could translate the book *Pancatantra,* known among us as the book of Kalila and Dimna. It is far spread in various languages, in Persian, Hindi, and Arabic – in translations of people who are not free from the suspicion of having altered the text…

4. Science of Rasayana, Alberuni[14]

They have a science similar to alchemy which is quite peculiar to them. They call it *Rasayana,* a word composed with *rasa, i.e.* gold. It means an art which is restricted to certain operations, drugs, and compound medicines, most of which are taken from plants. Its principles restore the health of those who were ill beyond hope, and give back youth to fading old age, so that people become again what they were in the age near puberty; white hair becomes black again, the keenness of the senses is restored as well as the capacity for juvenile agility, and even for cohabitation, and the life of people in this world is even extended to a long period. And why not? Have we not already mentioned on the authority of Patanjali…that one of the methods leading to liberation is *Rasayana?* What man would hear this, being inclined to take it for truth, and not dart off into foolish joy and not honour the master of such a wonderful art by popping the choicest bit of his meal into his mouth?

A famous representative of this art was Nagarjuna, a native of the fort Daihak, near Somanath. He excelled in it, and composed a book which contains the substance of the whole literature on this subject, and is very rare. He lived nearly a hundred years before our time…

5. The zodiac, Alberuni[15]

We have already mentioned, near the beginning of the book, that the language of the Hindus is extremely rich in nouns, both original and derivative, so that in some instances they call *one* thing by a multitude of different names. So I have heard them saying that they have a thousand names all meaning *sun;* and, no doubt, each planet has quite as many, or nearly as many names, since they could not do with less (for the purposes of versification).

The names of the weekdays are the best known. The names of the planets connected with the word *bara,* which follows after the planet's name, as in Persian the word *shambih* follows after the number of the weekday *(dushambih, sihshambih,* & c), So they say :

Aditya bara, i.e. Sunday.
Soma bara, i.e. Monday.
Mangala bara, i.e. Tuesday.
Budha bara, i.e, Wednesday.
Brihaspati bara, i.e. Thursday.
Sukra bara, i.e. Friday.
Sanaiscara bara, i.e. Saturday.

And thus they go on counting, beginning anew with Sunday, Monday, & c…

The Greeks mark the planets with figures, to fix by their limits on the *astrolabe* in an easily intelligible manner, images which are not letters of the alphabet. The Hindus use a similar system of abridgement; however, their figures are not images invented for the purpose, but the initial characters of the names of the planets, e.g. *a* = *Aditya,* or the Sun; *c* = *Candra,* or the Moon; b = *Budha,* or Mercury…

The names of the months are related to those of the lunar stations. As two or three stations belong to each month, the name of the month is derived from one of them.

The signs of the zodiac have names corresponding to the images which they represent, and which are the same among the Hindus as among all other nations. The third sign is called *Mithuna,* which means a pair consisting of a boy and a girl; in fact, the same as *the Twins,* the well-known image of this sign…

6. Hindu calendar, Nicolo Conti[16]

They divide the year into twelve months, which they name after the signs of the zodiac. The area is computed variously. The greater part date its commencement from Octavian, in whose time there was peace all over the world. But they call 1,400, 1,490.

7. Traditions relating to the Poles, Alberuni[17]

The pole, in the language of the Hindus, is called *dhruva* and the axis *salaka*. The Hindus, with the exception to their astronomers, speak always only *one* pole, the reason of which is their belief in *the dome of heaven,* as we have heretofore explained. According to *Vayu-Purana,* heaven revolves round the pole like a potter's wheel, and the pole revolves round itself, without changing its own place. This revolution is finished in 30 *muhurta, i.e.* in one *nychthemeron...*

8. The accomplishments of the people [*adab*], Gardizi[18]

Their sciences and accomplishments are manifold. One of them is charms (*afsun*). It is reported that, should they be willing, they will what they wish. With their charms they heal, and, whatever limb it be, they expel illness from it and pass it over to some other person. Another accomplishment is telepathy (lit. 'imagination and thought'), and it is reported that by it they obtain wonders and address words to the absent by means of telepathy, and thus it happens. By persuasion and telepathy (*i'tqad-va-guman*) and show phantoms by which great sages are preplexed (reading *tahayyur* for *tamiz*). They also have a procedure called *simaband* (spelt *sh.mat.nt*) which refers to the wonderful talismans which they make. They recite incantations (*khwanish* 'hymns'?) tantamount to talismans and they impart these incantations to their disciples. of these incantations one particularly astonishing is (that) stopping hail (*ihala*), which they chase from one place to another. And thus they make contracts with villages and other places for protecting them against hail. They make contracts from year to year, and, should someone refrain, they will send hail against his land.

Another incantation (*khwanish*) is against snake-poison, which they remove from a man's body. Hamd ibn valak (?) GARDIZI told me that a man was bitten by a snake; thereupon (*bar jay*) he grew old and became like a corpse and they wanted to bury him. Meanwhile, an Indian came up and said: "he has fainted but has not died". He then kept reciting a spell

(*afsum bi-khwandan istad*) and that man recovered his senses. (The Indian) brought out the poison from where the snake bit him and the man got up and walked away.

And they produce many similar wonders, by means of reciting spells (*afsun khwandan*). And they have a medical science the like of which no one has seen in the lands of Islam. Their claims in it are numerous, such as to maintain health, to avert illness, to put off senility, to increase sexual power, and besides, to restrain (*baz-dashtan*) inveterate ailments – such as some of our friends have witnessed ourselves have heard.

(Among) the wonders (are their) mathematics, geodesy, geometry, and astronomy, in which their science and authority (*sangi ?*) have reached a degree which it is impossible to explain for it is superhuman.

9. Science denominated physiognomy, Marco Polo[19]

In this country there are many adepts in the science denominated physiognomy, which teaches the knowledge of the nature and qualities of men, and whether they tend to good or evil. These qualities are immediately discerned upon the appearance of the man or woman. They also know what events are portended by meeting certain beasts or birds. More attention is paid by these people to the flight of birds than by any others in the world, and from thence they predict good or bad fortune. In every day of the week there is one hour which they regard as unlucky, and this they name *choiach;* thus, for example, on Monday the (canonical) hour of *mi-tierce,* on Tuesday the hour of *tierce,* on Wednesday the hour of *none;* and on these hours they do not make purchases, nor transact any kind of business, being persuaded that it would not be attended with success. In like manner they ascertain the qualities of every day throughout the year, which are described and noted in their books. They judge of the hour of the day by the length of a man's shadow when he stands erect. When an infant is born, be it a boy or a girl, the father or the mother makes a memorandum in writing of the day of the week on which the birth took place; also of the age of the moon, the name of the month, and the hour. This is done because every future act of their lives is regulated by astrology.

D. Legal system

1. Test of fire, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind,* An Account of China and India[20]

In India if a person makes a claim against another person in which capital punishment is necessary, the plaintiff is asked: 'Will you endure [the test of] fire?' When he says 'yes', then a piece of iron is heated to such an intensity that it becomes incandescent (lit. the fire appears in it). Then he is asked: 'Spread out your hand.' Then seven leaves of a tree found there are placed on his hand. Then the [hot] piece of iron is placed over the leaf. He then walks with it forwards and backwards until he drops it. Then a leather bag is fetched and his hand is put inside it. It is sealed with the royal seal. After three days, unpeeled rice is brought and he is asked to remove the husk from it. If this has no effect on his hand, he succeeds, and there is no death sentence against him, and the accused is compelled to pay a fine of one maund of gold which the Sultan appropriates for himself. Sometimes they boil water in an urn of iron or copper to such a degree that no one can even go near it. Then they cast an iron ring in it, and he [the plaintiff] is asked to put his hand inside it and to take the ring out. I have seen a person putting his hand in it and then taking it out unhurt [lit. healthy]. In this case also, the plaintiff has to pay one maund of gold.

2. Administer justice without arbiter, Al-Idrisi[21]

[The Indians] administer justice among themselves without any recourse to a judge or an arbitrator. They do all this naturally, by force of habit and character in which they are brought up and to which they are accustomed.

3. Justice in Chola kingdom, Chau Ju-Kua[22]

When anyone among the people is guilty of an offence one of the Court Ministers punishes him; if the offence is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy, or up to an hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or by being trampled to death by an elephant.

4. Crime and punishment, sati, Marco Polo[23]

The following extraordinary custom prevails at this place. When a man who has committed a crime, for which he has been tried and condemned to suffer death, upon being led to execution, declares his willingness to sacrifice himself in honour of some particular idol, his relations and friends

immediately place him in a kind of chair, and deliver to him twelve knives of good temper and well sharpened. In this manner they carry him about the city, proclaiming, with a loud voice, that this brave man is about to devote himself to a voluntary death, from motives of zeal for the worship of the idol. Upon reaching the place where the sentence of the law would have been executed, he snatches up two of the knives, and crying out, "I devote myself to death in honour of such an idol," hastily strikes one of them into each thigh, then one into each arm, two into the belly, and two into the breast. Having in this manner thrust all the knives but one into different parts of his body, repeating at every wound the words that have been mentioned, he plunges the last of them into his heart, and immediately expires. As soon as this scene has been acted, his relations proceed, with great triumph and rejoicing, to burn the body; and his wife, from motives of pious regard for her husband, throws herself upon the pile, and is consumed with him. Women who display this resolution are much applauded by the community, as, on the other hand, those who shrink from it are despised and reviled.

5. Payment of debt, Marco Polo[24]

Offences in this country are punished with strict and exemplary justice, and with regard to debtors the following customs prevail. If application for payment shall have been repeatedly made by a creditor, and the debtor puts him off from time to time with fallacious promises, the former may attach his person by drawing a circle round him, from whence he dare not depart until he has satisfied his creditor, either by payment, or by giving adequate security. Should he attempt to make his escape, he renders himself liable to the punishment of death, as a violator of the rules of justice. Messer Marco, when he was in this country on his return homeward, happened to be an eyewitness of a remarkable transaction of this nature. The king was indebted in a sum of money to a certain foreign merchant, and although frequently importuned for payment, amused him for a long time with vain assurances. One day when the king was riding on horse-back, the merchant took the opportunity of inscribing a circle round him and his horse. As soon as the king perceived what had been done, he immediately ceased to proceed, nor did he move from the spot until the demand of the merchant was fully satisfied. The bystanders beheld what passed with admiration, and

pronounced that king to merit the title of most just, who himself submitted to the laws of justice.

6. Oaths allowed, Nicolo Conti[25]

In criminal charges oaths are allowed, where there is no witness to prove the offence. There are three modes of swearing. In one, the person to whom the oath is administered stands before the idol, and swears by the idol that he is innocent. Having taken the oath, he then licks with his tongue a piece of iron, such as a mattock, red hot; if he escape uninjured he is declared innocent. Others again, having first taken the oath, carry the same piece of iron, or a red hot iron plate for several paces before the idol; if burnt in any part he is punished as guilty, if he escape unhurt he is exempt from the punishment awarded for the offence. There is a third manner of swearing, and this is the most common of all. A vessel is placed before the idol filled with boiling butter. He who swears that he is innocent of the offence charged against him, plunges two fingers into the butter, which are immediately wrapped up in linen and a seal impressed upon it, to prevent the covering being removed. On the third day the bandage is taken off. If any injury appear upon the fingers the accused is punished; if no injury present itself he is released.

7. Trial by ordeal at Calicut, Ma Huan[26]

Trial by ordeal is much practiced in this country, such as thrusting the finger of the accused into boiling oil, and then keeping him in jail for two or three days. If after that time the finger is ulcerated he is pronounced guilty and sentenced to punishment; but if his finger has received no injury he is at once set free, and escorted home by musicians engaged by the overseer. On his arrival home his relatives, neighbours, and friends make him presents and rejoice and feast together.

❑

CHAPTER — 4

State of Economy

A. Some important cities and ports
B. Ships and navigation
C. Pearl fishery
D. Communications
E. Artisans
F. Weights and measures
G. Currency
H. Prices and markets

A. Some important cities and ports

1. Multan, Ibn Khurdadhbih[1]

Al-Multan was named 'Frontier-place of the House of Gold' (*Farj Bayt al-Dhahab*), because Muhammad b. al-Qasim, the lieutenant of Hajjaj b. Yusuf, had obtained forty *bhar* of gold from a house there. One *bhar* is equal to three hundred and thirty-three *mann.* It was for this reason that the town was named 'Frontier-place of the House of Gold'. [The word] *al-farj* is synonymous with *al-thaghr* [frontier]. The quantity of the gold obtained was 2,37,600 *mithqal*…From al-Sind costus, qana and al-khayzuran (bamboos) are imported.

2. Muslims enriched by gold of Multan, Ibn Haukal[2]

The reason why Multan is designated "the boundary of the house of gold" is, that the Muhammadans, though poor at the time they conquered the place, enriched themselves by the gold which they found in it.

3. Multan, *Subh-ul-A'sha*[3]

It is situated in the third of the seven climates…It has been mentioned in *Masalik ul-Absar* on the authority of some works that the villages of Multan are 126,000.

4. Aror [Azur], *Subh-ul-A'sha*[4]

Aror: The author of *Al-Azizi* says, it is a big city and its inhabitants are Muslims who are under the rule of the Governor of Mansura.

5. Mansura [old Brahmanabad, Sind], Al-Idrisi[5]

Mansura occupies a space of a mile square. The climate is hot. The country produces dates and sugar canes in abundance. There are hardly any other fruits, if we except one, a sort of fruit called laimun, as big as an apple and of a very sour taste, and another which resembles the peach both in shape and taste. Mansura was built at the beginning of the reign of Al Mansur; of the Abbaside family. This prince gave his name ('the victorious') to four different cities, as a good augury that they might stand forever. The first was Baghdad in 'Irak; the second, Mansura in Sind; the third, Al Masisa, on the Mediterranean; the fourth, that of Mesopotamia. That of which we are now speaking is great, populous, rich, and commercial. Its environs are fertile. The buildings are constructed of bricks, tiles, and plaster. It is a place of recreation and of pleasure. Trade flourishes. The bazaars are filled with people, and well stocked with goods. The lower classes wear the Persian costume, but the princes wear tunics, and allow their hair to grow long like the princes of India. The money is silver and copper. The weight of the drachma (dinar) is five times that of the (ordinary) drachma. The Tatariya coins also are current here. Fish is plentiful, meat is cheap, and foreign and native fruits abound. The name of this city in Indian is Mirman. It is considered one of the dependencies of Sind, like Debal, Nirun, Bania, Kalari, Atri, Sharusan, Jandaur, Manhabari [Manjabari], Basmak and Multan.

6. Debal [a famous seaport of Sind on the site of modern Karachi, named after a Buddhist temple *devalya*, destroyed by Muslims in 711 A.D.], Al-Idrisi [6]

This is a populous place, but its soil is not fertile, and it produces scarcely any trees except the date-palm. The highlands are arid and the plains sterile. Houses are built of clay and wood, but the place is inhabited only because it is a station for the vessels of Sind and other countries. Trade is carried on in a great variety of articles, and is conducted with much intelligence. Ships laden with the production of Uman, and the vessels of China and India come to Debal. They bring stuffs and other goods from China, and the perfumes and aromatics of India. The inhabitants of Debal, who are generally rich, buy these goods in the bulk, and store them until the vessels are gone and they become scarce. Then they begin to sell, and go trading

into the country, putting their money out on interest, or employing it as may seem best.

7. Nirun [the old name of modern Haidarabad, Sind], *Subh-ul-A'sha*[7]

Nirun: The author of *Al-Lubab* says, "it is a city in the district of Daybul between the latter and Mansura and situated in the second of the seven climates."…

Ibn Said says, "it is one of the ports of the country of Sind and on which their saltish bay lies that comes out of the Persian Sea. The author of *AI Azizi* says, "its inhabitants are Muslims. Ibn Hauqal says, "it is a fertile place with abundant wealth and big bazars; around it there are many towns and markets.

8. Makran, *Subh-ul-A'sha* [8]

Ibn Hauqal says, "it is a broad and extensive region; consisting mostly of deserts and barren and arid plains."…Its capital is Tiz. It is situated in the second of the seven climates…Ibn Hauqal says, "it is the seaport of Mukran and those districts."

9. Lahari, south-east of Karachi [ruins of Debal?], Ibn Battuta [9]

After five days' travelling we reached 'Ala al-Mulk's province, Lahari, a fine town on the coast where the river of Sind discharges itself into the ocean. It possesses a large harbour, visited by men from Yemen, Fars, and elsewhere. For this reason its contributions to the Treasury and its revenues are considerable; the governor told me that the revenue from this town amounted to sixty lakhs per annum. The governor receives a twentieth part of this, that being the footing on which the sultan commits the provinces to his governors. I rode out one day with 'Ala al-Mulk, and we came to a plain called Tarna, seven miles from Lahari, where I saw an innumerable quantity of stones in the shape of men and animals. Many of them were disfigured and their forms effaced, but there remained a head or a foot or something of the sort. Some of the stones also had the shape of grains of wheat, chickpeas, beans and lentils, and there were remains of a city wall and house walls. We too saw the ruins of a house with a chamber of hewn stones, in the midst of which there was a platform of hewn stones resembling a single block, surmounted by a human figure, except that its head was elongated and its mouth on the side of its face and its hands

behind its back like a pinioned captive. The place had pools of stinking water and an inscription on one of its walls in Indian characters. ‘Ala al-Mulk told me that the historians relate that in this place there was a great city whose inhabitants were so depraved that they were turned to stone, and that it is their king who is on the terrace in the house, which is still called ‘the king’s palace.’ They add that the inscription gives the date of the destruction of the people of that city, which occurred about a thousand years ago.

10. Bakar and Uch, Ibn Battuta[10]

Bakar [is] a fine city intersected by a channel from the river of Sind. Thereafter I travelled from Bakar to the large town of Uja [Uch] which lies on the bank of the river and has fine bazaars and buildings.

11. Abohar first town after Multan, Ibn Battuta[11]

The first town we reached after leaving Multan was Abuhar [Abohar] which is the first town in India proper, and thence we entered a plain extending for a day’s journey.

12. Sirsa, Ibn Battuta[12]

Let us return to our original topic. We set out from the town of Ajudahan, and after four days’ march reached Sarasati [Sarsuti or Sirsa], a large town with quantities of rice of an excellent sort which is exported to the capital Delhi.

13. Kambay, Al-Idrisi[13]

Kambaya stands three miles from the sea, and is very pretty. It is well known as a naval station. Merchandise from every country is found here, and is sent on from hence to other countries. It is placed at the extremity of a bay, where vessels can enter and cast anchor. It is well supplied with water, and there is a fine fortress erected by the government of India to prevent the inroads of the inhabitants of the island of Kish. From Kambaya to the isle of Aubkin, two-and-a-half days’ sail. From Aubkin to Debal, two days. Kambaya is fertile in wheat and rice. Its mountains produce the Indian kana. The inhabitants are idolaters.

14. Of the kingdom of Kambaia [Cambay], Marco Polo[14]

This also is an extensive kingdom, situated towards west, governed by its own king, who pays no tribute to any other, and having its proper language.

The people are idolaters. In this country the north-star is seen still higher than in any of the preceding, in consequence of its lying further to the north-west. The trade carried on is very considerable, and a great quantity of indigo is manufactured. There is abundance of cotton cloth, as well as of cotton in the wool. Many skins well dressed are exported from hence, and the returns are received in gold, silver, copper, and tutty.

15. Cambay, Ibn Battuta[15]

Thereafter we travelled to the town of Kinbaya [Cambay], which is situated on an arm of the sea resembling a river; it is navigable for ships and its waters ebb and flow. I myself saw the ships there lying on the mud at ebb-tide and floating on the water at high tide. This city is one of the finest there is in regard to the excellence of its construction and the architecture of its mosques. The reason is that the majority of its inhabitants are foreign merchants, who are always building fine mansions and magnificent mosques and vie with one another in doing so.

16. Cambay, Nicolo Conti[16]

Cambay is situated near to the sea, and is twelve miles in circuit; it abounds in spikenard, lac, indigo, myrobalans, and silks.

17. Cambay, Athanasius Nikitin[17]

Cambayat is a port of the whole Indian sea, and a manufacturing place for every sort of goods; as talach [long gowns], damask, khan [a sort of silk], kiota [blankets], and there they prepare the blue stone colour.

18. Subara [Sopara, near Bassein in Thana district], Al-Idrisi[18]

Subara is situated one-and-a-half mile from the sea. It is a populous, busy town, and is considered one of the entrepots of India. They fish for pearls here. It is in the vicinity of Bara, a small island, on which some cocoa-nut trees and the costus grow. From Subara to Sindan is considered five days.

19. Sindan [Sanjan, north of Thana, Bombay], Al-Idrisi[19]

Sindan is a mile-and-a-half from the sea. It is populous, and the people are noted for their industry and intelligence. They are rich and of a warlike temper. The town is large, and has an extensive commerce both in exports and imports. East of Sindan there is an island bearing the same name and dependent on India. It is large and well cultivated, and the cocoanut palm, kana, and rattan grow there.

20. Saimur [modern Chaul in Colaba district Bombay], Al-Idrisi[20]

Saimur, five days from Sindan, is a large well-built town. Cocoanut trees grow here in abundance; henna also grows here, and the mountains produce many aromatic plants, which are exported.

21. Saimur, Zakariya Al Kazwini[21]

Saimur – A city of Hind near the confines of Sind. The people are very beautiful and handsome, from being born of Turk and Indian parents. There are Musulmans, Christians, Jews, and Fire-worshippers there. The merchandize of the Turks is conveyed hither, and the aloes called Saimuri are named from this place. The temple of Saimur is an idol temple, on the summit of a high eminence, under the charge of keepers. There are idols in it of turquoise and baijadak, which are highly venerated. In the city there are mosques, Christian churches synagogues, and Fire temples. The infidels do not slaughter animals, nor do they eat flesh, fish, or eggs; but there are some who will eat animals that have fallen down precipices, or that have been gored to death, but they do not eat those that have died a natural death. This information has been derived from Mis'ar bin Muhalhil, author of the *Ajaibu-l buldan*, who travelled into various countries and recorded their wonders.

22. The island of Kish which marked the limit of the voyages of Indian merchants trading with Persia and the West, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela[22]

[Kish is] a considerable market, being the point to which Indian merchants and those of the island bring their commodities; while the traders of Mesopotamia, Yemen and Persia import all sorts of silk and purple cloths, flax, cotton, hemp, mash (a kind of pea), wheat, barley, millet, rye and all sorts of comestibles and pulse, which articles form objects of exchange; those from India import great quantities of spices, and the inhabitants of the island live by what they gain in their capacity of brokers to both parties. The island contains about five hundred Jews.

23. Quilon, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela[23]

They [The people of Quilon] are descendents of Khush, are addicted to astrology, and are all black. This nation is very trustworthy in matters of trade, and whenever foreign merchants enter their port, three secretaries of the king immediately repair on board their vessels, write down their names

and report them to him. The king thereupon grants them security for property, which they may even leave in the open fields without any guard.

One of the king's officers sits in the market, and receives goods that may have been found anywhere, and which he returns to those applicants who can minutely describe them. This custom is observed in the whole empire of the king.

From Easter to New Year (from April to October) during the whole of the summer the heat is extreme. From the third hour of the day (nine O'clock in the morning) people shut themselves up in their houses until the evening, at which time everybody goes out. The streets and markets are lighted up and the inhabitants employ all the night upon their business, which they are prevented from doing in the daytime, in consequence of the excessive heat.

24. Quilon, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela[24]

…The pepper grows in this country; the trees which bear this fruit are planted in the fields, which surround the towns, and every one knows his plantation. The trees are small and the pepper is originally white, but when they collect it, they put it into basins and pour hot water upon it; it is then exposed to the heat of the sun and dried in order to make it hard and more substantial, in the course of which process it becomes of a black colour.

Cinnamon, ginger, and many other kinds of spices also grow in this country.

25. Quilon, Chau Ju-Kua[25]

Quilon may be reached in five days with the monsoon from Nanp'i. It takes a Ts'uan-chou ship over forty days to reach Lan-li (i.e., Lan-wu-li); there the winter is spent, and the following year, a further voyage of a month will take it to this country...

The native products comprise cocoanuts and sapan-wood; for wine they use a mixture of honey with cocoanuts and the juice of a flower; which they let ferment…

For the purpose of trade they use coins of gold and silver; twelve silver coins are worth one gold one. The country is warm and has no cold season. Every year ships come to this country from San-fo-ts'i, Kien-pi and Ki-t'o [all in Sumatra], and the articles they trade with are the same as in Nan-p'i.

"Great numbers of Ta-shi [Arabs] live in this country.

26. Of the kingdom of Koulam [Quilon], Marco Polo [26]

Upon leaving Maabar and proceeding five hundred miles towards the south-west, you arrive at the kingdom of Koulam. It is the residence of many Christians and Jews, who retain their proper language. The king is not tributary to any other. Much good sappan-wood grows there, and pepper in great abundance, being found both in the woody and the open parts of the country. It is gathered in the months of May, June, and July; and the vines which produce it are cultivated in plantations. Indigo also, of excellent quality and in large quantities, is made here. They procure it from an herbaceous plant, which is taken up by the roots and put into tubs of water, where it is suffered to remain till it rots; when they press out the juice. This, upon being exposed to the sun, and evaporated, leaves a kind of paste, which is cut into small pieces of the form in which we see it brought to us.

The heat during some months is so violent as to be scarcely supportable; yet the merchants resort thither from various parts of the world, such, for instance, as the kingdom of Manji and Arabia, attracted by the great profits they obtain both upon the merchandise they import, and upon their returning cargoes...

Wine is made from the sugar yielded by a species of palm. It is extremely good, and inebriates faster than the wine made from grapes. The inhabitants possess abundance of everything necessary for the food of man excepting grain, of which there is no other kind than rice; but of this the quantify is very great.

Among them are many astrologers and physicians, well versed in their art. All the people, both male and female, are black, and, with the exception of a small piece of cloth attached to the front of their bodies, they go quite naked. Their manners are extremely sensual, and they take as wives their relations by blood, their mothers-in-law, upon the death of their fathers, and the widows of their deceased brothers. But this, as I have been informed, is the state of morals in every part of India.

27. Quilon, Ibn Battuta[27]

On the tenth day we reached the city of Kawlam [Quilon], one of the finest towns in the Mulaybar-lands. It has fine bazaars, and its merchants are called Sulis. They are immensely wealthy; a single merchant will buy a vessel with all that is in it and load it with goods from his own house. There

is a colony of Muslim merchants; the cathedral mosque is a magnificent building, constructed by the merchant Khwaja Muhazzab. This city is the nearest of the Mulaybar towns to China and it is to it that most of the merchants [from China] come. Muslims are honoured and respected in it. The sultan of Kawlam is an infidel called the Tirawari; he respects the Muslims and has severe laws against thieves and profligates.

28. Tanjore – rice country, Ibn Khurdadhbih[28]

From there (Mulay) to Bullin [neighbourhood of Tanjore district], it is two days' journey [by sea], and from there to al-Lujjat al-Uzma (the Great Fathomless Sea) it is a journey of two days [by sea]. From Bullin the sea routes bifurcate. Thus, anyone sailing along the coast will take two days from Bullin to Babattan [Coromandel Coast]. This is the country of rice and is the source of provisions for the inhabitants of Sarandib.

29. Mali, Al-Idrisi[29]

Five miles by sea (from Kulam Mali) lies the island of Mali, which is large and pretty. It is an elevated plateau, but not very hilly, and is covered with vegetation. The pepper vine grows in this island, as in Kandarina and Jirbatan, but it is found nowhere else but in these three places. It is a shrub, having a trunk like that of the vine; the leaf is like the convolvulus, but longer; it bears grapes like those of the Shabuka, each bunch of which is sheltered by a leaf which curls over when the fruit is ripe. White pepper is what is gathered as it begins to ripen, or even before. Ibn Khurdadba states that the leaves curl over the bunches to protect them from the rain, and that they return to their natural position when the rain is over – a surprising fact!

Kambaya, Subara, Sindan, and Saimur form part of India. The last named belongs to a country whose king is called Balhara: his kingdom is vast, well-peopled, commercial, and fertile. It pays heavy taxes, so that the king is immensely rich. Many aromatics and perfumes are produced in this country.

30. Broach, Al-Idrisi[30]

Baruh [Bharuch, Broach] is a large handsome town, well-built of bricks and plaster. The inhabitants are rich and engaged in trade, and they freely enter upon speculations and distant expeditions. It is a port for the vessels coming from China, as it is also for those of Sind. From hence to Saimur is considered two days' journey, and to Nahrwara eight days through a flat

country where they travel in carriages on wheels. In all Nahrwara and its environs there is no other mode of travelling except in chariots drawn by oxen under the control of a driver. These carriages are fitted with harness and traces, and are used for the carriage of goods.

31. Tanna, Al-Idrisi[31]

Bana [Tanna] is a pretty town upon a great gulf where vessels anchor and from whence they set sail. In the neighbouring mountains the kana and tabashir grow. The roots of the kana which are gathered here are transported to the east and to the west. The tabashir is adulterated by mixing it with ivory cinders, but the real article is extracted from the roots of the reed called *sharki*...

32. The ancient city of Thana, Odoric of Pordenone[32]

The city is excellent in position, and hath great store of bread and wine, and aboundeth in trees. This was a great place in days of old, for it was the city of King Porus [it is difficult to say how Porus got associated with these parts; one speculation is that the Elephanta Caves situated nearby were attributed to Alexander by foreigners and Porus thus too was relocated here], who waged so great a battle with King Alexander. The people thereof are idolaters, for they worship fire, and serpents, and trees also. The land is under the dominion of the Saracens, who have taken it by force of arms, and they are now subject to the Empire of Dili.

33. Kandaria, Al-Idrisi [33]

From Bana [Tanna] to Fandarina is four days. Fandarina is a town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manibar [Malabar] where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets well supplied, and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain covered with trees, villages, and flocks. The cardamom grows here, and forms the staple of a considerable trade. It grows like the grains of hemp, and the grains are enclosed in pods. From Fandarina to Jirbatan, a populous town on a little river is five days. It is fertile in rice and grain, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandib. Pepper grows in the neighbouring mountains. From Jirbatan to Sanji and Kaikasar two days. These are maritime towns near to each other; the neighbourhood produces rice and corn. From hence to Kilkayan one day. From Kilkayan to Lulu and to Kanja one day. The vicinity is fertile in rice and wheat, and produces

sapan wood abundantly. The growth of this tree resembles that of the oleander. Cocoa nut trees abound. From Kanja to Samandar thirty miles.

34. Samandar [Sonargoan], Al-Idrisi[34]

Samandar is a large town, commercial, and rich, where there are good profits to be made. It is a port dependant upon Kanauj, king of this country. It stands upon a river, which comes from the country of Kashmir. Rice and various grains, especially excellent wheat, are to be obtained here. Aloe wood is brought hither from the country of Karmut [Kamrup?] 15 days' distance, by a river of which the waters are sweet. The aloe wood which comes from this country is of a superior quality and of a delicious perfume. It grows in the mountains of Karan.

35. Kanauj, Al-Idrisi[35]

[Kanauj] is a fine commercial city which gives its name to the king of the country. It is built upon the banks of a large river which falls into the Musala.

36. Kanauj, Ibn Battuta[36]

Thence we travelled to the river known as *Ab-i Siyah* ['Black Water,' Kalindi] and from there reached the city of Qinawj [Kanauj]. It is a large, well-built and strongly fortified city; prices there are cheap and sugar plentiful, and it is surrounded by a great wall.

37. Kandahar, Al-Idrisi [37]

Kandahar is a city built in the mountains of which we have just spoken, eight days journey from Moridas, and the road from one place to the other passes over the mountains. It is a considerable town, and well peopled. The inhabitants are remarkable for the manner in which they allow their beards to grow. Their beards are large and very thick, and hang down to their knees. This has given rise to a proverbial saying. They are stout in person, and wear the Turkish costume. The country produces wheat, rice, various grains, sheep, and oxen. They eat sheep, which have died a natural death, but not oxen, as we have already observed. From Kandahar to Nahrwara is five days' journey in carriages.

The people of Kandahar are often at war with those of Kabul, which is an Indian city, large and well built, bordering upon Tukharistan. The mountains produce excellent aloe wood, and the neighbourhood supplies

cocoa nuts and myrobolans, which grow in the hills, and of that sort which is called Kabuli, from this town. In the lowlands saffron is largely cultivated, and is the object of a large export trade. It is a hazardous crop, depending upon the state of the atmosphere. The city of Kandahar is defended by a very strong citadel built upon a scarped rock, and is accessible by one road only. It is inhabited by Musulmans, and there is a quarter in which the infidel Jews dwell. No king can take the title of Shah until he has been inaugurated at Kabul. According to an ancient law, the assumption of power must be made in that city; hence it is resorted to from foreign and very distant countries. In the fertile lands of Kabul a good deal of indigo is cultivated of the very best quality, it has a great repute, and is the object of a great trade. Cotton cloths are also made here, and are exported to China, Khurasan, and Sind. There are some well-known iron mines in the mountains of Kabul. The metal is of a grey colour, and veined – it becomes very sharp.

38. Taifand, Zakariya Al Kazwini[38]

Taifand – An impregnable fortress upon the summit of a moun-tain in India, to which there is only one way of access. On the top of this mountain there is water, cultivated land, and all necessary food. Yaminu-d daula Mahmud bin Subuktigin in the year 414 A.H. (1023 A.D.) besieged it for a long time, but at length reduced its garrison to extremities. There were 500 elephants on the mountain. The garrison asked quarter, and it was granted, and the fortress was confirmed to its master on payment of tribute. The lord of the fortress presented many gifts to the Sultan, among which was a bird in the form of a dove. When food containing poison was presented to this bird, tears would fall from its eyes, and the tear drops were converted into stone, which stone being broken and placed upon a wound, it would heal up. This bird is found only in this place, and does not thrive elsewhere.

39. Hu-ch'a-la [the earliest reference to Gujarat in a Chinese work], Chau Ju-Kua,[39]

The kingdom of Hu-ch'a-la rules over a hundred cities and more; its (principal) city has a four-fold wall….

The native products comprise great quantities of indigo, red kino, myrobalans and foreign cotton stuffs of every colour. Every year these goods are transported to the Ta-shi countries for sale.

40. Of the kingdom of Gujarat, Marco Polo[40]

The kingdom of Guzzerat, which is bounded on the western side by the Indian Sea, is governed by its own king, and has its peculiar language…

This country affords harbour to pirates of the most desperate character, who, when in their cruises they seize upon a travelling merchant, immediately oblige him to drink a dose of sea-water, which by its operation on his bowels discovers whether he may not have swallowed pearls or jewels, upon the approach of an enemy in order to conceal them...

Cotton is produced in large quantities from a tree that is about six yards in height, and bears during twenty years; but the cotton taken from trees of that age is not adapted for spinning, but only for quilting. Such, on the contrary, as is taken from trees of twelve years old is suitable for muslins and other manufactures of extraordinary fineness. Great numbers of skins of goats, buffaloes, wild oxen, rhinoceroses, and other beasts are dressed here; and vessels are loaded with them, and bound to different parts of Arabia. Coverlets for beds are made of red and blue leather, extremely delicate and soft, and stitched with gold and silver thread; upon these the Mahometans are accustomed to repose. Cushions also, ornamented with gold wire in the form of birds and beasts, are the manufacture of this place; and in some instances their value is so high as six marks of silver. Embroidery is here performed with more delicacy than in any other part of the world.

41. The Country of Gujarat, *Subh-ul-A'sha*[41]

In it there are a number of cities and towns. *Nahlawara* [Anhilvara, Patan, near Ahmadabad]…It is bigger than Kanbayat and its population is scattered between gardens and water…

Kanbayat [from Khambavati, city of pillars, modern Cambay]…It is a city on the coast of the Indian Ocean…It is a beautiful city bigger than Ma'arra in Sind. Its buildings are of brick and there is also white marble; but there are only a few gardens in it.

Tana: It is a city on the sea side situated in the first of the seven climates...As stated in *Taqwim ul-Buldan,* it belongs to the eastern region of Guzerat. Ibn Said says, "it is a well-known place among the merchants. All the inhabitants of this sea coast", he says, "are infidels who worship idols, and Muslims live with them". Al-Idrisi relates, "its fields and hills produce reed *(qana)* and 'sugar of bamboo' which are exported from there to other

countries. Abu Raiban calls it nisba 'Tanishi;' the 'Tanishi cloth' come from there.

Somnath: It is situated in the second climate…Ibn Said says, "it is well-known among the travellers and is also known as the land of Lar. It is situated on a headland which projects into the sea so that many ships bound for Aden touch it, because it is not in a gulf. It lies on the mouth of a river that comes down from the big mountains lying in the North-east. There was an idol which the Hindus held in great honour and which belonged to this place; it was called the 'Idol of Somnath.'

It was destroyed by Yaminuddaula Mahmud bin Sabuktigin when he conquered it as is mentioned in the historical books.

Sadan…It is a city at three days' distance from Tana, situated in the first of the seven climates…In *Taqwim ul-Buldan* it is said on the authority of some travellers that it is situated on a gulf in the Green Ocean and it is the last region of Guzerat. According to *Al-Qanun* it lies on the sea coast. The author of *Al-Azizi* says "the distance between this place and Mansura is fifteen farsakhs and it is the place where roads converge". He continues, it is the land of costus, male and female bamboos and is one of the biggest ports on the sea…

42. Of the kingdom of Murphili or Monsul, Marco Polo[42]

The kingdom of Murphili is that which you enter upon leaving the kingdom of Maabar, after proceeding five hundred miles in a northerly direction. Its in-habitants worship idols, and are independent of any other state. They subsist upon rice, flesh, fish, and fruits. In the mountains of this kingdom it is that diamonds are found. During the rainy season the water descends in violent torrents amongst the rocks and caverns, and when these have subsided the people go to search for diamonds in the beds of the rivers, where they find many. Messer Marco was told that in the summer, when the heat is excessive and there is no rain, they ascend the mountains with great fatigue, as well as with considerable danger from the number of snakes with which they are infested. Near the summit, it is said, there are deep valleys, full of caverns and surrounded by precipices, amongst which the dia-monds are found; and here many eagles and white storks, attracted by the snakes on which they feed, are accustomed to make their nests. The persons who are in quest of the diamonds take their stand near the mouths

of the caverns, and from thence cast down several pieces of flesh, which the eagles and storks pursue into the valley, and carry off with them to the tops of the rocks. Thither the men immediately ascend, drive the birds away, and recovering the pieces of meat frequently find diamonds sticking to them. Should the eagles have had time to devour the flesh, they watch the place of their roosting at night, and in the morning find the stones amongst the dung and filth that drops from them. But you must not suppose that the good diamonds come among Christians, for they are carried to the grand khan, and to the kings and chiefs of that country. In this country they manufacture the finest cottons that are to be met within any part of India. They have cattle enough, and the largest sheep in the world, and plenty of all kinds of food.

43. Kael, Marco Polo[43]

Kael is a considerable city, governed by Astiar, one of the four brothers, kings of the country of Maabar, who is rich in gold and jewels, and preserves his country in a state of profound peace. On this account it is a favourite place of resort for foreign merchants, who are well received and treated by the king. Accordingly all the ships coming from the west – as from Ormus, Chisti, Aden, and various parts of Arabia – laden with merchandise and horses, make this port, which is besides well situated for commerce. The prince maintains in the most splendid manner not fewer than three hundred women.

44. Of Malabar, Marco Polo[44]

Malabar is an extensive kingdom of the Greater India, situated towards the west…The people are governed by their own king, who is independent of every other state, and they have their proper language. In this country the north star is seen about two fathoms above the horizon. As well here as in the kingdom of Guzzerat…there are numerous pirates, who yearly scour these seas with more than one hundred small vessels, seizing and plundering all the merchant ships that pass that way. They take with them to sea their wives and children of all ages, who continue to accompany them during the whole of the summer's cruise. In order that no ships may escape them, they anchor their vessels at the distance of five miles from each other; twenty ships thereby occupying a space of an hundred miles. Upon a trader's appearing in sight of one of them, a signal is made by fire or by

smoke; when they all draw closer together, and capture the vessel as she attempts to pass. No injury is done to the persons of the crew; but as soon as they have made prize of the ship, they turn them on shore, recommending to them to provide themselves with another cargo, which, in case of their passing that way again, may be the means of enriching their captors a second time.

In this kingdom there is vast abundance of pepper, ginger, cubebs, and Indian nuts; and the finest and most beautiful cottons are manufactured that can be found in any part of the world. The ships from Manji bring copper as ballast; and besides this, gold brocades, silks, gauzes, gold and silver bullion, together with many kinds of drugs not produced in Malabar; and these they barter for the commodities of the province. There are merchants on the spot who ship the former for Aden, from whence they are transported to Alexandria.

45. The Province of Manibar [from Sanskritised Malayabar, *bar* indicates that which is both a coast and a kingdom], *Subh-ul-A'sha*[45]

It a region of Hind in the east of the Province of Guzarat which has already been mentioned. The author of *Taqwim ul-Buldan* says Manibar is the country of pepper. The pepper-tree has bunches like the ears of the millet plant and its tree entwines itself round other trees as the grape-vine does. There are many cities and all the districts of Manibar are green and abound in water and dense trees….

Shaliyat [Mount Delly, Eli in Portuguese sources, on the Malabar coast]: ["I went then to Shalyat, a very pretty town, where they make the stuff that bear its name" (shawl).

Kaulam [Quilon]: It is situated in the first climate…Ibn Said says, "it is the last of the land of pepper in the East. From that place ships sail to Aden…" There are many gardens and the long-wood grows there: this is a tree like that of pomegranate and its leaves resemble that of vine-grapes. There is a quarter for the Muslims and a Mosque.

46. The Country of Mabar, *Subh-ul-A'sha*[46]

Ibn Said says, "it is well known and muslin is exported from there; and its washermen are proverbial. In the North there are mountains adjoining the kingdom of Balhara the king of India. In the South the river Sulyan falls

into the Sea. In *Masalik ul-Absar* it is mentioned on the authority of the chief Qazi Sirajuddin al-Hind that the country of Mabar consists of numerous big islands. There are many cities and towns on them.

47. Fabrics at Shaliyat [near Calicut], Ibn Battuta[47]

I went on from there to ash-Shaliyat, a most beautiful town, in which the fabrics called by its name are manufactured.

48. Calicut, Abder Razzak[48]

Calicut is a perfectly secure harbour, which, like that of Ormuz, brings together merchants from every city and from every country; in it are to be found abundance of precious articles brought thither from maritime countries, and especially from Abyssinia, Zirbad, and Zanguebar; from time to time ships arrive there from the shores of the House of God [Mecca] and other parts of the Hedjaz, and abide at will, for a greater or longer space, in this harbour; the town is inhabited by Infidels, and situated on a hostile shore.

It contains a considerable number of Mussulmauns, who are constant residents, and have built two mosques, in which they meet every Friday to offer up prayer. They have one Kadi, a priest, and for the most part they belong to the sect of Schafei.

Security and justice are so firmly established in this city, that the most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes, which they un-load, and unhesitatingly send into the markets and the bazaars, without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the account or of keeping watch over the goods. The officers of the custom-house take upon themselves the charge of looking after the merchandise, over which they keep watch day and night. When a sale is effected, they levy a duty on the goods of one-fortieth part; if they are not sold, they make no charge on them whatsoever.

49. Calicut, Athanasius Nikitin[49]

Calecot (Calicut) is a port for the whole Indian sea, which God forbid any craft to cross, and whoever saw it will not go over it healthy. The country produces pepper, ginger, colour plants, muscat, cloves, cinnamon, aromatic roots, *adrach* (?) and every description of spices, and everything is cheap and servants and maids are very good.

50. Horses at Calicut, Wang Ta-Yuan[50]

They have fine horses which come from the extreme West, and which are brought here by the shipload. Each horse will fetch from an hundred to a thousand pieces of gold, even going as high as four thousand, and the foreign people who fetch them thither would think the market a very bad one if they did not.

51. Cochin, Fel Hsin[51]

This locality is on a headland facing Hsi-lan (Ceylon). To the interior it confines on Ku-li. The climate is constantly hot, the soil is poor, the crops sparse. The villages are on the sea-shore. The usages and customs are honest…

The natural product is a great abundance of pepper. Wealthy people put up broad godowns in which to store it. In their trading transactions they use a small gold coin called *panan (fanam)*. The goods used in trading are coloured satins, white silk, blue and white porcelain-ware, gold and silver.

52. Merchants at Cochin, Ma Huan[52]

All trading transactions are carried on by the Chittis, who buy the pepper from the farmers when it is ripe, and sell it to foreign ships when they pass by. They also buy and collect precious stones and other costly wares. A pearl weighing three-and-a-half candareens can be bought for a hundred ounces of silver. Coral is sold by the catti; inferior pieces of coral are cut into beads and polished by skilled workmen; these are also sold by weight. The coinage of the country is a gold piece, called Fa-nan, weighing one candareen; there is also a little silver coin called a Ta-urh, which is used for making small purchases in the market. Fifteen Ta-urhs make a Fa-nan.

There are no asses or geese in this country, and there is neither wheat nor barley; rice, maize, hemp, and millet abound. Articles of tribute are sent to China by our ships on their return voyage.

53. Coimbatore, Ma Huan[53]

…the kingdom or city of K-an-pa-mei [Coimbatore] [is] a great seat of cotton manufacture where is made, as also in the surrounding districts, a cloth called Chih-li (Chih-li-pu) cloth. It is made up into pieces, four feet five inches wide and twenty-five feet long; it is sold there for eight or ten gold pieces of their money. They also prepare raw silk for the loom which they dye various shades of colour and then weave into flowered pattern

goods made up into pieces four to five feet wide and twelve to thirteen feet long. Each length is sold for one hundred gold pieces of their money.

54. Wonderful harbour at Fattan [Kaveripattam or Negapattam], Ibn Battuta[54]

I left the camp and reached Fattan [Kaveripattam or Negapattam?], which is a large and fine city on the coast, with a wonderful harbour. There is a great wooden pavilion in it, erected on enormous beams and reached by a covered wooden gallery. When an enemy attacks the place they tie all the vessels in port to this pavilion, which is manned by soldiers and archers, so that the enemy has no chance [of capturing them]. In this city there is a fine mosque, built of stone, and it has also large quantities of grapes and excellent pomegranates. I met here the pious shaykh Muhammad of Nishapur, one of the crazy darwishes who let their hair hang loose over their shoulders. He had with him a lion which he had tamed, and which used to eat and sit along with the darwishes. Accompanying him were about thirty darwishes, one of whom had a gazelle. Though the gazelle and the lion used to be together in the same place, the lion did not molest it.

55. The city and seaport of Pelagonda, Nicolo Conti[55]

The very noble city of Pelagonda is subject to the same king; it is ten miles in circumference, and is distant eight days' journey from Bizenegalia. Travelling afterwards hence by land for twenty days he arrived at a city and seaport called Peudifetania, on the road to which he passed two cities, viz., Odeschiria and Cenderghiria, where the red sandal wood grows.

56. Trade at Bedar, Athanasius Nikitin[56]

In Bedar there is a trade in horses, goods, stuffs, silks, and all sorts of other merchandise, and also in black people; but no other article is sold but Indian goods, and every kind of eatables; no goods, however, that will do for Russia. And all are black and wicked, and the women all harlots, or witches, or thieves and cheats; and they destroy their masters with poison.

57. Trade routes, Ibn Khurdadhbih[57]

The Jewish merchants…travel from the West to the East, and from the East to the West, now by land and now by sea…. they embark on the Eastern sea (Red Sea) and go from Colzom to Hedjaz and Jidda; and then to

Sind, India and China. On their return they bring musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon and other products of the eastern countries….

B. Ships and Navigation

1. Ships 'mighty frail,' John of Monte Corvino[58]

Their ships in these parts are mighty frail and uncouth, with no iron in them, and no caulking. They are sewn like clothes with twine. And so if the twine breaks anywhere there is a breach indeed! Once every year therefore there is a mending of this, more or less, if they propose to go to sea. And they have a frail and flimsy rudder like the top of a table, of cubit in width, in the middle of the stern; and when they have to tack, it is done with a vast deal of trouble; and if it is blowing in any way hard, they cannot tack at all. They have but one sail and one mast, and the sails are either matting or of some miserable cloth. The ropes are of husk.

Moreover their mariners are few and far from good. Hence they run a multitude of risks, insomuch that they are wont to say, when any ship achieves her voyage safely and soundly, that 'tis by God's guidance, and man's skill hath little availed. -

2. Ships and navigation, Nicolo Conti[59]

The natives of India steer their vessels for the most part by the stars of the southern hemisphere, as they rarely see those of the north.

They are not acquainted with the use of the compass, but measure their courses and the distances of places by the elevation and depression of the pole. They find out where they are by this mode of measurement. They build some ships much larger than ours, capable, of containing two thousand butts, and with five sails and as many masts. The lower part is constructed with triple planks, in order to withstand the force of the tempests to which they are much exposed. But some ships are so built in compartments, that should one part be shattered, the other portion remaining entire may accomplish the voyage.

3. Chinese ships at Calicut, Ma Huan[60]

When a ship arrives from China, the king's overseer and a Chitti go on board and make an invoice of the goods, and a day is settled for valuing the cargo. On the day appointed the silk goods, more especially the Khinkis (Kincobs), are first inspected and valued, which when decided on, all

present join hands, whereupon the broker says, “The price of your goods is now fixed, and cannot in any way be altered.”

The price to be paid for pearls and precious stones is arranged by the Weinaki broker, and the value of the Chinese goods taken in exchange for them is that previously fixed by the broker in the way above stated.

C. Pearl fishery

Fishery of pearls at Maabar [the Coromandel coast], Marco Polo[61]

Leaving the island of Zeilan, and sailing in a westerly direction sixty miles, you reach the great province of Maabar, which is not an island, but a part of the continent of the Greater India, as it is termed, being the noblest and richest country in the world. It is governed by four kings, of whom the principal is named Sender-bandi. Within his dominions is a fishery for pearls, in the gulf of a bay that lies between Maabar and the island of Zeilan, where the water is not more than from ten to twelve fathoms in depth, and in some places not more than two fathoms. The business of the fishery is conducted in the following manner. A number of merchants form themselves into separate companies, and employ many vessels and boats of different sizes, well provided with ground-tackle, by which to ride safely at anchor. They engage and carry with them persons who are skilled in the art of diving for the oysters in which the pearls are enclosed. These they bring up in bags made of netting that are fastened about their bodies, and then repeat the operation, rising to the surface when they can no longer keep their breath, and after a short interval diving again. In this operation they persevere during the whole of the day, and by their exertions accumulate (in the course of the season) a quantity of oysters sufficient to supply the demands of all countries. The greater proportion of the pearls obtained from the fisheries in this gulf, are round, and of a good lustre. The spot where the oysters are taken in the greatest number is called Betala, on the shore of the mainland; and from thence the fishery extends sixty miles to the southward.

In consequence of the gulf being infested with a kind of large fish, which often prove destructive to the divers, the merchants take the precaution of being accompanied by certain enchanters belonging to a class of Brahmans, who, by means of their diabolical art, have the power of constraining and

stupefying these fish, so as to prevent them from doing mischief; and as the fishing takes place in the daytime only, they discontinue the effect of the charm in the evening; in order that dishonest persons who might be inclined to take the opportunity of diving at night and stealing the oysters, may be deterred by the apprehension they feel of the unrestrained ravages of these animals. The enchanters are likewise profound adepts in the art of fascinating all kinds of beasts and birds. The fishery commences in the month of April, and lasts till the middle of May. The privilege of engaging in it is farmed of the king, to whom a tenth part only of the produce is allowed; to the magicians they allow a twentieth part, and consequently they reserve to themselves a considerable profit. By the time the period above-mentioned is completed, the stock of oysters is exhausted; and the vessels are then taken to another place, distant full three hundred miles from this gulf, where they establish themselves in the month of September, and continue till the middle of October. Independently of the tenth of the pearls to which the king is entitled, he requires to have the choice of all such as are large and well-shaped; and as he pays liberally for them, the merchants are not disinclined to carry them to him for that purpose.

D. Communications

Postal service of two kinds, Ibn Battuta[62]

In India the postal service is of two kinds. The mounted couriers travel on horses belonging to the sultan with relays every four miles. The service of couriers on foot is organized in the following manner. At every third of a mile there is an inhabited village, outside which there are three pavilions. In these sit men girded up ready to move off, each of whom has a rod a yard and a half long with brass bells at the top. When a courier leaves the town he takes the letter in the fingers of one hand and the rod with the bells in the other, and runs with all his might. The men in the pavilions, on hearing the sound of the bells, prepare to meet him, and when he reaches them one of them takes the letter in his hand and passes on, running with all his might and shaking his rod until he reaches the next station, and so the letter is passed on till it reaches its destination. This post is quicker than the mounted post. It is sometimes used to transport fruits from Khurasan which are highly valued in India; they are put on plates and carried with great

speed to the sultan. In the same way they transport the principal criminals; they are each placed on a stretcher and the couriers run carrying the stretcher on their heads. The sultan's drinking water is brought to him by the same means, when he resides at Dawlat Abad, from the river Kank (Ganges), to which the Hindus go on pilgrimage and which is at a distance of forty days' journey from there.

E. Artisans

1. Steel manufacturing, Al-Idrisi[63]

The Indians are very good at making various compounds of mixtures of substances with the help of which they melt the malleable iron; it then turns into Indian iron, and is called after *al-Hind*. There, in *al-Hind*, are workshops where swords are manufactured, and their craftsmen make excellent ones surpassing those made by other peoples.…no iron is comparable to the Indian one in sharpness.

2. Artisans skilled, Shihabuddin al Umari[64]

In it [the land] are artisans such as makers of swords, bows and spears and different kinds of weapons and coat of mail, goldsmiths, embroiderers, saddlers and masters of every craft who make special things for men and women and masters of swords and pen and the common people of whom the number cannot be reckoned.

3. Artisans of Delhi sent to Samarkand, Timur[65]

I ordered that all the artisans and clever mechanics, who were masters of their respective crafts, should be picked out from among the prisoners and set aside, and accordingly some thou-sands of craftsmen were selected to await my command. All these I distributed among the princes and *amirs* who were present, or who were engaged officially in other parts of my dominions. I had determined to build a *masid-i jami* in Samarkand, the seat of my empire, which should be without rival in any country; so I ordered that all builders and stone-masons should be set apart for my own especial service.

F. Weights and measures

1. Hindu metrology and measurement, Alberuni[66]

Counting is innate to man. The measure of a thing becomes known by its being compared with another thing which belongs to the same species and is assumed as a unit by general consent. Thereby the difference between the object and this standard becomes known.

By weighing, people determine the amount of gravity of heavy bodies, when the tongue of the scales stands at right angles on the horizontal plane. Hindus want the scales very little, because their *dirhams* are determined by number, not by weight, and their fractions, too, are simply counted as so-and-so many *fulus*. The coinage of both *dirhams* and *fulus* is different according to towns and districts. They weigh gold with the scales only when it is in its natural state or such as has been worked, *e.g.* for ornaments, but not coined. They use as a weight of gold the *Suvarna* = 1 ½ *tola.* They use the *tola* as frequently as we use the *mithkal.* According to what I have been able to learn from them, it corresponds to 3 of our *dirhams,* of which 10 equal 7 *mithkal.*

Therefore 1 *tola = 2-1/10* of our *mithkal.*

The greatest fraction of a *tola* is *1/12* called *masha.*

Therefore 16 *masha* = 1 *suvarna...*

The reader must know that 16 *masha* are 1 *suvarna,* but in weighing wheat or barley they reckon 4 *suvarna* = 1 *pala,* and in weighing water and oil they reckon 8 *survarna* = 1 *pala.*

The Hindu balance

The balances with which the Hindus weigh things are…of which the weights are immovable, whilst the scales move on certain marks and lines.

Therefore the balance is called *tula.* The first lines mean the units of the weight from 1 to 5, and farther on to 10; the following lines mean the tenths, 10, 20, 30, &c...

Dry measurement

By measuring (with dry measures) people determine the body and the bulk of a thing, if it fills up a certain measure which has been gauged as containing a certain quantity of it, it being understood that the way in which the things are laid out in the measure, the way in which their surface is determined, and the way in which, on the whole, they are arranged within the measure, are in every case identical. If two objects which are to be weighed belong to the same species, they then prove to be equal, not only in

bulk, but also in weight; but if they do not belong to the same species, their bodily extent is equal, not their weight.

They have a measure called *bisi* (? *sibi),* which is mentioned by every man from Kanauj and Somanath…

From the same source I learnt that a *mana* of wheat is nearly equal to 5 *mana.* Therefore 1 *bisi* {?) is equal to 20 *mana...*

Measurement of distance

Mensuration is the determination of distances by lines and of superficies by planes. A plane ought to be measured by part of a plane, but the mensuration by means of lines effects the same purpose, as lines determine the limits of planes. When, in quoting Varahamihira, we had come so far as to determine the weight of a barley-corn, we made a digression into an exposition of weights, where we used his authority about gravity, and now we shall return to him and consult him about distances. He says:-

8 barley-corns put together = 1 *angula, i.e.* finger.

4 fingers = 1 *rama* (?), *i.e.* the fist.

24 fingers = 1 *hattha, i.e.* yard, also called *dasta.*

4 yards = 1 *dhanu, i.e.* arc = a fathom.

40 arcs = 1 *nalva.*

25 *nalva* = 1 *krosa*

Hence it follows that I *kroh* = 4000 yards; and as our mile has just so many yards, 1 mile = 1 *kroh.* Pulisa the Greek also mentions in his Siddhanta that 1 *kroh* = 4000 yards. .

The *yard* is equal to 2 *mikyas* or 24 fingers; for the Hindus determine the *sanku, i.e. mikyas,* by idol-fingers. They do not call the twelfth part of a *mikyas* a *finger* in general, as *we* do, but their *mikyas* is always a *span.* The span, *i.e.* the distance between the ends of the thumb and the small finger at their widest possible stretching, is called *vitasti* and also *kishku.*

The distance between the ends of the fourth or ring-finger and the thumb, both being stretched out, is called *gokarna.*

The distance between the ends of the index-finger and of the thumb is called *karabha,* and is reckoned as equal to two-thirds of a span.

The distance between the tops of the middle finger and of the thumb is called *tala.* The Hindus maintain that the height of a man is eight times his

tala, whether he be tall or small; as people say with regard to the foot, that it is one-seventh of the height of a man…

Yojana

After the measure of the *krosa* has been fixed and found to be equal to our *mile,* the reader must learn that they have a measure of distances, called *yojana,* which is equal to 8 miles or to 32,000 yards….

Circumference and diameter

The elements of the calculations of the Hindus on the circumference of the circle rest on the assumption that it is *thrice its diameter.* So the *Matsya-Purana* says, after it has mentioned the diameters of the sun and moon in *yojanas:* "The circumference is thrice the diameter."…

The same occurs also in the *Vayu-Purana.* In later times, however, Hindus have become aware of the fraction following after the three wholes. According to Brahmagupta, the circumference is times the diameter; but he finds this number by a method peculiar to himself…

2. Measures and weights, *Subh-ul-A'sha*[67]

There appears to have been no uniformity in the standards of weights and measures in India which differed according to the locality as well as the article to be weighed or measured. The coins used at the time were also measures of weight. That accounts for the pains taken by the state to maintain the purity and the weight of the coins…

According to the author of *Masalik ul-Absar* the *mann* of Delhi was equal to 70 *mithqals*. Taking a *mithqal* to be equal to 72 grains, a *sir* would weigh 29 *tolas* and 2 *mashas* or 5040 grains, a maund would be equal to modern seers or 28.8 Ibs avoirdupois….

As regards gold, they weigh it by *mithqal*. Every three *mithqals* are called '*Tanga'*. The gold Tanga is know as '*Red Tanga*' and the Silver Tanga is known as '*White Tanga*'. Every 100,000 Tangas whether of gold or of silver are called Lukk (*lakh*).

However, the gold lukk is called 'Red Luk*'* and silver lukk is called 'White Lukk*'*.

The *ratl* is known among them as *'sir',* the weight of which is seventy mithqals *i.e.* Egyptian Dirhams. Every forty '*sir'* are equal to one '*mann'*. They sell all things by weight. Measurement *(kail)* is unknown to them.

G. Coinage and Currency

1. Coinage in Mansura, Ibn Haukal[68]

The current coin of the country is stamped at Kandahar; one of the pieces is equivalent to five dirhams. The Tatari coin also is current, each being in weight equal to a dirham and a third. They likewise use dinars.

2. Coinage of Malabar, Chau Ju-Kua[69]

They cut an alloyed silver into coins; on these they stamp an official seal. The people use these in trading.

3. Coins, measures, and weights, Shihabuddin al Umari[70]

Sheikh Mubarak related to me: the 'red tanka' is equal to three mithqals and the white tanka, namely the silver tanga has eight hashtgani-dirhams. This hashtgani-dirham has the weight of the silver Dirham which is current in Egypt and Syria. Its value is the same as that and there is hardly a difference between them. This hashtgani Dirham has four Sultani-dirhams and it is called dogani. This Sultani-dirham comes to one-third of the shashtgani-dirhams and this is a kind of money which is used in India. Its value is three-quarter of the hashtgani-dirham. The half of this Sultani-dirham is called yegani and is one jital. Another dirham is called dawazdeh-gani the value of which is one and a half hashtgani-dirhams. Another dirham is called shanzdehgani the value of which corresponds to two dirhams. In these days the dirhams of India are six: Shanzdehgani, dawazdehgani, hashtgani, shashtgani, sultani and yagani. The smallest of them is the Sultani-dirham. All these three dirhams are current and the commercial transactions amongst them (Indians) are performed with them, but mostly with the sultani-dirham which corresponds to a fourth of the Egyptian and Syrian dirham. This sultani-dirham consists of eight fulus or two jitals every jital being four fulus so that the hashtgani-dirham which corresponds to the quarter of a silver dirham current in Egypt and Syria, has 32 fulus. Their ritl is called 'seer' and it weighs seventy mithqals, which are equal to 102 2/5 Egyptian dirhams. Every forty seer make one maund. They do not know the use of a measure.

4. About coins, *Subh-ul-A'sha*[71]

Until recent years the two most widely used coins in Muslim countries were the '*dinar'* and the '*dirham'*. The same coins appear to have been

introduced in the newly conquered countries by the Muslims. These coins in India were succeeded by the *'tanga'* and the *'jital'* till the latter gave place to the *'rupee'* and the *'peisa.'*...

5. Various kinds of money, Nicolo Conti[72]

Some regions have no money, but use instead stones which we call cats' eyes. In other parts their money consists of pieces of iron, worked into the form of large needles. In others the medium of exchange consists of cards inscribed with the name of the king. In some parts again of anterior India, Venetian ducats are in circulation. Some have golden coins, weighing more than the double of our florin, and also less, and, moreover silver and brass money. In some places pieces of gold worked to a certain weight are used as money.

6. Currency at Vijayanagar, Abder Razzak[73]

In this country they have three kinds of money, made of gold mixed with alloy: one called v*arahah* weighs about one *mithkal,* equivalent to two dinars, *kopeki;* the second, which is called *pertab,* is the half of the first; the third, called *fanom,* is equivalent in value to the tenth part of the last-mentioned coin. of these different coins the *fanom* is the most useful. They cast in pure silver a coin which is the sixth of the *fanom,* which they call *tar.* This latter is also a very useful coin in currency. A copper coin worth the third of a *tar,* is called *djitel.* According to the practice adopted in this empire, all the provinces, at a fixed period, bring their gold to the mint. If any man receive from the divan an allowance in gold he has to be paid by the *darab-khaneh.* The soldiers receive their pay every four months, and no payment is ever made by a draft upon the revenues of any province.

7. Money at Calicut, Ma Huan[74]

As in Cochin, the money in circulation is the Fa-nan and the Ta-urh. Their weights are the P'o-ho and the Fan-la-shih and there is a measure called a Tang-ko-li.

The king's present to the Emperor is usually a gold-plaited girdle set with all kinds of precious stones and pearls.

H. Prices and markets

1. Prices of eatables, *Subh-ul-A'sha*[75]

It is related on the authority of Sheikh Mubarak ul-Anbati, who lived before 730 (A.H.) that the average rates at that time were (one and a half) Hasht-gani Dirhams for one *mann* of wheat and one Hasht-gani for one *mann* of barley and Hasth-gani for one *mann* of rice except the famous kinds which were dearer than this. Peas were two *mann* for one Hasht-gani. Four Astar of beef and mutton for one Sultani-Dirham. Two Hasht gani for a pair of ducks. Four pairs of hen for one Hasht-gani. Five sirs of sugar for one Hasht-gani. A nice fat goat for one tanga *(i.e.* eight Hasht-gani Dirhams) and a nice cow for two tangas (*i.e.* sixteen Hasht-gani Dirham) and sometimes even less, and similar was the price of a buffalo.

Pigeons, sparrows and other kinds of birds were very cheap. The kinds of animals and birds for game are many. What they mostly eat is the flesh of cow and goat though they have many sheep. Because they have become accustomed to it.

It has been reported in *Masalik ul-Absar* on the authority of Khujandi who says, "I and my three friends ate beef, bread and melted-butter for one jital in some places of Delhi till we were satisfied." A jital is equal to four pice *(fulus)* as has been mentioned above.

2. Abundance of food, Shihabuddin al Umari[76]

As regards butter and milk of different kinds, they are so abundant that they mean nothing and no value is attached to them. In the bazars different kinds of foods are sold, for instance, roast meat, rice, baked and fried things, sweets of sixty-five kinds, fruit-drinks and sherbets which are hardly to be found in any other city.

3. Prices of girl slaves, Shihabuddin al Umari[77]

Ibn al-Taj al-Hafiz al-Multani said to me: I asked how a slave girl could reach this price in spite of the cheapness (in the country). Each one of them informed me severally in interviews that the difference was caused by the grace of her deportment or the refinement of her manners and that a great number of these slave girls knew the Quran by heart, they could write, recite verses and stories, excelled in music, played the lute and chess and backgammon (nard) and so on. The slave girls take pride in things like these. One of them says: I shall capture the heart of my master within three days; the other says: I shall captivate his heart in one day, a third says: I shall captivate his heart in an hour, another says I shall captivate his heart in

the twinkling of an eye. They say that the pretty Indian girls are superior as regards beauty to those of the Turks and Qipchaks besides their good breeding manifold accomplishments and attainments which give them distinction. Most of them are of golden colour some of them are of brilliant whiteness mixed with red. In spite of the great number of Turks and Qipchaks and Byzantines and other nationalities that are there everyone gives preference to none but the Indian pretty girls on account of their perfect beauty and sweetness and other things which words cannot describe.

4. Rates of girl slaves, *Subh-ul-A'sha*[78]

The author of *Masalik ul-Absar* has mentioned the rates of India in his time quoting from *Qadi ' I-Qudat Sirajuddin al Hindi* and others. He relates that a maid-servant's price in Delhi does not exceed eight tangas, and those who are fit for service as well as for conjugal purposes cost fifteen tangas. Outside Delhi they are still cheaper. Qadi Sirajuddin narrated that he once bought a coquettish slave nearing puberty for four Dirhams. He continues, "In spite of this cheapness there are Indian maid-servants whose price amounts to twenty thousand tangas or more on account of their beauty and grace".

5. Horse fair, Athanasius Nikitin[79]

There is a place *Shikhbaludin Peratyr,* a bazaar Aladinand, and a fair once a year, where people from all parts of India assemble and trade for ten days. As many as 20,000 horses are brought there for sale from Bedar, which is 20 *kors* distant, and besides every description of goods; and that fair is the best throughout the land of Hindostan. Every thing is sold or bought in memory of Shikbaladin, whose fete falls on the Russian festival of the Protection of the Holy Virgin (1st October).

❑

CHAPTER — 5

Architecture

A. Cities, Town Planning
B. Forts
C. Temples

A. Cities, Town Planning

CHOLA KINGDOM

1. City walls in the Chola Dominion [Coromandel Coast], Chau Ju-Kua[1]

In this kingdom there is a city with a seven-fold wall, seven feet high and extending twelve *li* from north to south and seven *li* from east to west. The different walls are one hundred paces distant from each other. Four of these walls are of brick, two of mud, and the one in the centre of wood. There are flowers, fruit trees, and other trees planted (on them?).

The first and second walls enclose the dwellings of the people, – they are surrounded by small ditches; the third and fourth walls (surround) the dwellings of the court officers; within the fifth dwell the king's four sons; within the sixth are the Buddhist (i.e., idol) monasteries where the priests dwell; the seventh wall encloses over four hundred buildings forming the royal palace.

2. Capital of Tchu-Lien [Chola country], Ma Twan-lin[2]

The capital of *Tchu-lien* has seven enclosing walls, with a height of seven *tchi*, and a hundred paces apart from one another. The outermost enclosure has a diameter of twelve *li* from south to north, and seven *li* from east to west. The first four walls are built of brick; the two following are of mud, and that of the interior is of wood. All are covered with espaliers, or decorated with flowers. The first three enclosures are occupied by the people and include numerous water courses. The fourth enclosure contains the houses of four great officers. The fifth enclosure belongs to the sons of the king. In the sixth is a temple of Buddha, served by hundred Buddhist priests. Finally the seventh contains the palace of the king, or royal town, comprising more than four hundred buildings. The towns of the second

order are thirty-one in number, twelve to the west of the royal residence, eight to the south, and eleven to the north. The reigning dynasty has occupied the throne for three generations [this indicates that part of this notice was written in the time of Rajaraja I].

DELHI

3. Delhi a magnificent city, Ibn Battuta[3]

On the next day we arrived at the city of Dihli [Delhi], the metropolis of India, a vast and magnificent city, uniting beauty with strength. It is surrounded by a wall that has no equal in the world, and is the largest city in India, nay rather the largest city in the entire Muslim Orient.

The city of Delhi is made up now of four neighbouring and contiguous towns. One of them is Delhi proper, the old city built by the infidels and captured in the year 1188. The second is called Siri, known also as the Abode of the Caliphate; this was the town given by the sultan to Ghiyath ad-Din, the grandson of the Abbasid Caliph Mustansir, when he came to his court. The third is called Tughlaq Abad, after its founder, the Sultan Tughlaq, the father of the sultan of India to whose court we came. The reason why he built it was that one day he said to a former sultan "O master of the world, it were fitting that a city should be built here." The sultan replied to him in jest "When you are sultan, build it." It came about by the decree of God that he became sultan, so he built it and called it by his own name. The fourth is called Jahan Panah, and is set apart for the residence of the reigning sultan, Muhammad Shah. He was the founder of it, and it was his intention to unite these four towns within a single wall, but after building part of it he gave up the rest because of the expense required for its construction.

Mosque

The cathedral mosque occupies a large area; its walls, roof, and paving are all constructed of white stones, admirably squared and firmly cemented with lead. There is no wood in it at all. It has thirteen domes of stone, its pulpit also is made of stone, and it has four courts.

Iron Pillar

In the centre of the mosque is an awe-inspiring column [the Iron Pillar], and nobody knows of what metal it is constructed. One of their learned men told me that it is called *Haft Jush,* which means 'seven metals,' and that it is constructed from these seven. A part of this column, of a finger's breadth, has been polished, and gives out a brilliant gleam. Iron makes no impression on it. It is thirty cubits high [the figure is exaggerated], and we rolled a turban round it, and the portion which encircled it measured eight cubits. At the eastern gate there are two enormous idols of brass prostrate on the ground and held by stones, and everyone entering or leaving the mosque treads on them. The site was formerly occupied by an idol temple, and was converted into a mosque on the conquest of the city.

Qutb Minar

In the northern court is the minaret [Qutb Minar], which has no parallel in the lands of Islam. It is built of red stone, unlike the rest of the edifice, ornamented with sculptures, and of great height. The ball on the top is of glistening white marble and its 'apples' [small balls surmounting a minaret] are of pure gold. The passage is so wide that elephants could go up by it. A person in whom I have confidence told me that when it was built he saw an elephant climbing with stones to the top. The Sultan Qutb ad-Din [actually Alauddin Khalji], wished to build one in the western court even larger, but was cut off by death when only a third of it had been completed. This minaret is one of the wonders of the world for size, and the width of its passage is such that three elephants could mount it abreast. The third of it built equals in height the whole of the other minaret we have mentioned in the northern court, though to one looking at it from below it does not seem so high because of its bulk.

Reservoir

Outside Delhi is a large reservoir named after the Sultan Lalmish, from which the inhabitants draw their drinking water. It is supplied by rain water, and is about two miles in length by half that breadth. In the centre there is a great pavilion built of squared stones, two stories high. When the reservoir is filled with water it can be reached only in boats, but when the water is low the people go into it. Inside it is a mosque, and at most times it is occupied by mendicants devoted to the service of God. When the water dries up at the sides of this reservoir, they sow sugar canes, cucumbers,

green melons and pumpkins there. The melons and pumpkins are very sweet but of small size. Between Delhi and the Abode of the Caliphate is the private reservoir, which is larger than the other. Along its sides there are about forty pavilions, and round about it live the musicians.

4. Aibak built Jama Masjid from temple materials, Hasan Nizami[4]

Kutbn-d din built the Jami Masjid at De1hi, and "adorned it with the stones and gold obtained from the temples which had been demolished by elephants," and covered it with "inscriptions in Toghra, containing the divine commands."

5. The Hauz-I Khas, Timur[5]

This is a reservoir, which was constructed by Sultan Firoz Shah, and is faced all round with stone and cement *(gach)*. Each side of that reservoir is more than a bow-shot long, and there are buildings placed around it. This tank is filled by the rains in the rainy season, and it supplies the people of the city with water throughout the year. The tomb of Sultan Firoz Shah stands on its bank.

6. Tour of city, Timur[6]

When my mind was no longer occupied with the destruction of the people of Dehli, I took a ride round the cities. Siri is a round city *(shahr)*. It buildings are lofty. They are surrounded by fortifications *(kala'h),* built of stone and brick, and they are very strong. Old Dehli also has a similar strong fort, but it is larger than that of Siri. From the fort of Siri to that of Old Dehli, which is a considerable distance, there runs a strong wall, built of stone and cement. The part called Jahan-panah is situated in the midst of the inhabited city (*shahr-i abadan)*. The fortifications of the three cities have thirty gates. Jahan-panah has thirteen gates, seven on the south side bearing towards the east, and six on the north side bearing towards the west. Siri has seven gates, four towards the outside and three on the inside towards Jahan-panah. The fortifications of old Dehli have ten gates, some opening to the exterior and some towards the interior of the city. When I was tired of examining the city I went into the *Masjid-i* jami, where a congregation was assembled of *saiyids,* lawyers, *shaikhs,* and other of the principal Musulmans, with the inhabitants of their parts of the city, to whom they had been a protection and defence. I called them to my presence, consoled them, treated them with every respect, and bestowed upon them

many presents and honours. I appointed an officer to protect their quarter of the city, and guard them against annoyance. Then I remounted and returned to my quarters.

7. Delhi composed of many cities, Shihabuddin al Umari[7]

I enquired from Shaikh Mubarak about the city of Delhi and its condition and the management of the affairs of the Sultans. He related to me that Delhi is composed of many cities which have been united together. Every one of them had a special name and Delhi was only one of them. It is extensive in length and breadth and encloses an area of forty miles. Its buildings are of stone and brick, the roofs of wood and the floor is paved with white stone resembling marble. In it the houses are not built more than two stories high, and in some of them there is a single storey. Nobody paves the floor with marble except the Sultan.

Sheikh Abu Bakr bin al-Khallal says: this refers to the old houses of Delhi. As regards those which I describe, they are not like this. He says all cities to which at present the name Delhi is applied are twenty-one. On three sides are gardens in straight lines, each line twelve miles long. As regards the western side it is destitute of them on account of the proximity of the hills. In Delhi there are one thousand *madrasas* out of which only one belongs to the *Shafites* and the rest to *Hanafites*. There are about seventy hospitals *(bimaristan)* which are called *Dar-ush-Shifa.* In Delhi and its surroundings are Khanqahs and hospices numbering two thousand, big monasteries and extensive bazars and numerous baths. The water is supplied from wells dug near the watering places not deeper than seven forearms on which are hydraulic wheels. They drink rainwater which is collected in big reservoirs, the diameter of each of which is the distance of an arrowshot or more.

In Delhi is the *mosque* [at Qutb] famous for its *minaret* [the Qutb Minar] the like of which is not as he says, on the surface of the world on account of its height and elevation. Sheikh Burhanuddin al-Khallal-al-Bizi as Suli says that its height is *six hundred cubits* in the air. Sheikh Mubarak says: As regards the palaces of the Sultan and his mansions in Delhi, they are exclusively for his dwelling and the dwelling of his wives, his concubines and his eunuchs and apartments for servants and slaves (mamelukes). None of the Amirs and Khans live with him; and none of them stays there except

when he is present on duty; then everyone of them goes back to his own house. They are on duty twice every day in the morning and afternoon.

VIJAYANAGAR

8. City of Vijayanagar unequalled in the world, Abder Razzak[8]

The city of Bidjanagar is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world. It is built in such a manner that seven citadels and the same number of walls enclose each other. Around the first citadel are stones of the height of a man, one half of which is sunk in the ground while the other rises above it. These are fixed one beside the other, in such a manner that no horse or foot soldier could boldly or with ease approach the citadel. If any one would wish to find what point of resemblance this fortress and rampart present with that which exists in the city of Heart, let him picture to himself that the first citadel corresponds with that which extends from the mountain of Mokhtar and Direh dou Buraderim (the Valley of the Two Brothers) as far as the banks of the river and the bridge of Malan, situated east of the town of Ghinan, and west of the village of Saiban.

It is a fortress of a round shape, built on the summit of a mountain, and constructed of stones and lime. It has very solid gates, the guards of which are constantly at their posts, and examine everything with a severe inspection.

The second fortress represents the space which extends from the bridge of the new river, to the bridge of the Karav, lying to the east of the bridge of Renghineh and Djakan, and to the west of the garden of Zibendeh and of the village of Hasan.

The third citadel comprises as much space as lies between the mausoleum of the Imaum Fakhr-eddin-Razi and the dome-shaped monument of Mohammed- Sultan-Schah.

The fourth corresponds to the space which separates the bridge Andjil from the bridge of Kared.

The fifth comprises a space equal to that which extends from the garden of Zagan to the bridge of Andjegan.

The sixth is equivalent to the space contained between the King's gate and the gate of Firouz-abad.

The seventh fortress, which is placed in the centre of the others, occupies an area ten times larger than the marketplace of the city of Herat. It is the palace which is used as the residence of the king. The distance from the gate of the first fortress, which lies on the north, to the first gate, which is situated in the south, is calculated to be two para-sangs. It is the same distance from the east to the west. The space which separates the first fortress from the second, and up to the third fortress, is filled with cultivated fields, and with houses and gardens. In the space from the third to the seventh one meets a numberless crowd of people, many shops, and a bazaar. At the gate of the king's palace are four bazaars, placed opposite each other: On the north is the portico of the palace of the *rai*. Above each bazaar is a lofty arcade with a magnificent gallery, but the audience hall of the king's palace is elevated above all the rest. The bazaars are extremely long and broad. The rose merchants place before their shops high *estrades,* on each side of which they expose their flowers for sale. In this place one sees a constant succession of sweet smelling and fresh looking roses. These people could not live without roses, and they look upon them as quite as necessary as food.

9. Shops contiguous at Vijayanagar, Abder Razzak[9]

Each class of men belonging to each profession has shops contiguous the one to the other; the jewellers sell publicly in the bazaar pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. In this agreeable locality, as well as in the king's palace, one sees numerous running streams and canals formed of chiselled stone, polished and smooth. On the left of the Sultan's portico rises the divan-khaneh (the council-house), which is extremely large and looks like a palace. In front of it is a hall, the height of which is above the stature of a man, its length thirty ghez, and its breadth ten. In it is placed the defter-khaneh (the archives), and here sit the scribes…

B. Forts

1. Gwalior Fort, Ibn Battuta[10]

We journeyed thereafter to Galyur or Guyalyur [Gwalior], a large town with an impregnable fortress isolated on the summit of a lofty hill. Over its gate is an elephant with its mahout carved in stone.

2. Deogiri Fort, Ibn Battuta[11]

The fortress of Duwaygir [Deogiri] mentioned above is a rock situated in a plain; the rock has been excavated and a castle built on its summit. It is reached by a ladder made of leather, which is taken up at night. In its dungeons are imprisoned those convicted of serious crime, and in these dungeons there are huge rats, bigger than cats – in fact, cats run away from them and cannot defend themselves against them, so they can be captured only by employing ruses. I saw them there and marvelled at them.

C. Temples

1. Khajuraho, Ibn Battuta[12]

We went from Parwan [Narwar] to Kajarra [Khajuraho**]**, where there is a large tank about a mile long having on its banks temples with idols, which have been made examples of [i.e. mutilated] by the Muslims.

2. Temple near Mangalore of unequalled beauty, Abder Razzak[13]

The humble author of this narrative having received his audience of dismissal, departed from Calicut by sea. After having passed the port of Bendinaneh [Cananore?], situated on the coast of Melibar, reached the port of Mangalor, which forms the frontier of the kingdom of Bidjanagar [Vijayanagar]. After staying there two or three days he continued his route by land. At a distance of three parasangs from Mangalor he saw a temple of idols, which has not its equal in the universe. It is an equilateral square, of about ten ghez [cubits] in length, ten in breadth, and five in height. It is entirely formed of cast bronze. It has four *estrades.* Upon that in the front stands a human figure, of great size, made of gold; its eyes are formed of two rubies, placed so artistically that the statue seems to look at you. The whole is worked with wonderful delicacy and perfection.

3. Temple at Belur "offered to the world an idea of paradise," Abder Razzak[14]

After passing this temple, I came each day to some city or populous town. At length I came to a mountain whose summit reached the skies, and the

foot of which was covered with so great a quantity of trees and thorny underwood, that the rays of the sun could never penetrate the obscurity; nor could the beneficial rains at any time reach the soil to moisten it. Having left this mountain and this forest behind me, I reached a town called Belour, the houses of which were like palaces, and its women reminded one of the beauty of the Houris. In it there is a temple of idols, so lofty as to be visible at a distance of many parasangs. It would be impossible to describe such a building without being suspected of exaggeration. I can only give a general idea of it. In the middle of the town is an open space, of about ten ghez in extent, and which, if one may use a comparison, rivals the garden of Irem. The roses of all kinds are as numerous as the leaves of the trees, on the borders of the streams rise a great number of cypresses, whose towering height is reflected in the waters, plantain trees shoot out their tufted branches, and it would seem as if heaven itself looks down upon this beautiful spot with pleasure and admiration. All the ground of this parterre, all the environs of this place of delight, are paved with polished stones, joined together with so much delicacy and skill, that they seem to form but one single slab of stone, and look like a fragment of the sky which might be supposed to have been brought down to the earth. In the middle of this platform rises a building composed of a cupola formed of blue stones, and terminating in a point. The stone presents three rows of figures.

What can I say of this cupola, which, as regards the delicacy of the work, offered to the world an idea of paradise?

Its vault, rounded and lofty, resembled a new moon; its elevation vied with that of the heavens.

So great a number of pictures and figures had been drawn by the pen and the pencil, that it would be impossible, in the space of a month, to sketch it all upon damask or taffeta. From the bottom of the building to the top there is not a hand's breadth to be found uncovered with paintings, after the manner of the Franks and the people of Khata [China]. The temple consists of a structure of four estrades; this structure is thirty ghez in length, twenty in breadth, fifty in height.

Since that its head shot up towards the skies, that vault, previously without stones in it, now seems formed of them.

Since that its stones have rubbed themselves against the sun, the gold of that orb has taken a purer alloy.

All the other buildings, great and small, are covered with paintings and sculptures of extreme delicacy. In this temple morning and evening, after devotional exercises, which have nothing in them which can be agreeable to God, they play on musical instruments, perform concerts, and give feasts. All the inhabitants of the town have rents and pensions assigned to them on this temple. The most distant cities send hither their alms. In the opinion of these men without religion, this place is the Kabah of the Guebres.

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CHAPTER — 6

Religious Practices

A. Some observations on religion and philosophy
B. Image worship
C. Some important temples
D. Popular pilgrimage sites
E. Certain other customs
F. Cow worship
G. Ascetics
H. On Buddhism
I. Selection of Lama

A. Some observations on religion and philosophy

1. Religion of China derived from India, the merchant Sulaiman[1]

The principles of the religion of China were derived from India. The Chinese say that the Indians brought buddhas into the country, and that they have been the real masters in matters of religion. In both countries they believe in the metempsychosis, but there are some differences upon matters of detail.

2. Very little dispute on theological matters, Alberuni[2]

On the whole, there is very little disputing about theological topics among themselves; at the most, they fight with words, but they will never stake their soul or body or their property on religious controversy. On the contrary, all that fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them – against all foreigners. They call them *mleccha, i.e.* impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by intermarriage or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating, and drinking with them, because thereby, they think, they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner; and no household can exist without these two elements. Besides, they never desire that a thing which once has been polluted should be purified and thus recovered, as, under ordinary circumstances, if any body or anything has become unclean, he or it would strive to regain the state of purity. They are

not allowed to receive anybody who does not belong to them, even if he wished it, or was inclined to their religion.

3. Aversion of Buddhists, Alberuni[3]

Another circumstance which increased the already existing antagonism between Hindus and foreigners is that the so-called Shamaniyya (Buddhists), though they cordially hate the Brahmans, still are nearer akin to them than to others. In former times, Khurasan, Persis, Irak, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Adharbaijan and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with King Gushtasp, and his son Isfendiyad spread the new faith both in east and west, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek empire.

The succeeding kings made their religion *(i.e.* Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irak. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh. There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called *Maya.* From that time dates their aversion towards the coun-tries of Khurasan. But then came Islam; the Persian empire perished, and the repugnance of the Hindus against foreigners increased more and more when the Muslims began to make their inroads into their country; for Muhammad Ibn Elkasim Ibn Elmunabbih entered Sindh from the side of Sijistan (Sakastene) and conquered the cities of Bahmanwa and Mulasthana, the former of which he called *Al-mansura,* the latter *Al-mamura.* He entered India proper, and penetrated even as far as Kanauj, marched through the country of Gandhara, and on his way back, through the confines of Kashmir, sometimes fighting sword in hand, sometimes gaining his ends by treaties, leaving to the people their ancient belief, except in the case of those who wanted to become Muslims. All these events planted a deeply rooted hatred in their hearts…

4. Hindu views on God, Alberuni[4]

The Hindus believe with regard to God that he is one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free-will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving; one who in his sovereignty is unique, beyond all likeness and unlikeness, and that he does not resemble anything nor does

anything resemble him. In order to illustrate this we shall produce some extracts from their literature, lest the reader should think that our account is nothing but hearsay.

In the book of Patanjali the pupil asks:

"Who is the worshipped one, by the worship of whom blessing is obtained?"

The master says:

"It is he who, being eternal and unique, does not for his part stand in need of any human action for which he might give as a recompense either a blissful repose, which is hoped and longed for, or a troubled existence, which is feared and dreaded. He is unattainable to thought, being sublime beyond all unlikeness which is abhorrent and all likeness which is sympathetic. He by his essence knows from all eternity. Knowledge, in the human sense of the term, has as its object that which was unknown before, whilst not knowing does not at any time or in any condition apply to God."…

In this way the Hindus express themselves in this very famous book…

5. Hindu views on creation, Alberuni[5]

Regarding the whole creation *(ro ov),* they think that it is a unity, as has already been declared, because Vasudeva speaks in the book called *Gita:* "To speak accurately, we must say that all things are divine; for Vishnu made himself the earth that those living beings should rest thereupon; he made himself water to nourish them thereby; he made himself fire and wind in order to make them grow; and he made himself the heart of every single being. He presented them with recollection and knowledge and the two opposite qualities, as is mentioned in the Veda."

Similarity with the book of Apollonius

How much does this resemble the expression of the author of the book of Apollonius, *De Causis Rerum,* as if the one had been taken from the other! He says: "There is in all men a divine power, by which all things, both material and immaterial, are apprehended." Thus in Persian the immaterial Lord is called *Khudha,* and in a derivative sense the word is also used to mean a man, *i.e.* a human lord.

Purusha

I. Those Hindus who prefer clear and accurate definitions to vague allusions call the soul *purusha,* which means *man,* because it is the living element in the existing world. Life is the only attribute which they give to it. They describe it as alternately knowing and not knowing, as not knowing…(actually), and as knowing…(potentially), gaining knowledge by acquisition. The not-knowing of *purusha* is the cause why action comes into existence, and its knowing is the cause why action ceases.

Avyakta

II. Next follows the general matter, *i.e.* the abstract…which they call *avyakta, i.e.* a shapeless thing. It is dead, but has three powers potentially, not actually, which are called *sattva, rajas,* and *tamas.* I have heard that Buddhodana *(sic),* in speaking to his adherents the Shamanians, calls them *buddha, dharma, sangha,* as it were *intelligence, religion,* and *ignorance (sic)*. The first power is rest and goodness, and hence come existing and growing. The second is exertion and fatigue, and hence come firmness and duration. The third is languor and irresolution, and hence come ruin and perishing. Therefore the first power is attributed to the angels, the second to men, the third to the animals. The ideas *before, afterwards,* and *thereupon* may be predicated of all these things only in the sense of a certain sequence and on account of the inadequacy of language, but not so as to indicate any ordinary notions of time.

Vyakta and prakriti

III. Matter proceeding from…into…under the various shapes and with the *three primary forces* is called *vyakta*, *i.e.* having shape, whilst the union of the *abstract...* and of the *shaped matter* is called *prakriti.* This term, however, is of no use to us; we do not want to speak of an *abstract* matter, the term *matter* alone being sufficient for us, since the one does not exist without the other.

Ahankara

IV. Next comes *nature,* which they call *ahankara.* The word is derived from the ideas of *overpowering, developing,* and *self-assertion,* because matter when assuming shape causes things to develop into new forms, and this growing consists in the changing of a foreign element and assimilating it to the growing one. Hence it is as if *Nature* were trying to overpower

those *other* or foreign elements in this process of changing them, and were subduing that which is changed.

Mahabhuta

V-IX. As a matter of course, each compound presupposes simple elements from which it is compounded and into which it is resolved again. The universal existences in the world are the five elements, *i.e.* according to the Hindus: heaven, wind, fire, water, and earth. They are called *mahabhuta, i.e. having great natures.* They do not think, as other people do, that the fire is a hot dry body near the bottom of the ether. They understand by fire the common fire on earth which comes from an inflammation of smoke. The *Vayu Purana* says: "In the beginning were earth, water, wind, and heaven. Brahman, on seeing sparks under the earth, brought them forward and divided them into three parts: the first, *parthiva,* is the common fire, which requires wood and is extinguished by water; the second is *divya, i.e.* the sun; the third, *vidyut, i.e.* the lightning. The sun attracts the water; the lightning shines through the water. In the animals, also, there is fire in the midst of moist substances, which serve to nourish the fire and do not extinguish it."

Panca mataras

X. XIV. As these elements are compound, they presuppose simple ones which are called *panca mataras, i.e.* five mothers. They describe them as the functions of the senses. The simple element of heaven is *sabda, i.e.* that which is heard; that of the wind is *sparsa, i.e.* that which is touched; that of the fire is *rupa, i.e.* that which is seen; that of the water is *rasa, i.e.* that which is tasted; and that of the earth is *gandha, i.e.* that which is smelled. With each of these *mahabhuta* elements (earth, water, &c.) they connect, firstly, *one* of the *panca-mataras* elements, as we have here shown; and, secondly, all those which have been attributed to the *mahabhuta* elements previously mentioned. So the earth has all five qualities; the water has them *minus* the smelling (= four qualities); the fire has them *minus* the smelling and tasting *(i.e.* three qualities); the wind has them *minus* smelling, tasting, and seeing *(i.e.* two qualities); heaven has them *minus* smelling, tasting, seeing, and touching *(i.e.* one quality).

I do not know what the Hindus mean by bringing *sound* into relation with heaven. Perhaps they mean something similar to what Homer, the poet of

the ancient Greeks, said, "*Those invested with the seven melodies speak and give answer to each other in a pleasant tone."* Thereby he meant the seven planets; as another poet says, "*The spheres endowed with different melodies are seven, moving eternally, praising the Creator, for it is he who holds them and embraces them unto the farthest end of the starless sphere."...*

The result of all these elements which we have enumerated, *i.e.* a compound of all of them, is the animal. The Hindus consider the plants as a species of animal as Plato also thinks that the plants have a sense, because they have the faculty of distinguishing between that which suits them and that which is detrimental to them. The animal is an animal as distinguished from a stone by virtue of its possession of the senses.

Indriyani

XV.-XIX. The senses are five, called *indriyani,* the hearing by the ear, the seeing by the eye, the smelling by the nose, the tasting by the tongue, and the touching by the skin.

Manas

XX. Next follows the will, which directs the senses in the exercise of their various functions, and which dwells in the heart. Therefore they call it *manas.*

Karmendriyani

XXI. XXV. The animal nature is rendered perfect by five *necessary functions,* which they call *karmendri-yani, i.e.* the senses of action. The former senses bring about learning and knowledge, the latter action and work. We shall call them the *necessaria...*

6. Belief in transmigration, Alberuni [6]

As *the word of confession,* "there is no god but God, Muhammad is his prophet," is the shibboleth of Islam, the Trinity that of Christianity, and the institute of the Sabbath that of Judaism, so metempsychosis is the shibboleth of the Hindu religion. Therefore he who does not believe in it does not belong to them, and is not reckoned as one of them. For they hold the following belief:

The soul, as long as it has not risen to the highest absolute intelligence, does not comprehend the totality of objects at once, or, as it were in no time. Therefore it must explore all particular beings and examine all the

possibilities of existence; and as their number is, though out unlimited, still an enormous one, the soul wants an enormous space of time in order to finish the contemplation of such a multiplicity of objects. The soul acquires knowledge only by the contemplation of the individuals and the species, and of their peculiar actions and conditions. It gains experience from each object, and gathers thereby new knowledge.

However, these actions differ in the same measure as the three primary forces differ. Besides, the world is not left without some direction, being led, as it were, by a bridle and directed towards a definite scope. Therefore the imperishable souls wander about in perishable bodies conformably to the difference of their actions, as they prove to be good or bad. The object of the migration through the world of *reward (i.e.* heaven) is to direct the attention of the soul to the good, that it should become desirous of acquiring as much of it as possible. The object of its migration through the world of *punishment (i.e.* hell) is to direct its attention to the bad and abominable, that it should strive to keep as far as possible aloof from it.

The migration begins from low stages, and rises to higher and better ones, not the contrary, as we state on purpose, since the one is *a priori* as possible as the other. The difference of these lower and higher stages depends upon the difference of the actions, and this again results from the quantitative and qualitative diversity of the temperaments and the various degrees of combinations in which they appear.

This migration lasts until the object aimed at has been completely attained both for the soul and matter; the *lower* aim being the disappearance of the shape of matter, except any such new formation as may appear desirable; the *higher* aim being the ceasing of the desire of the soul to learn what it did not know before, the insight of the soul into the nobility of its own being and its independent existence, its knowing that it can dispense with matter after it has become acquainted with the mean nature of matter and the instability of its shapes, with all that which matter offers to the senses, and with the truth of the tales about its delights. Then the soul turns away from matter; the connecting links are broken, the union is dissolved. Separation and dissolution take place, and the soul returns to its home, carrying with itself as much of the bliss of knowledge as sesame develops grains and blossoms, afterwards never separating from its oil. The intelligent being, intelligence and its object, are united and become one….

7. Ancient Greeks agreed in this belief, Alberuni[7]

The ancient Greeks agreed with the Hindus in this belief. Socrates says in the book *Phaedo:* "We are reminded in the tales of the ancients that the souls go from here to Hades, and then come from Hades to here; that the living originates from the dead, and that altogether things originate from their contraries. Therefore those who have died are among the living. Our souls lead an existence of their own in Hades. The soul of each man is glad or sorry at something, and contemplates this thing. This impressionable nature ties the soul to the body, nails it down in the body, and gives it, as it were, a bodily figure. The soul which is not pure cannot go to Hades. It quits the body still filled with its nature, and then migrates hastily into another body, in which it is, as it were, deposited and made fast. Therefore, it has no share in the living of the company of the unique, pure, divine essence…

As did Sufis

The same doctrine is professed by those Sufi who teach that this world is a sleeping soul and yonder world a soul awake, and who at the same time admit that God is immanent in certain places – *e.g.* in heaven – in the *seat* and the throne of God (mentioned in the *Koran*).

8. Greek views similar, Alberuni[8]

With regard to similar views of the ancient Greeks we can quote Ammonius, who relates the following as a sentence of Pythagoras: "Let your desire and exertion in this world be directed towards the union with *the First Cause,* which is the cause of the cause of your existence, that you may endure for ever. You will be saved from destruction and from being wiped out; you will go to the world of the true sense, of the true joy, of the true glory, in everlasting joy and pleasures."

Further, Pythagoras says: "How can you hope for the state of detachment as long as you are clad in bodies? And how will you obtain liberation as long as you are incarcerated in them?"

Ammonius relates: "Empedocles and his successor as far as Heracles *(sic)* think that the soiled souls always remain commingled with the world until they ask the universal soul for help. The universal soul intercedes for it with the *Intelligence,* the latter with the Creator. The Creator affords something of his light to Intelligence; Intelligence affords something of it to the

universal soul, which is immanent in this world. Now the soul wishes to be enlightened by Intelligence, until at last the individual soul recognises the universal soul, unites with it, and is attached to its world. But this is a process over which many ages must pass. Then the soul comes to a region where there is neither place nor time, nor anything of that which is in the world, like transient fatigue or joy."

Socrates says: "The soul on leaving space wanders to the holiness which lives for ever and exists eternally, being related to it. It becomes like holiness in duration; because it is by means of something like contact able to receive impressions from holiness. This, its susceptibility to impressions, is called *Intelligence.*"...

9. The four foundations [*asas*], Gardizi[9]

Thus says [Abu] 'Abdallah Jayhani: the Indians are divided into 99 divisions which can be reduced to 42 varieties, and their basic foundations are fourfold. With God's help, I shall explain these four foundations (*asas*):

(a) First come those affirming (the existence of) the Creator, may his majesty be exalted, and who believe in prophets, with regard to commands and interdictions, reward and punishment, that is to say that everyone finds reward or punishment to the measure of his works (*kirdar*).

(b) (The second are those who) reject the prophets; they are called Shamani (*i.e.* Buddhists).

(c) The third believe in God, may he be exalted, and in Paradise and Hell, saying that in going there they remain there for ever, for God's mercy and chastisement are uninterrupted.

(d) The fourth class say that reward and punishment consist in transmigration, either in happiness or in misfortune, and that Paradise and Hell are in proportion to one's achievements or sins; they are not eternal and when one has obtained a reward (*padash*) proportionate to one's deeds one comes out of them. These all are the saying of the Shamani who are (also) called Buddhists (*budi*).

10. Rules of readmission to the faith, Gardizi[10]

Whoever has left their religion is not readmitted except after he has made himself clean and they had purified him. The purification consists in shaving his head, his beard, his eyebrows and eye lashes, and any hair on his body. Then they collect five things: cow-dung, cow's urine, milk and

butter and Ganges water, and mix all five, giving them to him to drink in a copper bowl to the amount of one *ritl*. of the same water they pour on his head, after which they rub (*tala*) his body, and thus for ten days, in proportion to his rebellion and his neglect of religion. Then he approaches a cow and prostrates himself before her.

11. Variety of beliefs, Al-Idrisi[11]

Among the principal nations of India there are forty-two sects. Some recognise the existence of a Creator, but not of prophets; while others deny the existence of both. Some acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones, and others worship holy stones, on which butter and oil is poured. Some pay adoration to fire, and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun, and consider it the creator and director of the world. Some worship trees; others pay adoration to serpents, which they keep in stables, and feed as well as they can, deeming this to be a meritorious work. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion, and deny everything.

12. Worship individually, John of Monte Corvino[12]

They have no conscience of sin whatever. They have idol-houses in which they worship at almost all hours of the day; for they never join together in worship at any fixed hour, but each goes to worship when it pleases himself. And so they worship their idols in any part of these temples, either by day or by night. They frequently set forth their fasts and feasts, but they have no fixed recurring day to keep, either weekly or monthly.

13. Pray eastward, Athanasius Nikitin[13]

They offer their prayers towards the east, in the Russian way, lifting both hands high and putting them on the top of the head; then they lie down with the face to the ground, stretching their body to its full length, and such is their law…

Their Bootookhanies (places of worship) have no doors, and are situated towards the east; and the budhs (idols) also stand eastward.

B. Image worship

1. Beginning of image worship, Alberuni[14]

It is well known that the popular mind leans towards the sensible world, and has an aversion to the world of abstract thought which is only understood by highly educated people, of whom in every time and every place there are only few. And as common people will only acquiesce in pictorial representations, many of the leaders of religious communities have so far deviated from the right path as to give such imagery in their books and houses of worship, like the Jews and Christians, and, more than all, the Manicheans. These words of mine would at once receive a sufficient illustration if, for example, a picture of the Prophet were made, or of Mekka and the Ka'ba, and were shown to an uneducated man or woman. Their joy in looking at the thing would bring them to kiss the picture, to rub their cheeks against it, and to roll themselves in the dust before it, as if they were seeing not the picture, but the original, and were in this way, as if they were present in the holy places, performing the rites of pilgrimage, the great and the small ones.

This is the cause which leads to the manufacture of idols, monuments in honour of certain much venerated persons, prophets, sages, angels, destined to keep alive their memory when they are absent or dead, to create for them a lasting place of grateful veneration in the hearts of men when they die. But when much time passes by after the setting up of the monument, generations and centuries, its origin is forgotten, it becomes a matter of custom, and its veneration a rule for general practice. This being deeply rooted in the nature of man, the legislators of antiquity tried to influence them from this weak point of theirs. Therefore they made the veneration of pictures and similar monuments obligatory on them, as is recounted in historic records, both for the times before and after the Deluge. Some people even pretend to know that all mankind, before God sent them his prophets, were one large idolatrous body.

The followers of the Thora fix the beginning of idolatry in the days of Serugh, the great-grandfather of Abraham…

2. Ancient Greeks, Arabs and idol worship, Alberuni[15]

The ancient Greeks, also, considered the idols as mediators between themselves and the *First Cause,* and worshipped them under the names of the stars and the highest substances...When the heathen Arabs had imported

into their country idols from Syria, they also worshipped them, hoping that they would intercede for them with God.

SOME OF THE DEITIES WORSHIPPED

3. Maha-Kal, Gardizi[16]

They have an idol called Maha-Kal which has four hands and is sky-blue. He has much hair, his tusks come out and his belly is protruding, while on his back an elephant's skin is thrown from which blood is dripping. On his head and shoulders there are two snakes; in three of his hands he holds a snake, a skull, and a stick, while his fourth hand is raised towards his head. On his head he wears a crown made of skulls. They say that this was a demon (*div*) whom they worship in view of his exalted state, as he had many virtues and many vices. Therefore in India they build many temples (to him) and daily the adherents of their religion visit the temple, prostrate themselves before the (idol), and circumambulate him. They have a place called UJJAYN with a large idol representing (Maha-kal). They take before him their needs in this lower world and the world beyond and from him learn charms (*aza'im*). They do wonderful things saying that they all are from (Maha-Kal's) teaching. Men come before him and say: "give me this woman, or give me that thing." Some people come to worship him while for several days they refrain from food and humble themselves asking him for their needs. Some take an iron lamp and shaping its bottom like a spear place it on their palm and press it until it has pierced the palm and made a hole in it. Then they light the lamp and kneel down on both knees before the idol with lamentation saying: "accept from us our visit to this house".

4. Idol with special treasury, Gardizi[17]

The sect called DIVATRI have a custom to make an idol and to set it on a calf. Before it (or, for it: *az bar-i u*) they pitch a high tent (*qubba*). Then they pull the calf and people circumambulate it, striking cymbals and playing on stringed instruments. On that day all the courtesans (*qahba*) that be in the whole country assemble there. They sit on horses and elephants and bedeck themselves with many ornaments, men marching in from of them, and thus they circumambulate the idol. This happens in spring and when that day is over they carry the idol back to its place. The idol has a special treasury in which other idols are preserved in the shape of kings,

chiefs of various countries, and leaders of other sects. They have (other) idols shaped like horses, birds, and (grazing) animals. They display them on that day and around them people play, but when the festival is over, they take them all into the treasury.

5. Durga [?], Gardizi[18]

Another sect is called B.KTI. Their custom is to make an idol in the shape of a woman with a crown on her head. She has four hands: with one she touches a nail (*mikh*), with another she draws a sword, in the third she holds a *bajjar* (*vajra*), and in the fourth a *chakkar* (*chakra*), these two latter being Indian weapons. When the Sun reaches (the zodiac of) Libra (22nd September – 22nd October), they adorn this idol and before it place a throne (*takht*) on which they display whatever plants they can find and twigs of trees. And they bring together perfumes as well. Then they offer sacrifices: they bring buffaloes and sheep of various kinds placing grass before them that they may eat it. Whenever an animal raises its head they strike it with a sword in front of the idol and this is their sacrifice. Thus they carry on till the end of the festival. This is done by the commoners. As to their kinds, they find a man, red-haired and green-eyed. Then before the idol they fix a sharp chopper (*katara*) blade upwards, and tell the man to lay (his head) on the chopper. A man strikes him on the head so that the chopper penetrates up to the handle into his forehead and he dies on the spot (*dar sa at*). They say that in this way they acquire a great reward (*muzd*). At that moment they display great joy, entertain guests, and drink wine.

C. Some important temples

1. Temple at Multan, Abu Zaidu-l Hasan of Sira[19]

The idol called Multan is situated in the environs of Mansura, and people come on pilgrimages to it from many months distance. They bring thither the Indian aloes called *al kamruni,* from Kamrun, the name of the country in which it grows. These aloes are of the finest quality. They are given to the ministers of the temple for use as incense. These aloes are sometimes worth as much as two hundred dinars a *mana.* The aloes are so soft that they will receive the impression of a seal. Merchants buy them of the ministers of the temple.

2. The famous temple in Multan, Istakhari[20]

There is an idol there held in great veneration by the Hindus, and every year people from the most distant parts undertake pilgrimages to it, and bring to it vast sums of money, which they expend upon the temple and on those who lead there a life of devotion. The temple of the idol is a strong edifice, situated in the most populous part of the city, in the market of Multan, between the bazar of the ivory dealers and the shops of the coppersmiths. Theidol is placed under a cupola in the midst of the building and the ministers of the idol and those devoted to its service dwell around the cupola. In Multan there are no men either of Hind or Sind who worship idols except those who worship this idol and in this temple. The idol has a human shape, and seated with its legs bent in a quadrangular posture on a throne made of brick and mortar. Its whole body is covered with a red skin like Morocco leather, and nothing but its eyes are visible. Some believe that the body is made of wood, some deny this; but the body is not allowed to be uncovered to decide the point. The eyes of the idol are precious gems, and its head is covered with a crown of gold. It sits in a quadrangular position on the throne, its hands resting upon its knees, with the fingers closed, so that only four can be counted. When the Indians make war upon them and endeavour to seize the idol, the inhabitants bring it out, pretending that they will break it and burn it. Upon this the Indians retire, otherwise they would destroy Multan.

3. The idol at Multan, Alberuni[21]

A famous idol of theirs was that of Multan, dedicated to the sun, and therefore called *Aditya*. It was of wood and covered with red Cordovan leather; in its two eyes were two red rubies. It is said to have been made in the last Kritayuga. Suppose that it was made in the very end of Kritayuga, the time which has since elapsed amounts to 216,432 years. When Muhammad Ibn Alkasim Ibn Almunabbih conquered Multan, he inquired how the town had become so very flourishing and so many treasures had there been accumulated, and then he found out that this idol was the cause, for there came pilgrims from all sides to visit it. Therefore he thought it best to have the idol where it was, but he hung a piece of cow's-flesh on its neck by way of mockery. On the same place a mosque was built. When then the Karmatians occupied Multan, Jalam Ibn Shaiban, the usurper, broke the idol into pieces and killed its priests. He made his mansion, which was a castle

built of brick on an elevated place, the mosque instead of the old mosque, which he ordered to be shut from hatred against anything that had been done under the dynasty of the Caliphs of the house of 'Umayya. When afterwards the blessed Prince Mahmud swept away their rule from those countries, he made again the old mosque the place of the Friday worship, and the second one was left to decay. At present it is only a barn-floor, where bunches of Hinna (*lawsonia inermis*) are bound together.

4. Cakrasvamin temple at Thaneshwar, Alberuni[22]

The city of Taneshar is highly venerated by the Hindus. The idol of that place is called *Cakrasvamin, i.e.* the owner of the *cakra,* a weapon...It is of bronze, and is nearly the size of a man. It is now lying in the hippodrome in Ghazna, together with the *Lord of Somanath,* which is a representation of the *penis* of Mahadeva, called *Linga.* of Somanath we shall hereafter speak in the proper place. This Cakrasvamin is said to have been made in the time of Bharata as a memorial of wars connected with this name.

5. The idol of Sharda in Kashmir, Alberuni[23]

In Inner Kashmir, about two or three days' journey from the capital in the direction towards the mountains of Bolor, there is a wooden idol called *Sarada,* which is much venerated and frequented by pilgrims.

6. Somnath, Alberuni[24]

The Linga he [the moon] raised was the stone of Somanath, for *soma* means the moon and *natha* means *master,* so that the whole word means *master of the moon.* The image was destroyed by the Prince Mahmud – may God be merciful to him! – A.H. 416. He ordered the upper part to be broken and the remainder to be transported to his residence, Ghaznin, with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels, and embroidered garments. Part of it has been thrown into the hippodrome of the town, together with the *Cakrasvamin,* an idol of bronze, that had been brought from Taneshar. Another part of the idol from Somanath lies before the door of the mosque of Ghaznin, on which people rub their feet to clean them from dirt and wet…

The educated Hindus determine the daily phases of the tides by the rising and setting of the moon, the monthly phases by the increase and waning of the moon; but the physical cause of both phenomena is not understood by them.

It is flow and ebb to which Somanath owes its name *(i.e.* master of the moon); for the stone (or *linga)* of Somanath was originally erected on the coast, a little less than three miles west of the mouth of the river Sarsuti, east of the golden fortress Baroi, which had appeared as a dwelling-place for Vasudeva, not far from the place where he and his family were killed, and where they were burned. Each time when the moon rises and sets, the water of the ocean rises in the flood so as to cover the place in question. When, then, the moon reaches the meridian of noon and midnight, the water recedes in the ebb, and the place becomes again visible. Thus the moon was perpetually occupied in serving the idol and bathing it. Therefore the place was considered as sacred to the moon. The fortress which contained the idol and its treasures was not ancient, but was built only about a hundred years ago…

The fact that the just-mentioned fortress is said to have appeared out of the ocean is not astonishing for that particular part of the ocean; for the Dibajat islands (Maledives and Laccadives) originate in a similar manner, rising out of the ocean as sand-downs….

7. Somnath, Zakariya Al Kazwini[25]

Somnat – A celebrated city of India, situated on the shore of the sea, and washed by its waves. Among the wonders of that place was the temple in which was placed the idol called Somnat. This idol was in the middle of the temple without anything to support it from below, or to suspend it from above. It was held in the highest honour among the Hindus, and whoever beheld it floating in the air was struck with amazement, whether he was a Musulman or an infidel. The Hindus used to go on pilgrimage to it whenever there was an eclipse of the moon, and would then assemble there to the number of more than a hundred thousand. They believed that the souls of men used to meet there after separation from the body, and that the idol used to incorporate them at its pleasure in other bodies, in accordance with their doctrine of transmigration. The ebb and flow of the tide was considered to be the worship paid to the idol by the sea. Everything of the most precious was brought there as offerings, and the temple was endowed with more than 10,000 villages. There is a river (the Ganges) which is held sacred, between which and Somnat the distance is 200 parasangs. They used to bring the water of this river to Somnat every day, and wash the

temple with it. A thousand brahmans were employed in worshipping the idol and attending on the visitors, and 500 damsels sung and danced at the door – all these were maintained upon the endowments of the temple. The edifice was built upon fifty-six pillars of teak, covered with lead. The shrine of the idol was dark; but was lighted by jewelled chandeliers of great value. Near it was a chain of gold weighing 200 mans. When a portion (watch) of the night closed, this chain used to be shaken like bells to rouse a fresh lot of brahmans to perform worship. When the Sultan Yaminu-d Daula Mahmud bin Subuktigin went to wage religious war against India, he made great efforts to capture and destroy Somnat, in the hope that the Hindus would then become Muhammadans. He arrived there in the middle of Zi-l k'ada, 416 A.H. (December, 1025 A.D.). The Indians made a desperate resistance. They would go weeping and crying for help into the temple, and then issue forth to battle and fight till all were killed. The number of the slain exceeded 50,000. The king looked upon the idol with wonder, and gave orders for the seizing of the spoil, and the appropriation of the treasures. There were many idols of gold and silver and vessels set with jewels, all of which had been sent there by the greatest personages in India. The value of the things found in the temples of the idols exceeded twenty thousand thousand dinars. When the king asked his companions what they had to say about the marvel of the idol, and of its staying in the air without prop or support, several maintained that it was upheld by some hidden support. The king directed a person to go and feel all around and above and below it with a spear, which he did, but met with no obstacle. One of the attendants then stated his opinion that the canopy was made of loadstone, and the idol of iron and that the ingenious builder had skillfully contrived that the magnet should not exercise a greater force on anyone side – hence the idol was suspended in the middle. Some coincided, others differed. Permission was obtained from the Sultan to remove some stones from the top of the canopy to settle the point. When two stones were removed from the summit the idol swerved on one side, when more were taken away it inclined still further until at last it rested on the ground.

8. The attack on Somnath by Alauddin Khalji, Abdullah Wassaf[26]

When Sultan 'Alau-d din, the Sultan of Delhi, was well established in the centre of his dominion, and had cut off the heads of his enemies and slain

them, and had imparted rest to his subjects from the fountain of his kindness and justice, the vein of the zeal of religion beat high for the subjection of infidelity and destruction of idols, and in the month of Zi'l-hijja 698 H. (1298 A.D.) his brother Malik Mu'izzu-d din and Nusrat Khan, the chief pillar of the state and the leader of his armies, a generous and intelligent warrior, were sent to Kambayat, the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population and wealth. Its air is pure, its water clear, and the circumjacent country beautiful and charming both in scenery and buildings. With a view to holy war, and not for the lust of conquest, he enlisted under their banners about 14,000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, which, in their language, are called *dakk.*

They went by daily marches through the hills, from stage to stage, and when they arrived at their destination at early dawn they surrounded Kambayat, and the idolaters were awakened from their sleepy state of carelessness and were taken by surprise, not knowing where to go, and mothers forgot their children and dropped them from their embrace. The Muhammadan forces began to "kill and slaughter on the right and on the left unmercifully, throughout the impure land, for the sake of Islam," and blood flowed in torrents. They plundered gold and silver to an extent greater than can be conceived, and an immense number of brilliant precious stones, such as pearls, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds, etc., as well as a great variety of cloths, both silk and cotton, stamped, embroidered, and coloured.

They took captive a great number of handsome and elegant maidens, amounting to 20,000, and children of both sexes, "more than the pen can enumerate," and thirteen enormous elephants, whose motions would put the earth in tremor." In short, the Muhammadan army brought the country to utter ruin, and destroyed the lives of the inhabitants, and plundered the cities, and captured their offspring, so that many temples were deserted and the idols were broken and trodden under foot, the largest of which was one called Somnat, fixed upon stone, polished like a mirror, of charming shape and admirable workmanship. It stood seven yards high. Its position was such as if it was about to move, and its expression such as if it was about to speak. If the introducer of idolatry were to look on it he would become enamoured of its beauty. The infidels objected to people going near it. Its head was adorned with a crown set with gold and rubies and pearls and

other precious stones, so that it was impossible for the eyes to trace the redness of the gold on account of the excessive lustre of the jewels, and a necklace of large shining pearls, like the belt of Orion, depended from the shoulder towards the side of the body.

The Muhammadan soldiers plundered all those jewels and rapidly set themselves to demolish the idol. The surviving infidels were deeply affected with grief, and they engaged "to pay a thousand pieces of gold" as a ransom for the idol, but they were indignantly rejected, and the idol was destroyed, and "its limbs, which were anointed with ambergris and perfumed, were cut off. The fragments were conveyed to Delhi, and the entrance of the Jami' Masjid was paved with them, that people might remember and talk of this brilliant victory." "Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds. Amen!"

After some time, among the ruins of the temples, a most beautiful jasper-coloured stone was discovered, on which one of the merchants had designed some beautiful figures of fighting men and other ornamental figures of globes, lamps, etc., and on the margin of it were sculptured verses from the Kuran. This stone was sent as an offering to the shrine of the pole of saints, Shaikh Murshid Abu Is'hak Ibrahim bin Shahriar. At that time they were building a lofty octagonal dome to the tomb. The stone was placed at the right of the entrance. "At this time, that is, in the year 707 H. (1307 A.D.), 'Alau-d din is the acknowledged Sultan of this country. On all its borders there are infidels, whom it is his duty to attack in the prosecution of a holy war, and return laden with countless booty."

9. Idol gives response from its mouth, Odoric of Pordenone[27]

They worship also another idol, which is half man and half ox. And this idol giveth responses out of its mouth, and ofttimes demandeth the blood of forty virgins to be given to it. For men and women there vow their sons and their daughters to that idol, just as here they vow to place them in some religious order. And in this manner many perish…

10. A wonderful idol at Malabar, Odoric of Pordenone[28]

There is likewise in this kingdom [Mabar] a certain wonderful idol, which all the provinces of India greatly revere. It is as big as St. Christopher is commonly certain represented by the painters, and it is entirely of gold, seated on a great throne, which is also of gold. And round its neck it hath a

collar of gems of immense value. And the church of this idol is also of pure gold, roof (and walls) and pavement. People come to say their prayers to the idol from great distances, just as Christian folk go from far on pilgrimage to St. Peter's. And the manner of those who come is thus:- Some travel with a halter round their necks; and some with their hands upon a board, which is tied to their necks; others with a knife stuck in the arm, which they never remove until they arrive before the idol, so that the arm is then all in a slough. And some have quite a different way of doing. For these as they start from their houses take three steps, and at the fourth they make a prostration at full length upon the ground. And then they take a thurible and incense the whole length of that prostration. And thus they do continually until they reach the idol, so that sometimes when they go through this operation it take a very great while before they do reach the idol. But when those who are going along in this way wish to turn aside to do anything, they make a mark there to show how far they have gone, and so they (come back upon this, and) continue until they reach the idol.

11. Idol taken out in procession, Nicolo Conti[29]

In Bizenegalia also, at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people. Many, carried away by the fervour of their faith, cast themselves on the ground before the wheels, in order that they may be crushed to death, a mode of death which they say is very acceptable to their god. Others, making an incision in their side, and inserting a rope thus through their body, hang themselves to the chariot by way of ornament, and thus suspended and half dead accompany their idol. This kind of sacrifice they consider the best and most acceptable of all.

12. Vasco da Gama's delegation mistakes a temple for a church[30]

When we arrived [at Calicut] they took us to a large church, and this is what we saw:–

The body of the church is as large as a monastery, all built of hewn stone and covered with tiles. At the main entrance rises a pillar of bronze as high as a mast, on the top of which was perched a bird, apparently a cock. In addition to this, there was another pillar as high as a man, and very stout. In the centre of the body of the church rose a chapel all built of hewn stone,

with a bronze door sufficiently wide for a man to pass, and stone steps leading up to it. Within this sanctuary stood a small image which they said represented Our Lady. Along the walls, by the main entrance, hung seven small bells. In this church the captain-major said his prayers, and we with him.

We did not go within the chapel, for it is the custom that only certain servants of the church, called *quafees* [Brahmin priests], should enter. These *quafees* wore some threads passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, in the same manner as our deacons wear the stole. They threw holy water over us, and gave us some white earth, which the Christians of this country are in the habit of putting on their foreheads, breasts, around the neck, and on the forearms. They threw holy water upon the captain-major and gave him some of the earth, which he gave in charge of someone, giving them to understand that he would put it on later.

Many other saints were painted on the walls of the church, wearing crowns. They were painted variously, with teeth protruding an inch from the mouth, and four or five arms.

Below this church there was a large masonry tank, similar to many others which we had seen along the road.

D. Popular pilgrimage sites

1. Holy ponds, Alberuni[31]

We have already quoted Hindu traditions to the effect that in the Dvipas there are rivers as holy as the Ganges. In every place to which some particular holiness is ascribed, the Hindus construct ponds intended for the ablutions. In this they have attained to a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Muslims), when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them. They build them of great stones of an enormous bulk, joined to each other by sharp and strong crampirons, in the form of steps (or terraces) like so many ledges and these terraces run all around the pond, reaching to a height of more than a man’s stature. On the surface of the stones between two terraces they construct staircases rising like pinnacles. Thus the first steps or terraces are like roads (leading round the pond), and the pinnacles are steps (leading up and down). If ever so many people descend to the pond whilst others

ascend, they do not meet each other, and the road is never blocked up, because there are so many terraces, and the ascending person can always turn aside to another terrace than that on which the descending people go. By this arrangement all troublesome thronging is avoided.

In Multan there is a pond in which the Hindus worship by bathing themselves, if they are not prevented.

The Samhita of Varahamihira relates that in Taneshar there is a pond which the Hindus visit from afar to bathe in its water. Regarding the cause of this custom they relate the following:The waters of all the other holy ponds visit this particular pond at the time of an eclipse. Therefore, if a man washes in it, it is as if he had washed in every single one of all of them…

2. Banaras, Alberuni[32]

The Hindus have some places which are venerated for reasons connected with their law and religion, e.g. Benares. For their anchorites wander to it and stay there for ever as the dwellers of the Ka'ba stay for ever in Mekka. They want to live there to the end of their lives, that their reward after death should be the better for it. They say that a murderer is held responsible for his crime and punished with a punishment due to his guilt, except in case he enters the city of Benares, where he obtains pardon.

3. Pushkar, Alberuni[33]

A similar place is Pukara…Outside the town, in three places, they have constructed ponds which stand in high veneration, and are places of worship.

4. Thaneshwar, Alberuni[34]

Another place of the kind is Taneshar, also called Kurukshetra, *i.e.* the land of Kuru, who was a peasant, a pious, holy man, who worked miracles by divine power. Therefore the country was called after him, and venerated for his sake. Besides, Taneshar is the theatre of the exploits of Vasudeva in the wars of Bharata and of the destruction of the evildoers. It is for this reason that people visit the place.

5. Mathura, Alberuni[35]

Mahura, too, is a holy place, crowded with Brahmans. It is venerated because Vasudeva was there born and brought up, in a place in the neighbourhood called Nandagola.

6. Kashmir and Multan, Alberuni[36]

Nowadays the Hindus also visit Kashmir. Lastly, they used to visit Multan before its idol-temple was destroyed.

7. Hardwar, Yazdi[37]

The valley of Kupila is situated at the foot of a mountain by which the river Ganges passes. Fifteen *kos* higher up there is a stone in the form of a cow, and the water of the river flows out of the mouth of that cow. The infidels of India worship this cow; and come hither from all quarters, from distances even of a year's journey, to visit it. They bring here and cast into the river the ashes of their dead whose corpses have been burned, believing this to be the means of salvation. They throw gold and silver into the river; they go down alive into the river, bathe their feet, sprinkle water on their heads, and have their heads and beards shaved. This they consider to be an act of devotion, just as the Muhammadans consider the pilgrimage to Mecca a pious work.

E. Certain other Customs

1. Ganges washes sins, Gardizi[38]

Another group are the GANGAYATRI. They are found at any place in India. Their law is that anyone who has committed a sin which would offend his parents, or (any other) wicked deed, wherever he be of the far or near places of India, he travels from there to the Ganges and washes himself in its water, and this is the purification (*kaffara*) of his sin. Should he die on that journey, this too will be accepted from him.

2. Water worshipped, Gardizi[39]

Another sect is called JALA-BHAKTI, *i.e.* 'water –worshippers'. They say that on the waters there is an angel and water is the origin of all plants and animals. It is the origin of life: wherever it be plentiful, there plants, the breeding of animals and the prosperity of the world are on the increase. A man (of theirs) enters the water up to his waist and stays there (*andar u*) for more than two hours. He holds sweet basil (*sipargham*) in his hands and splits it into small pieces (*para*) which he throws into the water as he swims (*ashna*) and sings something. When he wants to retire he stirs the water with his hand and scooping up a little pours it over his head and the parts of

the body which are not submerged. Then he goes, after a prostration before the water.

3. Fire worshipped Gardizi[40]

Another sect is called AGNI-HOTRI, *i.e.* 'fire worshippers'. According to them Fire is the greatest of the elements and substances. Whoever burns himself in it purifies himself of all impurities (*palidiha*), while the fire becomes exalted (*buzurg*). They make a quadrangular hole in which they kindle a great fire. Then they bring food, garments, gold, silver, precious stones, cereals (*dangu*), and perfumes and throw them into the flames, as they circumambulate them. Great kings belong to this sect.

4. Moon worshipped, Gardizi[41]

Another sect is called CHANDRA-BHAKTI (spelt *J.ndr.rbhaktiyan*), *i.e.* 'Moon-worshippers'. According to them the Moon is one of the great angels. of him they have made an idol seated on a calf. Before him are four (other) idols. In his hand he holds a jewel. Every month these people fast for half a month (or, during the middle of the month?). They do not break their fast until the new moon appears. And when the moon rises they go up on the roofs, sprinkle perfumes, and look at the moon with pleasant faces. Then they come down to their homes, break the fast, and go before the idols stamping their feet and playing.

5. Sun worshipped, Gardizi[42]

Another sect is called ADITYA-BHAKTI (spelt *Awbhaktiyan*), *i.e.* 'Sun-worshippers'. They have made an idol seated on a calf. Four horses are harnessed to (the idol) and before the idol there is an angel whom they worship prostrating themselves before him, burning incense and playing the flute and striking cymbals. The idol has numerous estates and much grain. And they tell many stories about this idol. The sick come and fast before him for a day and a night, which they call *lak-han*, (hoping to) dream a dream, (after which) they are told that their wish has been fulfilled, and break their fast. There were two of these idols but Amir Mahmud, God have mercy on his soul, pulled down one of them, and the other still exists in Hindustan.

6. Throwing self before chariot, Odoric of Pordenone[43]

And hard by the church of this idol there is a lake, made by hand, into which the pilgrims who come thither cast gold or silver or precious stones, in honour of the idol, and towards the maintenance of the church, so that much gold and silver and many precious stones have been accumulated therein. And thus when it is desired to do any work upon the church, they make search in the lake and find all that hath been cast into it.

But annually on the recurrence of the day when that idol was made, the folk of the country come and take it down, and put it in a fine chariot; and then the king and queen and all the pilgrims, and the whole body of the people, join together and draw forth from the church with loud singing of songs and all kinds of music; and many maidens go before it by two and two chanting in a marvellous manner. And many pilgrims who have come to this feast cast themselves under the chariot, so that its wheels may go over them, saying that they desire to die for their God. And the car passes over them, and crushes and cuts them in sunder, and so they perish on the spot. And after this fashion they drag the idol to a certain customary place, and then they drag him back to where he was formerly, with singing and playing as before. And thus not a year passes but there perish more than five hundred men in this manner; and their bodies they burn, declaring that they are holy, having thus devoted themselves to death for their God.

And another custom they have of this kind. One will come saying: "I desire to sacrifice myself for my God?" And then his friends and kinsfolk, and all the players of the country, assemble together to make a feast for him who is determined to die for his God. And they hang round his neck five very sharp knives, and lead him thus to the presence of the idol with loud songs. Then he takes one of those sharp knives and calls out with a loud voice: "Thus I cut my flesh for my God"; and cutting a piece of his flesh wherever he may choose, he casteth it in the face of the idol; and saying again: "I devote myself to die for my God," he endeth by slaying himself there. And straightway they take his body and burn it, for they look on him as a saint, having thus slain himself for his idol. And many other things greatly to be marvelled at are done by these people, which are by no means to be written.

7. Self-immolation in India the Greater, Friar Jordanus[44]

In this Greater India many sacrifice themselves to idols in this way. When they are sick, or involved in any grave mischance, they vow themselves to the idol if they should happen to be delivered. Then, when they have recovered, they fatten themselves for one or two years continually, eating and drinking fat things, etc. And when another festival comes round, they cover themselves with flowers and perfumes, and crown themselves with white garlands, and go with singing and playing before the idol when it is carried through the land (like the image of the Virgin Mary here among us at the Rogation tides); and those men who are sacrificing themselves to the idol carry a sword with two handles, like those (knives) which are used in currying leather; and, after they have shown off a great deal, they put the sword to the back of the neck, cutting strongly with a vigorous exertion of both hands, and so cut off their own heads before the idol.

8. Drowning in the Ganges, Ibn Battuta[45]

The Indians have a similar practice of drowning themselves and many of them do so in the river Ganges, the river to which they go on pilgrimage, and into which the ashes of those who are burned are cast. They say that it is a river of Paradise. When one of them comes to drown himself he says to those present with him, "Do not think that I drown myself for any worldly reason or through penury; my purpose is solely to seek approach to Kusay," Kusay [Krishna?] being the name of God in their language. He then drowns himself, and when he is dead they take him out and burn him and cast his ashes into this river.

9. Tulsi sacred, Odoric of Pordenone[46]

In this country every man hath before his house a plant of twigs as thick as a pillar would be here, and this never withers as long as it gets water. And many other strange things are there which it would be pretty to hear, tell.

F. Cow worship

1. Love of animals, cows sacred, Al-Idrisi[47]

The inhabitants of Nahrwara…have a great veneration for oxen, and by a privilege confined to the species, they inter them after death. When these animals are enfeebled by age, and are unable to work, they free them from all labour and provide them with food without exacting any return.

2. Oxen sacred, John of Monte Corvino[48]

Oxen are with these people sacred animals, and they eat not their flesh for the worship they bear them. But they make use of cows' milk, and put their cattle to labour like other folk.

3. Worship of ox, Marco Polo[49]

The greater part of the idolatrous inhabitants of this kingdom show particular reverence to the ox; and none will from any consideration be induced to eat the flesh of oxen. But there is a particular class of men termed gaui, who although they may eat of the flesh, yet dare not to kill the animal; but when they find a carcass, whether it has died a natural death or otherwise, the gaui eat of it; and all descriptions of people daub their houses with cow-dung.

4. Hair of a wild bull prized, Marco Polo[50]

Those amongst them who pay adoration to the ox, take with them, when they go to battle, some of the hair of a wild bull, which they attach to the manes of their horses, believing its virtue and efficacy to be such, that every one who carries it about with him is secure from all kind of danger. On this account the hair of the wild bull sells for a high price in these countries.

5. People at Polumbum [Kulam] worship of ox, Odoric of Pordenone[51]

All the people of this country worship the ox for their god [and they eat not his flesh]; for they say that he is, as it were, a sacred creature. Six years they make him to work for them, and the seventh year they give him rest from all labour, and turn him out in some appointed public place, declaring him thenceforward to be a consecrated animal. And they observe the following abominable superstition. Every morning they take two basins of gold or silver, and when the ox is brought from the stall they put these under him and catch his urine in one and his dung in the other. With the former they wash their faces and with the latter they daub themselves, first on the middle of the forehead; secondly, on the balls of both cheeks; and lastly in the middle of the chest. And when they have thus anointed themselves in four places they consider themselves to be sanctified (for the day). Thus do the common people; and thus do the king and queen likewise.

6. Cow holy in India the Less, Friar Jordanus[52]

The Indians, both of this India and of the other Indies, never kill an ox, but rather honour him like a father; and some, even perhaps the majority, worship him. They will more readily spare him who has slain five men than him who has slain one ox, saying that it is no more lawful to kill an ox than to kill one's father. This is because oxen do all their services, and moreover furnish them with milk and butter, and all sorts of good things. The great lords among the idolaters, every morning when they rise, and before they go anywhither, make the fattest cows come before them, and lay their hands upon them, and then rub their own faces, believing that after this they can have no ailment.

7. Sacredness of cow, Abder Razzak[53]

In this harbour [Calicut] one may find everything that can be desired. One thing alone is forbidden, namely, to kill a cow, or to eat its flesh: whosoever should be discovered slaughtering or eating one of these animals, would be immediately punished with death. So respected is the cow in these parts, that the inhabitants take its dung when dry and rub their foreheads with it.

8. Worship cow at Calicut, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano[54]

The lord of the city is an idolater, and so likewise are all the people. They worship an ox, or the sun, and also various idols, which they themselves make. When these people die they are burnt: their customs and usages are various; inasmuch as some kill all kinds of animals excepting oxen and cows: if any one were to kill or wound these, he would be himself immediately slain, because, they are objects of worship. Others, again, never eat flesh or fish, or anything that has had life.

G. Ascetics

1. Wandering mendicants, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[55]

There are some people in India who are dedicated to a life of wandering in the forests and the mountains. They seldom communicate with human beings, and sometimes eat the herbs and fruits of the forests. They wear iron rings through their penis, so that they may not be able to cohabit with women. There are some others who are naked. Then some of them set themselves up towards the sun and encounter in naked except that they put on something made of the leopard skin. I saw one of these men just as I

described and then departed. After sixteen years, I returned once again and [to my surprise] I found him in the same state [as I had left him in]. I was surprised that his eyes did not melt away due to the heat of the sun.

2. The Bhadruri, Gardizi[56]

Another sect are the BHADRURI (?)…Their law is to keep the hair long, letting it down straight from every side so that they look out from underneath that hair. They wear vests (*sidra*), letting their hands out of (?) their sleeves and keeping their chests uncovered. Round their waists they attach chains and each is accompanied by another man who holds him by that chain. They do not drink wine. Their pilgrimage is to a mountain called Chun-ghar (Junagarh?). They repair thither to lament (*nauha* for *tavajjuh*) Bhadruz (*sic*). They occupy that mountain and on it they have built a large house (on which) they have represented (*nigashta*) Bhadruz on a horse. This building has a door on entering which they tie up their mouths, lest their breath should touch the idol's body. There they perform sacrifices. When these men visit other countries they tell the stories on which their creed is based, and in the meantime they nod. Apart from that house they have other houses they have other houses (in which) the likeness of Bhadru (*sic*) and his two brothers JUN and M.RS are represented, and idols are found (in them), but they venerate that house on Mt. Junghar (above all).

3. Munis, Gardizi[57]

Another sect is that called MUNI, *i.e.* 'the silent'. They do not harm or pain anybody, and do not speak to anyone (*har kas*). They eat what food they can find, except meat, and do not marry.

4. The Kesa-karti [Jain munis?], Gardizi[58]

Another sect is called K.STK.RTI [*kesa-karti*, cutting hair] and SID.R. They are naked and cover only their privy parts. On their necks they wear a staff, and suspended on it are a gourd in which there is everything and also a bag (*kharita*) with food. In the other (?) hand they hold a fan of peacock's feathers. These people like discussions (*ahl-I jadal?*). With each of them comes a disciple. They have chairs on which they sit and all day long they have no other business but to pluck hair out of their heads, brows, eyelashes, and limbs. By that they intend to mortify (*adhab*) their body. They say that there was a king who was attracted towards their religion. So

they bared his body and said: “all this hair has to be plucked out and while this is done thou must not shout but only say: ‘o comfort’ (*ay rahata*). When much of it was plucked out and the operation became painful, he shouted and they said: “thou hast spoilt thy business”. He became silent and kept saying (*be-guftan istad*): ‘o comfort’. They said: “if thou goest on saying like this till all thy hair is gone thou shalt enter paradise”. As they went on with their operation he felt great pain and could stand it no more. So he withdrew himself from their hands and returned to his own status and religion. When asked about the reason, he answered: “one must flee from a religion whose very beginning [i.e., the declaration ‘o comfort’] is a lie”.

5. Those who burn themselves, Gardizi[59]

Among them there are people who burn themselves in the fire, doing this in the following way. They dig a ditch near a water, and fill it with burning stuff (*atash*). That man (of theirs) comes and fumigates himself, prostrates himself before everybody, and throws himself into the ditch. When he is on fire he comes out and entering the water plunges into it for so long that he is nearly dead. Then entering the fire and water alternately he goes on until he dies. Should he die in the fire or in the water, they proclaim him one of Paradise, but should he die between the two they become afflicted (*tafta*) and say: “he has not reached Paradise.”

6. Other forms of asceticism, Gardizi[60]

Some heat stones and collecting them while they are very hot place these burning pieces of stone on the belly (of the man who wishes to undergo the test) until a hole appears in his belly and his bowels (*rudagan*) fall out and he dies. Some others kindle four fires and stand in the middle holding one foot in one hand and resting on the other; and thus they remain until they are on fire and the contents of their entrails (*rudab*) spurt from them and finally they fall of weakness and die being consumed by the fire.

Some carve pieces out of their thighs and flesh and cutting them into (small) slices throw them into the fire, while singing some of those incantations (*khwanish*). Men gather round such a man, praise him, incite him (to seek) his reward (*muzd*), and pray that the Almighty grant them the same rank. Thus they go on until the man dies…

Starve to death

Others again who kill themselves by hunger and thirst are called ANSHI [not eating]. Some die on the twentieth day and some survive to thirty days. First they are unable to walk, then to sit, then to utter a word, then their sense are annihilated and they become like blocks of dry wood and finally they grow motionless and numb (*bi-y-afsurand*).

The Trisuli

A sect called TRISULI has the following custom. There is a tree named *batu* [banyan] whose nature is such that coming out of the soil it grows up and then long twigs shoot out of it in every direction, and reaching the soil take root and grow up again and again. Left alone they would cover the province, but some (of the twigs) are pruned and some set fire to, so that it should acquire more strength. The people of this creed have a place where the waters of the River Ganges flow together. There stands a huge tree widespreading (*pahn baz-shuda*). Under it they have fixed something which they call *trisul* 'trident'. It is made of iron and like a stake driven into (the soil), raising above the level of the river several tens of cubits (*chand dah rash*). It is hard as the hardest wood. Its top forms three branches, each long, hard, sharpened, and neatly polished, so that it shines like fire. A man sits by the course of the river (*az gudhara-yi ab*), close to the tree, reading a book and addressing the River Ganges: "O (*ya?*) great one, either return, or (show) the road of Paradise! Thou art a stream coming from the center of Paradise and showing to the men the road thereunto (*bad-u hami rah numa'i*). Blessed is he who climbs on to the tree and throws himself on that stake." And the people there listen to it, and one of them climbs on to the tree, flings himself on to the stake, cuts himself to pieces on its blades, and falls into the river. And the people who are there pray for him and say: "he is gone to Paradise".

7. On the banks of rivers, Gardizi[61]

There is a sect [lacuna] whose habit is to assemble daily on the spot where the Ganges unites (*grid shaved*) with the Yamuna (*Jaun*). Each brings a weapon as sharp as a sword, a dagger, or such like. One of these devotees who wishes to purify himself and seeks approach to God, comes near those people and they throw upon him whatever they have of garments, ornaments, golden necklaces, bracelets, and such like, and they set upon him with all their sharp weapons, slay him and cut him in two: they throw

one part into the Ganges and the other into the Yamuna saying: "let these two streams take him to Paradise."

8. Next world revealed to Hindu ascetics, al-Shahrastani[62]

[Hindu ascetics separate imagination from their physical environment and achieve considerable self-subjugation] so that when meditation becomes emancipated from this world, the next world is revealed to it.

9. Self-immolation practices, Benjamin of Tudela[63]

Some of the great of this country take a vow to burn themselves alive; and if any such devotee declares to his children and kindred his intention to do so, they all applaud him and say: 'Happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.'…Whenever the appointed day arrives, they prepare a sumptuous feast, mount the devotee upon his horse if he be rich, or lead him afoot if he be poor, to the brink of the ditch. He throws himself into the fire, and all his kindred manifest their joy by the playing of instruments until he is entirely consumed. Within three days of this ceremony two of their principal priests repair to his house and thus address his children: 'Prepare the house, for today you will be visited by your father who will manifest his wishes unto you.' Witnesses are selected among the inhabitants of the town, and the devil appears in the image of the dead. The wife and children inquire after his state in the other world, and he answers: 'I have met my companions, but they have not admitted me into their company before I have discharged my debts to my friends and neighbours.' He then makes a will, divides his goods among his children, and commands them to discharge all debts he owes and to receive what people owe him; this will is written down by the witnesses...and he is not seen anymore. In the consequence of these lies and deceit, which the priests pass off as magic, they retain a stronghold upon the people, and make them believe that their equal is not to be met with upon earth.

10. Devoted to religious life, Marco Polo[64]

Amongst the natives of this region there is a class peculiarly devoted to a religious life, who are named *tingui,* and who in honour of their divinities lead most austere lives. They go perfectly naked, not concealing any part of their bodies, and say there can be no shame in that state of nudity in which they came into the world; and with respect to what are called the parts of shame, they observe that, not being with them the organs of sin, they have

no reason to blush at their exposure. They pay adoration to the ox, and carry a small figure of one, of gilt brass or other metal, attached to their foreheads. They also burn the bones of oxen, reduce them to powder, and with this make an unguent for the purpose of marking various parts of the body, which they do in a reverential manner. If they meet a person with whom they are upon cordial terms, they smear the centre of his forehead with some of these prepared ashes. They do not deprive any creature of life, not even a fly, a flea, or a louse, believing them to be animated with souls; and to feed upon any animal they would consider as a heinous sin. They even abstain from eating vegetables, herbs, or roots, until they have become dry; holding the opinion that these also have souls. They make no use of spoons nor of platters, but spread their victuals upon the dried leaves of the Adam's apple, called like-wise apples of paradise. When they have occasion to ease nature, they go to the sea-beach, and having dropped their burden in the sand, immediately scatter it in all directions, to prevent its giving birth to vermin, whose consequent death by hunger would load their consciences with a grievous offence. They live to great age, some of them even to a hundred and fifty years, enjoying health and vigour, although they sleep upon the bare earth. This must be attributed to their temperance and chastity. When they die, their bodies are burned, in order for the same reason that they might not breed worms.

11. Yogis at Narwar, Gwalior, Ibn Battuta[65]

The men of this class do some marvellous things. One of them will spend months without eating or drinking, and many of them have holes dug for them in the earth which are then built in on top of them, leaving only a space for air to enter. They stay in these for months, and I heard tell of one of them who remained thus for a year. The people say that they make up pills, one of which they take for a given number of days or months, and during that time they require no food or drink. They can tell what is happening at a distance. The sultan holds them in esteem and admits them to his company. Some eat nothing but vegetables, and others, the majority, eat no meat; it is obvious that they have so disciplined themselves in ascetic practices that they have no need of any of the goods or vanities of this world.

12. Yogis with the Sultan, Ibn Battuta[66]

The sultan sent for me once when I was at Delhi, and on entering I found him in a private apartment with some of his intimates and two of these *jugis*. One of them squatted on the ground, then rose into the air above our heads, still sitting. I was so astonished and frightened that I fell to the floor in a faint. A potion was administered to me, and I revived and sat up. Meantime this man remained in his sitting posture. His companion then took a sandal from a bag he had with him, and beat it on the ground like one infuriated. The sandal rose in the air until it came above the neck of the sitting man and then began hitting him on the neck while he descended little by little until he sat down alongside us. Then the sultan said, "If I did not fear for your reason I would have ordered them to do still stranger things than this you have seen." I took my leave but was affected with palpitation and fell ill, until he ordered me to be given a draught which removed it all.

13. Ascetics, Yefrosin, the fifteenth century writer[67]

[They have] neither iron nor temples, nor gold, nor wine, they eat no meat, have no ruler, no buying, they live naked, eat a few vegetables, drink sweet water, ardently believe in God and pray continuously.

H. On Buddhism

1. Some Chinese inscriptions at Bodhgaya[68]

(a) The inscription of the monk Che-Yi, circa A.D. 990

The monk Che-yi of the great Han country had first taken the vow to exhort three hundred thousand men to practise the conduct which assures a higher birth; to make a charity of three hundred thousand copies of *Shan Shen King* (Sutra relating to the higher birth) and to recite it himself three hundred thousand times. Such a merit, as mentioned above, conduces to the birth in the inner Tusita (heaven).

Now, arriving in Magadha, he has admired the Vajrasana and has humbly met the abbot of Vijnanamatra (School). Kui-pao and a group of venerable monks had together taken the vow to go to be born in Tusita (heaven). Amongst the three hundred thousand persons Kui-pao is the first, Che-yi is the *s*econd, Kuang-fong the third and the others mentioned in order are Hui-yen, Ch'ong-ta, Ts'iuan-tsun, Yuan-chen, Yi-sien, Hui-siu, Che-yong, Fong-sheng. Ts'ing-yun, etc. They have together desired to pay homage to

Maitreya, the compassionate and the honoured one, and have now engraved the images of seven Buddhas which they place on record.

(b) The inscription of the monk K'o-Yun, dated A.D. 1022

Memoir on the bodies (kaya) and the thrones of Buddha by monk, K'o-yun, a transmitter of the Sutras and teacher of the Sastras, a native of Si-ho of the great Song Empire.

K'o-yun left the Imperial territory and came to contemplate on the country of Buddha. When he saw the marvellous traces and the holy vestiges how could he help not becoming a respectful panegyrist of the gladdening excellence (of the Buddha)? K'o-yun exhausted all his remaining resources and at thirty steps to the north of the Bodhi tree he set up a beautiful stupa in stone of the 1000 Buddhas. He erected a lasting monument on the spot where (the Maitreya Buddha) will take three steps. Although the height of his capacities was not enough to express his sentiments by writing, the benign work of the Law surpassed his respect to such an extent as to impose itself on his inner self. He tried to compose some lines is an undignified language to celebrate the unborn...

The Emperor of the Great Song dynasty humbly wished that his destiny should be like the water of the celestial lake which is abundant and which neither diminishes nor increases, that his prosperity should be like the celestial peak of the mountain which is high and which always remains high and majestic. My sovereign desired also that in future in this country there should be somebody to occupy continuously the place of Sankha – that in other regions there would be in the future generations a fame like that of Candrachattra – that if henceforth anyone composes a eulogy of the marvellous traces and the holy vestiges, he should take care to write it and make a memoir of it.

Recorded in the month *yi-se,* of the year *jen-siu* of the *period t'ien-hi* (A.D. 1022) of the great Song dynasty.

(c) The inscription of the monk Yi- Ts'ing dated A.D. 1022

The monk Yits'ing and the disciple of the master Yi-lin of the Dhyana court of the prosperous religion in the eastern capital of the great Song Empire acquit themselves of the charge of offering a kasaya, woven with golden threads, offered as a token of gratitude for the four acts of kindness and three indulgences. After having spread it and hung it on the throne of

Buddha in India they set up a stupa in stone. The 4th day of the 4th month of the 6th year *t'ien-hi* (A.D. 1022) the Upadhyaya Pien-cheng being, the great master (of the ceremony).

(d) The inscription of Huai-Wen, dated A.D. 1033

The erection of a stupa, in honour of the Emperor T'ai- tsong by the Emperor and the Dowager Empress of the great Song dynasty:

Of the great Song dynasty, the Emperor who is of saintly and pacific character, a wise warrior, good and intelligent, pious and virtuous, and the Dowager Empress who is in harmony with the original principle, who honours virtue and good, who has a long life, does good to others and is saintly, have respectfully charged the monk Huai-wen with the task of going to the country of Magadha in order to erect a stupa by the side of the Vajrasana dedicated to T'ai-tsong, the Emperor who was perfectly good, in harmony with reason, divinely meritorious, saintly and virtuous, pacific and warrior, clear-minded and illustrious, endowed with wide intelligence and profoundly pious.

The Emperor T'ai-tsong humbly desired to go up to the abode of the devas, to receive personally from Buddha the account which confirms the scriptures, to attain the residence of the good saints for all times as his place of habitation, so that the worship of Sakra and Brahma might be his great recompense and the majestic and supernatural influence might raise his dynasty for ever to a higher position.

Written on the 19th day of the first month of the 12th year *ming-tao* being marked by the signs, kui-yi (A.D.1033).

2. A Mon inscription from Prome of the reign of Kyanzittha [1084-1112 A.D.][69]

Then the king wrote of the grace of the Buddharatna, Dharmmaratna, (and) Sangharatna (upon a leaf of gold with vermilion ink ?), the king sent it to the Coli prince. The Coli prince, with all his array, hearing of the grace of Buddha, the Law, (and) the Church, from King Sri Tribhuwanadityadhammaraja' sending (word of it to him), he cast off his adhesion to false doctrines, (and) he adhered straightaway to the true doctrine…

3. The Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvamin, who visited eastern India in the years 1234-36, on the devastation wrought by the Turks[70]

[Of Vikramsila] there were then no traces left, the Turushka soldiery having razed it to the ground, and thrown the foundation stones into the Ganges. [At Nalanda] there was absolutely no-one to look after them [the damaged viharas], or to make offerings…

4. Rashid al-din on some fundamental commandments of *Shâkamûni*[71]

Concerning that which is allowed and that which is forbidden, he said furthermore: 'Drink no wine, kill no animal for the sake of food and make not your stomach the grave of living creatures; neither kill harmful animals, insects and reptiles, for had they not been hurt in a previous form of existence, they would not do the same in this present existence.'

To the sect of the *Śrāvakas* and *Pratyekabuddhas*, he said that they must earn their food by begging; and if then food of animal nature was thrown into their beggar's bowl, they should not enquire as to its origin but should eat all, whatever it might be, to pacify the stomach.

And of the sect of the *Samyaksambuddhas* he said: 'Since ye have attained the power of discrimination between good and evil, ye must yourselves know what to do, what may be eaten, and that animals may not be tortured. But if ye are hungry and are given a dead animal or one that has been put to death, eat it then, but in no case may ye grant permission for animals to be killed.'

5. Description of a miracle in the valley, north of Kabul near the foot of the Indian Caucasus, the Bamiyan Buddhas, Odoric of Pordenone[72]

Another great and terrible thing I saw. For, as I went through a certain valley which lieth by the River of Delights, I saw therein many dead corpses lying. And I heard also therein sundry kinds of music, but chiefly nakers, which were marvelously played upon. And so great was the noise thereof that very great fear came upon me. Now, this valley is seven or eight miles long; and if any unbeliever enters therein he quitteth it never again, but perisheth incontinently. Yet I hesitated not to go in that I might see once for all what the matter was. And when I had gone in I saw there, as I have said, such numbers of corpses as no one without seeing it could deem credible. And at one side of the valley, in the very rock, I beheld as it were the face of a man very great and terrible, so very terrible indeed that for my exceeding great fear my spirit seemed to die in me. Wherefore I made the sign of the cross, and began continually to repeat Verbum caro factum but I

dared not at all to come nigh that face, but kept at seven or eight paces from it. And so I came at length to the other end of the valley, and there I ascended a hill of sand and looked around me. But nothing could I descry, only I still heard. Those nakers to play which were played so marvelously. And when I got to the top of that hill I found there a great quantity of silver heaped up as it had been fishes' scales, and some of this I put into my bosom. But as I cared nought for it, and was at the same time in fear lest it should be a snare to hinder my escape, I cast it all down again to the ground. And so by God's grace I came forth scathless. Then all the Saracens when they heard of this, showed me great worship, saying that I was a baptized and holy man. But those who had perished in that valley they said belonged to the devil.

I. Selection of Lama

Among the earliest accounts of Tibet and the selection of the Lama; Pero Tafur took a three and a half year trip to the eastern Mediterranean starting in 1435 and while trying to arrange a passage to India, made contact with Nicolo Conti returning home after 20 years travels in the East. Tafur did not himself visit India but wrote on the basis of what he learned from Conti during 15 days of conversation[73]

They say that in India there is a very high mountain, very difficult of ascent, so much so that in ancient times those below had no knowledge of those above, and vice-versa; but that a road was made, and even a chain put down so that one could go up or come down. On top of the mountain, there is a great plain, where they sow and reap wheat, and have herds, and there are many fertile gardens with many fruits and many fountains, with all the things necessary to the life of mankind. And on a rock there is a great monastery where those who have the rank of priest are accustomed to send as electors, twelve noble and virtuous old men, in order that they may select the High Priest or Lord, when this position is vacant. This is done in the following manner: The elder sons and daughters are sent there to be brought up, and they marry and have families, and are provided with all the things necessary for life. They are given horses, and arms, bows and arrows, and are taught the art of war and the art of governing people. The electors who are there each day take counsel among themselves and observe the one who

seems to them to be the best suited to succeed to the office of High Priest when this position becomes vacant. They already have in mind the one to be chosen, and when the Lord dies, his nobles take him on their stretchers, covered in mourning to the mountain. When the electors see this from their high place, they take the chosen one and give him as High Priest to the nobles and take from them the body of the deceased, and bury it in their monastery, with all the honour due it. The others go away with their new Lord, and with great feasts and rejoicing, pledge to him their obedience. Certain tribes then come with their gifts, some bringing pearls, other precious stones of great value, and others quantities of gold, depending on what is produced in the land where each lives.

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CHAPTER — 7

Varna and Jati

A. Classes of men
B. Brahmins
C. Kshatriyas and Nairs
D. Vaishyas
E. Sudras
F. Doms
G. Mlecchas
H. Equality of beings

A. Classes of Men

1. Castes, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[1]

In every kingdom, the members of the royal family belong to the same one family, and the authority does not go out of it. They have heir apparents; similarly, the calligraphists *(abl al-kitabat)* and the physicians belong to particular families, and these professions *(al-sana' at)* remain exclusively with them.

2. Professions hereditary, Sulaiman[2]

In all these kingdoms the nobility is considered to form but one family. Power resides in it alone. The princes name their own successors. It is the same with learned men and physicians. They form a distinct caste, and the profession never goes out of the caste.

3. Seven classes of Hindus, Ibn Khurdadba[3]

There are seven classes of Hindus, viz., 1st, Sabkufria, among whom are men of high caste, and from among whom kings are chosen. The people of the other six classes do the men of this class homage, and them only. 2nd, Brahma, who totally abstain from wine and fermented liquors. 3rd, Kataria, who drink not more than three cups of wine; the daughters of the class of Brahma are not given in marriage to the sons of this class, but the Brahmas take their daughters. 4th, Sudaria, who are by profession husbandmen. The 5th, Baisura, are artificers and domestics. The 6th, Sandalia, who perform menial offices. 7th, Lahud; their women are fond of adorning themselves,

and the men are fond of amusements and games of skill. In Hind there are forty-two religious sects; part of them believe in a creator and Prophet (the blessing of God be upon them); part deny the mission of a Prophet, and part are atheists.

4. Varna and jataka, Alberuni[4]

The Hindus call their castes *varna, i.e. colours,* and from a genealogical point of view they call them *jataka, i.e. births.* These castes are from the very beginning only four.

I. The highest caste are the Brahmana, of whom the book of the Hindus tell that they were created from the head of Brahman. And as Brahman is only another name for the force called *nature,* and the head is the highest part of the animal body, the Brahmana are the choice part of the whole genus. Therefore the Hindus consider them as the very best of mankind.

II. The next caste are the Kshatriya who were created, as they say, from the shoulders and hands of Brahman. Their degree is not much below that of the Brahmana.

III. After them follow the Vaisya, who were created from the thigh of Brahman.

IV. The Sudra, who were created from his feet.

Between the latter two classes there is no very great distance. Much, however, as these classes differ from each other, they live together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings.

After the Sudra follow the people called *Antyaja,* who render various kinds of services, who are not reckoned amongst any caste, but only as members of a certain craft or profession.

There are eight classes of them, who freely intermarry with each other, except the fuller, shoemaker, and weaver, for no others would condescend to have anything to do with them. These eight guilds are the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of bird, and the weaver. The four castes do not live together with them in one and the same place. These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes, but outside them.

The people called Hadi, Doma (Domba), Candala, and Badhatau *(sic)* are not reckoned amongst any caste or guild. They are occupied with dirty work, like the cleansing of the villages and other services. They are

considered as one sole class, and distinguished only by their occupations. In fact, they are considered like illegitimate children; for according to general opinion they descend from a Sudra father and a Brahmani mother as the children of fornication; therefore they are degraded outcasts.

Different occupations of caste

The Hindus give every single man of the four castes characteristic names, according to their occupations and modes of life. *E.g.* the Brahmana is in general called by this name as long as he does his work staying at home. When he is busy with the service of one fire, he is called *ishtin;* if he serves three fires, he is called *agnihotrin;* if he besides offers an offering to the fire, he is called *dikshita.* And as it is with the Brahmana, so is it also with the other castes. of the classes *beneath* the castes, the Hadi are the best spoken of, because they keep themselves free from everything unclean. Next follow the Doma, who play on the lute and sing. The still lower classes practise as a trade killing and the inflicting of judicial punishments. The worst of all are the Badhatau, who not only devour the flesh of dead animals, but even of dogs and other beasts…

Moral qualities of Brahmins

Arjuna asked about the nature of the four castes and what must be their moral qualities, where upon Vasudeva answered:

"The Brahmana must have an ample intellect; a quiet heart, truthful speech, much patience; he must be master of his senses, a lover of justice, of evident purity, always directed upon worship, entirely bent upon religion..."

Hindus differ among themselves as to which of these is capable of attaining to liberation; for, according to some, only the Brahmana and Kshatriya are capable of it, since the others cannot learn the Veda, whilst according to the Hindu philosophers, liberation is common to all castes and to the whole human race, if their intention of obtaining it is perfect. This view is based on the saying of Vyasa: "Learn to know the twenty-five things thoroughly. Then you may follow whatever religion you like; you will no doubt be liberated." This view is also based on the fact that Vasudeva was a descendant of a Sudra family and also on the following saying of his, which he addressed to Arjuna: "God distributes recompense without injustice and without partiality. He reckons the good as bad if people in doing good

forget him; he reckons the bad as good if people in doing bad remember him and do not forget him, whether those people be Vaisya or Sudra or women. How much more will this be the case when they are Brahmana or Kshatriya."

5. Seven classes, Gardizi[5]

ABU 'ABDALLAH JAYHANI says in his book of history (*Kiytab-I-tavarik*) that there are seven classes (*guruh*) of them. (a) The first is called Sakb.tri; this class is the greatest among them and all the Indian tribes prostrate themselves before (its members), while the latter do not do so before anyone. Kingdom (kingship?) belongs to them and they are few. (b) The Brahmans…) but they are not kings. They…prostrate themselves before the S.mnani (*sic*) but the S.mnan do not do so before them. Most of these Brahmans drink no wine and eat no meat. (c) The third are the Kshatriya (spelt *K.shiriyan*) who do not drink wine more than thrice (at a time). (d) The fourth are the *Shudra* (spelt *Sudhriyan*). They are agriculturists and gardeners (*palizban*). They associate with the Kshatriya, from who they take women and do to whom they given theirs (but the Brahmans) do not give them women…(f) The sixth are the Chandala who are singers and also carry out punishments. They have beautiful women. If a Brahman falls in love with such a woman, the keepers of religion expel him and consider him no more a Brahman. For this reason he who touches a Chandala becomes subject to harm. These Chandala go about with a piece (of wood) in their hands; at the end of that piece of wood there is a ring and within it smaller rings are fitted, and with this piece of wood they give warning that men, on seeing that sign and on hearing the sound of the rings, should get out of their way and no harm befall them. (g) (The seventh) are the class called Dunbi (spelt *Rubnan*) who are black-skinned. They are all players on stringed instruments and dancers (*pay-kub*). They are altogether like the Chandala. The latter mix with them and take women from them but do not give them theirs.

6. Great number of classes at Calicut, Abder Razzak[6]

The Infidels are divided into a great number of classes, such as the Bramins, the Djoghis [yogis], and others. Although they are all agreed upon the fundamental principle of polytheism and idolatry, each sect has its peculiar customs. Amongst them there is a class of men, with whom it is the practice

for one woman to have a great number of husbands, each of whom undertakes a special duty and fulfils it. The hours of the day and of the night are divided between them; each of them for a certain period takes up his abode in the house, and while he remains there no other is allowed to enter. The *Sameri* [the Zamorin] belongs to this sect.

7. Five classes at Cochin, Ma Huan[7]

There are five classes of men in this kingdom. The Nairs rank with the king. In the first class are those who shave their heads, and have a thread or string hanging over the shoulder, these are looked upon as belonging to the noblest families [Brahmins]. In the second are the Muhammadans; in the third the Chittis, who are the capitalists; in the fourth the Kolings, who act as commission agents; in the fifth the Mukuas, who are the lowest and poorest of all. The Mukuas live in houses which are forbidden by the Government to be more than three feet high, and they are not allowed to wear long garments; when abroad, if they happen to meet a Nair or a Chitti they at once prostrate themselves on the ground and dare not rise until they have passed by; these Mukuas get their living by fishing and carrying burdens.

B. Brahmins

1. Brahmin temples and merchants encountered by the Chinese priest Kien-tchen [A.D. 742-54] on a visit from China to Japan as described by his disciple[8]

There were also three monasteries of Po-lo-men (Brahmans) where Brahmans were residing. The tanks in these monasteries contained blue lotuses, particularly beautiful, of which the flowers, leaves and roots were perfumed.

On the river (of Kouang-tong) (Canton) there were merchantmen belonging to the Po-lo-men (Brahmans of India), the Po-sseu (Persians), the K'ouen-louen (Malays), and others besides, of which it is difficult to determine the number. They are all laden with incense, herbs, jewels and other precious products. The merchandise was piled up in heaps. These ships were 60 to 70 feet deep.

2. On references to Rahmans [Brahmins in medieval Russian works][9]

(a) Among the Christians in Galicia there were sayings like

We fast like the Rahmans.

(b) In the Ukraine language, 'rahman' came to mean a righteous Christian and in the Kaluga and Smolensk region, the adjective 'rahmany' meant ...meek, simple-hearted, strange.

(c) [The Rahmans are not] burdened by sins, but live quietly close to the angels and bliss is sent upon them from God. [They are called] naked sages, because they have rid themselves of all passions.

3. Brahmins – the devotees of India, Ibn Khurradadhbih[10]

They are the devotees of India. They dress in leopard-skins or skins of other (animals). Sometimes it so happens that one of them stands up with a staff in his hand and people gather round him; thus he keeps standing for a whole day until evening, giving a sermon to the people; reminding them of Almighty God and describing to them the affairs of all the peoples that have perished in the past…They worship idols believing in them as mediators between themselves and Almighty God.

4. Brahmins of Kanauj particularly talented, Abu Zaidu-l Hasan of Sira[11]

Among the Indians there are men who are devoted to religion and men of science, whom they call Brahmans. They have also their poets who live at the courts of their kings, astronomers, philosophers, diviners, and those who draw omens from the flight of crows, etc. Among them are diviners and jugglers, who perform most astonishing feats. These observations are especially applicable to Kanauj, a large country forming the empire of Jurz.

5. Most noble and illustrious, Al Masudi[12]

The Indians gave themselves a king, Brahma the Great, who reigned 366 years, and in whose times the book Sindhind [Siddhanta] and Arjabahad [Aryabhatta] were composed. His descendants have retained to our days the name Brahmans. They are honoured by Indians as forming the most noble and illustrious caste. They do not eat the flesh of any animal, and both men and women wear yellow threads suspended round their necks, like a baldrick, to distinguish them from the other castes of India.

6. Obligations of Brahmins, Alberuni[13]

The life of the Brahman, after seven years of it have passed, is divided into four parts. The first part begins with the eighth year, when the

Brahmans come to him to instruct him, to teach him his duties, and to enjoin him to adhere to them and to embrace them as long as he lives. Then they bind a girdle round his waist and invest him with a pair of *yajnopavitas, i.e.* one strong cord consisting of nine single cords which are twisted together, and with a third *yajnopavita,* a single one made from cloth. This girdle runs from the left shoulder to the right hip. Further, he is presented with a stick which he has to wear, and with a seal-ring of a certain grass, called *darbha,* which he wears on the ring-finger of the right hand. This seal-ring is also called *pavitra.* The object of his wearing the ring on the ring-finger of his right hand is this, that it should be a good omen and a blessing for all those who receive gifts from that hand. The obligation of wearing the ring is not quite so stringent as that of wearing the *yajnopavita,* for from the latter he is not to separate himself under any circumstances whatever. If he takes it off while eating or fulfilling some want of nature, he thereby commits a sin which cannot be wiped off save by some work of expiation, fasting, or almsgiving.

This first period

This first period of the Brahman's life extends till the twenty-fifth year of his age, or, according to the *Vishnu-Purana,* till his forty-eighth year. His duty is to practise abstinence, to make the earth his bed, to begin with the learning of the Veda and of its explanation, of the science of theology and law, all this being taught to him by a master whom he serves day and night. He washes himself thrice a day, and performs a sacrifice to the fire both at the beginning and end of the day. After the sacrifice he worships his master. He fasts a day and he breaks fast a day, but he is never allowed to eat meat. He dwells in the house of the master, which he only leaves in order to ask for a gift and to beg in not more than five houses once a day, either at noon or in the evening. Whatever alms he receives he places before his master to choose from it what he likes. Then the master allows him to take the remainder. Thus the pupil nourishes himself from the remains of the dishes of his master. Further, he fetches the wood for the fire, wood of two kinds of trees, *palasa (Butea frondosa)* and *darbha,* in order to perform the sacrifice; for the Hindus highly venerate the fire, and offer flowers to it. It is the same case with all other nations. They always thought that the sacrifice was accepted by the deity if the fire came down upon it, and no other

worship has been able to draw them away from it, neither the worship of idols nor that of stars, cows, asses, or images. Therefore Bashshar Ibn Burd says: “Since there is fire, it is worshipped.”

The second period

The second period of their life extends from the twenty-fifth year till the fiftieth, or, according to the *Vishnu-Purana* till the seventieth. The master allows him to marry. He marries, establishes a household, and intends to have descendants, but he cohabits with his wife only once in a month after she has become clean of the menstruation. He is not allowed to marry a woman above twelve years of age. He gains his sustenance *either* by the fee he obtains for teaching Brahmans and Kshatriyas, not as a payment, but as a present, *or* by presents which he receives from some one because he performs for him the sacrifices to the fire, *or* by asking a gift from the kings and nobles, there being no importunate pressing on his part, and no unwillingness on the part of the giver. There is always a Brahman in the houses of these people, who there administers the affairs of reli-gion and the works of piety. He is called *purohita.* Lastly, the Brahman lives from what he gathers on the earth or from the trees. He may try his fortune in the trade of clothes and betel-nuts, but it is preferable that he should not trade himself, and that a Vaisya should do the business for him, because originally trade is forbidden on account of the deceiving and lying which are mixed up with it. Trading is permitted to him only in case of dire necessity, when he has no other means of sustenance. The Brahmans are not, like the other castes, bound to pay taxes and to perform services to the kings. Further, he is not allowed continually to busy himself with horses and cows, with the care for the cattle, nor with gaining by usury. The blue colour is impure for him, so that if it touches his body, he is obliged to wash himself. Lastly, he must always beat the drum before the fire, and recite for it the prescribed holy texts.

The third period

The third period of the life of the Brahman extends from the fiftieth year to the seventy-fifth, or, according to the *Vishnu Purana,* till the ninetieth. He practises abstinence, leaves his household, and hands it as well as his wife over to his children, if the latter does not prefer to accompany him into the life in the wilderness. He dwells outside civilisation, and leads the same

life again which he led in the first period. He does not take shelter under a roof, nor wear any other dress but some bark of a tree, simply sufficient to cover his loins. He sleeps on the earth without any bed, and only nourishes himself by fruit, vegetables, and roots. He lets the hair grow long and does not anoint himself with oil.

The fourth period

The fourth period extends till the end of life. He wears a red garment and holds a stick in his hand. He is always given to meditation; he strips the mind of friendship and enmity, and roots out desire, and lust, and wrath. He does not converse with anybody at all. When walking to a place of a particular merit, in order to gain a heavenly reward, he does not stop on the road in a village longer than a day, nor in a city longer than five days. If anyone gives him something, he does not leave a remainder of it for the following day. He has no other business but that of caring for the path which leads to salvation, and for reaching *moksha,* whence there is no return to this world.

The universal duties of the Brahman throughout his whole life are works of piety, giving alms and receiving them. For that which the Brahmans give reverts to the *pitaras* (is in reality a benefit to the *Fathers).* He must continually read, perform the sacrifices, take care of the fire which he lights, offer before it, worship it, and preserve it from being extinguished, that he may be burned by it after his death. It is called *homa.*

Every day he must wash himself thrice: at the *samdhi* of rising, *i.e.* morning dawn, at the *samdhi* of setting, *i.e.* evening twilight, and between them in the middle of the day. The first washing is on account of sleep, because the openings of the body have become lax during it. Washing is a cleansing from accidental impurity and a preparation for prayer.

Prayers

Their prayer consists of praise, glorification, and prostration according to their peculiar manner, viz. prostrating themselves on the two thumbs, whilst the two palms of the hands are joined, and they turn their faces towards the sun. For the sun is their *kibla,* wherever he may be, except when in the south. For they do not perform any work of piety with the face turned southward; only when occupied with something evil and unlucky they turn themselves towards the south.

The time when the sun declines from the meridian (the afternoon) is well suited for acquiring in it a heavenly reward. Therefore at this time the Brahman must be clean.

The evening is the time of supper and of prayer. The Brahman may take his supper and pray without having previously washed himself. Therefore, evidently, the rule as to the third washing is not as stringent as that relating to the first and second washings.

A nightly washing is obligatory for the Brahman only at the times of eclipses, that he should be prepared to perform the rules and sacrifices prescribed for that occasion.

The Brahman, as long as he lives, eats only twice a day, at noon and at nightfall; and when he wants to take his meal, he begins by putting aside as much as is sufficient for one or two men as alms, especially for strange Brahmans who happen to come at evening time asking for something. To neglect *their* maintenance would be a great sin. Further, he puts something aside for the cattle, the birds, and the fire. Over the remainder he says prayers and eats it. The remainder of his dish he places outside his house, and does not any more come near it, as it is no longer allowable for him, being destined for the chance passerby who wants it, be he a man, bird, dog, or something else.

The Brahman must have a water-vessel for himself. If another one uses it, it is broken. The same remark applies to his eating-instruments. I have seen Brahmans who allowed their relatives to eat with them from the same plate, but most of them disapprove of this.

He is obliged to dwell between the river Sindh in the north and the river Carmanvati in the south. He is not allowed to cross either of these frontiers so as to enter the country of the Turks or of the Karnata. Further, he must live between the ocean in the east and west. People say that he is not allowed to stay in a country in which the grass which he wears on the ring-finger does not grow, nor the black-haired gazelles graze. This is a description for the whole country within the just-mentioned boundaries. If he passes beyond them he commits a sin.

In a country where not the whole spot in the house which is prepared for people to eat upon it is plastered with clay, where they, on the contrary, prepare a separate tablecloth for each person eating by pouring water over a spot and plastering it with the dung of cows, the shape of the Brahman's

tablecloth must be square. Those who have the custom of preparing such tablecloths give the following as the cause of this custom – The spot of eating is soiled by the eating. If the eating is finished, the spot is washed and plastered to become clean again. If, now, the soiled spot is not distinguished by a separate mark, you would suppose also the other spots to be soiled, since they are similar to and cannot be distinguished from each other.

Five vegetables are forbidden to them by the religious code:-Onions, garlic, a kind of gourd, the root of a plant like the carrots called *krncn* (?), and another vegetable which grows round their tanks called *nali*.

7. A religious class, Al-Idrisi[14]

…the Brahmans…are the religious class. They dress in the skins of tigers and other animals. Sometimes one of them, taking a staff in his hand, will assemble a crowd around him, and will stand from morn-till eve-speaking to his auditors of the glory and power of God, and explaining to them the events which brought destruction upon the ancient people, that is, upon the Brahmans. They never drink wine nor fermented liquors. They worship idols (whom they consider to be) able to intercede with the Most High.

8. "Have the leadership under the king," Marvazi, the Sicilian geographer of the court of the Norman king, Roger II[15]

The Brahmans have the leadership under the king. They prostrate themselves before the Sumani, but the latter do not do so before them. Some of those who belong to this caste do not drink wine or intoxicating drinks.

9. Brahmins [Vaishyas?] in the province of Lac, Loac, or Lar [Gujarat], Marco Polo[16]

Leaving the place where rests the body of the glorious apostle Saint Thomas, and proceeding westward, you enter the province of Lar, from whence the Bramins, who are spread over India, derive their origin. These are the best and most honourable merchants that can be found. No consideration whatever can induce them to speak an untruth, even though their lives should depend upon it. They have also an abhorrence of robbery or of purloining the goods of other persons. They are likewise remarkable for the virtue of continence, being satisfied with the possession of one wife. When any foreign merchant, unacquainted with the usages of the country,

introduces himself to one of these, and commits to his hands the care of his adventure, this Bramin undertakes the management of it, disposes of the goods, and renders a faithful account of the proceeds, attending scrupulously to the interests of the stranger, and not demanding any recompense for his trouble, should the owner uncourteously omit to make him the gratuitous offer. They eat meat, and drink the wine of the country. They do not, however, kill any animal themselves, but get it done by the Mahometans. The Bramins are distinguished by a certain badge, consisting of a thick cotton thread, which passes over the shoulder and is tied under the arm, in such a manner that the thread appears upon the breast and behind the back.

10. Priests at Cambay, Nicolo Conti[17]

There are priests here who are called bachali, who only marry one wife. The wife is, by law, burnt with the body of her husband. These priests do not eat any animal food, but live upon rice, milk, and vegetables.

11. Abstain from all animal food, Nicolo Conti[18]

Their priests, the Bachali, abstain from all animal food, particularly the ox, which they consider it a great crime to kill or to eat, as being of all the most useful to man: the Indians use the ox as a beast of burthen. These priests live upon rice, herbs, fruit, and vegetables: they have only one wife, who is burnt with her dead husband. Lying by the side of the corpse, with her arm under its neck, she submits herself the flames, without giving way to any expression of pain.

12. "Of superior cultivation," Nicolo Conti[19]

There is a class of philosophers found throughout all India, called Brahmins, who devote themselves much to astronomy and the prediction of future events. They are men of superior cultivation, and are distinguished by a greater sanctity of life and manners. Nicolo asserts that he saw among them one who was three hundred years old, an instance of longevity which they regard as miraculous; so much so, that wherever he went he was followed by the children. An art which they call geomantia, is practised by many of them, by means of which they frequently predict future events with as much accuracy as though they were present. They also make use of incantations, by means of which they are frequently able to excite tempests

and also to allay them. On this account many eat in secret, fearing lest they should be fascinated by the eyes of lookers on.

13. In a story from the *Libro de los exemplos por A.B.C.,* the author illustrates the virtues of abstinence and simple living by quoting a letter which the *Bragamanos* [a Spanish version of Brahmins] supposedly wrote describing their life[20]

...We do not build houses, but live in the caves in the mountains....We do not covet riches, for the only rich person is the one who is content with what he has...We are not envious because we are all equal...We do not plough nor sow...nor do we seek any food other than that which nature gives us...And because we live moderately we are healthy and do not suffer illness nor require the services of doctors....Since we know how to conquer the enemies from within, which are the fleshly appetites; we have no external enemies....Because of this, we avoid violent and sudden death, and we all live to be very old, awaiting with great desire the blessed life of paradise.

C. Kshatriyas

1. Kshatriyas, Alberuni[21]

The Kshatriya reads the Veda and learns it, but does not teach it. He offers to the fire and acts according to the rules of the Puranas. In places where...a tablecloth is prepared for eating, he makes it angular. He rules the people and defends them, for he is created for this task. He girds himself with a single cord of the threefold *yajno-pavita,* and a single other cord of cotton. This takes place after he has finished the twelfth year of his life.

2. Mostly princely families of India, Gardizi[22]

This group called RACH.N.RI (Kshatriyas?) are mostly of princely families of India and from the king's party (*shia* for *shifta*). Their religion is to serve the kings and to help them in any case. They say "we do not weary ourselves without a profit or some necessity (*bi-naf i ya daf i*). The best thing is to serve the kings and attend on them in struggling against their enemies. Should we gain victory, our rank (*miqdar?*) in the king's service will increase and our glory rise, and we shall obtain the best things in the world. If, however, we die in our endeavours we shall go to Paradise with all its blessings." These people are mainly, courageous, and valiant. They

have deadly swords and are very impatient (*shakt na-sabur*) to sacrifice their life.

D. Vaishyas

1. Vaishyas practice agriculture, Alberuni[23]

It is the duty of the Vaisya to practise agriculture and to cultivate the land, to tend the cattle and to remove the needs of the Brahmans. He is only allowed to gird himself with a single *yajnopavita,* which is made of two cords.

2. A Hindu merchant of Nahrwala, Muhammad U'fi[24]

In the city or Nahrwala there lived a Hindu merchant who having deposited nine lacs of Balotras in the hands of a certain person, after some time died. The trustee then sent for the merchant's son and said: Your father left with me nine lacs of Balotras. The son replied that he knew nothing about it, but that there would probably be mention made of the transaction in his father's accounts. These he sent for but could find nothing about nine lacs! on this he observed: "Had my father entrusted anybody with so large a sum, surely mention would have been made of it in his account book; this not being the case, I cannot feel myself justified in taking possession of the money." The trustee urged the youth to take the money, but he still refused, and the contention grew hot between them. At last they agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of Rai Jai Sing Deo, who gave it as his opinion, that since the two could not agree as to the disposal of the money, it was advisable that it should be expended on some work of lasting utility, so that the real owner would reap the reward of virtue and charity. Accordingly the 'nine-lack reservoir', the finest in the world, hitherto unsurpassed by all that the cleverest and wisest have executed or imagined, was built; and remains to be seen to this day.

E. Sudras

1. The Sudra, Alberuni[25]

The Sudra is like a servant to the Brahman, taking care of his affairs and serving him. If, though being poor in the extreme, he still desires not to be without a *yajnopavita,* he girds himself only with the linen one...

Every man who takes to some occupation which is not allowed to his caste, as, *e.g.* a Brahman to trade, a Sudra to agriculture, commits a sin or crime, which they consider only a little less than the crime of theft…

2. Labourers and agriculturists, Al-Idrisi[26]

Next comes the Sharduya, who are labourers and agriculturists; then the Basya, who are artizans and mechanics; then the Sabdaliya (or Sandaliya), who are singers, and whose women are noted for their beauty; and, lastly, the Zakya, who are jugglers, tumblers, and players of various instruments.

F. Doms

Have to do drudgeries, Friar Jordanus[27]

There be also certain others which be called *Dumbri* who eat carrion and carcasses; who have absolutely no object of worship: and who have to do the drudgeries of other people, and carry loads.

G. Mlecchas

Non-Hindus called *mleccha,* Alberuni[28]

All other men except the Candala, as far as they are not Hindus, are called *mleccha*, *i.e.* unclean, all those who kill men and slaughter animals and eat the flesh of cows.

H. All beings Equal

Vasudeva says they appear different only to the ignorant, Alberuni[29]

All these things originate in the difference of the classes or castes, one set of people treating the others as fools. This apart, all men are equal to each other, as Vasudeva says regarding him who seeks salvation: "In the judgement of the intelligent man, the Brahman and the Candala are equal, the friend and the foe, the faithful and the deceitful, nay, even the serpent and the weasel. If to the eyes of intelligence all things are equal, to ignorance they appear as separated and different."

End-notes

1. The Russian religious verse, *Dove-Book*, on the origins of man bears a marked resemblance to the *Purusha Sukta* of the Rig Veda, Bongard-Levin, p., 17

The rulers in our world came from the sacred head of Adam; the princely boyars from the sacred body of Adam; orthodox peasants from the sacred feet of Adam.

❑

CHAPTER — 8

Women

A. Some Observations
B. Marriage
C. Sati
D. Devadasis
E. House of Prostitution

A. Some observations

1. Royal women not veiled, Abu Zaidu-l Hasan, of Sira[1]

Most of the princes of India, when they hold a court, allow their women to be seen by the men who attend it, whether they be natives or foreigners. No veil conceals them from the eyes of the visitor.

2. Women at Calicut, *A Journal of The First Voyage of Vasco Da Gama*[2]

The women of this country, as a rule, are ugly and of small stature. They wear many jewels of gold round the neck, numerous bracelets on their arms, and rings set with precious stones on their toes. All these people are well disposed and apparently of mild temper. At first sight they seem covetous and ignorant.

B. Marriage

1. Matrimonial alliances determine descent, Alberuni[3]

…in former times there were three modes of determining descent or relationship:

1. The child born to a man by his legitimate wife is the child of the father, as is the custom with us and with the Hindus.

2. If a man marries a woman and has a child by her; if, further, the marriage-contract stipulates that the children of the woman will belong to *her* father, the child is considered as the child of its grandfather who made that stipulation, and not as the child of its father who engendered it.

3. If a stranger has a child by a married woman, the child belongs to her husband, since the wife being, as it were, the soil in which the child has

grown, is the property of the husband, always presupposing that the sowing, *i.e.* the cohabitation, takes place with his consent…

The four sons of Pandu had one wife in common, who stayed one month with each of them alternately. In the books of the Hindus it is told that Parasara, the hermit, one day travelled in a boat in which there was also a daughter of the boatman. He fell in love with her, tried to seduce her, and finally she yielded; but there was nothing on the bank of the river to hide them from the looks of the people. However, instantaneously there grew a tamarisk-tree to facilitate their purpose. Now he cohabited with her behind the tamarisk, and made her conceive, whereupon she became pregnant with this his excellent son Vyasa.

All these customs have now been abolished and abrogated, and therefore we may infer from their tradition that in principle *the abrogation of a law is allowable.*

2. Marriage customs, Alberuni[4]

Every nation has particular customs of marriage, especially those who claim to have a religion and law of divine origin. The Hindus marry at a very young age; therefore the parents arrange the marriage for their sons. On that occasion the Brahmans perform the rites of the sacrifices, and they as well as others receive alms. The implements of the wedding rejoicings are brought forward. No gift is settled between them. The man gives only a present to the wife, as he thinks fit, and a marriage gift in advance, which he has no right to claim back, but the wife may give it back to him of her own will. Husband and wife can only be separated by death, as they have no divorce.

3. Marriage in Coromandel, Chau Ju-Kua[5]

When contracting marriage, they send, in the first place, a female go-between with a gold (or) silver finger-ring to the girl's home. Three days afterwards there is a meeting of the man's family to decide upon the amount of land, cotton, betel nuts, wine and the like to be given as marriage portion.

The girl's family sends in return (a?) gold or silver finger-ring, *yue-no* [probably a kind of muslin] cloth and brocaded clothing to be worn by the bride to the (intended) son-in-law. Should the man wish to withdraw from the engagement, he would not dare reclaim the marriage gifts; if the girl should wish to reject the man she must pay back double.

4. Marriages in Chola country, Ma Twan-lin[6]

For marriages, the suitor sends at first a mediatrix to the family of the young girl, whom he courts, offering her a ring of gold or silver. Three days after, the relatives of the young man, join and consult together to determine if they could, according to their resources, give to the new household some fields, domestic animals, or only palm wine and some areca nuts and so on. From their side, the future relations send to the fiance some gold or silver rings; some pieces of cloth; and some beautiful clothes for his wife. These preliminaries ended, if the young man refuses to marry the young girl, he should sent back the tokens of betrothal that he has received, and if it is the young girl who wishes to retract, she ought to restore twice the presents she has accepted.

5. Marriages celebrated with much singing and feasting, Nicolo Conti[7]

Their weddings are celebrated with singing, feasting, and the sound of trumpets and flutes, for, with the exception of organs, all the other instruments in use among them for singing and playing are similar to our own. They make sumptuous feasts both day and night, at which there is both singing and instrumental music. Some sing, dancing in a circle, after our manner; while others sing forming a line in single file, one after the other, and exchanging little painted rods, of which each person carries two, with those whom they meet on turning [‘kolata’, an old folk dance of the south]; the effect of which he describes as being extremely pretty.

6. Women allowed many husbands in Calicut, Nicolo Conti[8]

In this district alone the women are allowed to take several husbands, so that some have ten and more. The husbands contribute amongst themselves to the maintenance of the wife, who lives apart from her husbands. When one visits her he leaves a mark at the door of the house, which being seen by another coming afterwards, he goes away without entering. The children are allotted to the husbands at the will of the wife. The inheritance of the father does not descend to the children, but to the grandchildren.

7. Customs at Calicut, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano[9]

Every lady may take to herself seven or eight husbands, according to her inclination. The men never marry any woman who is a virgin; but if one, being a virgin, is betrothed, she is delivered over before the nuptials to

some other person for fifteen or twenty days in order that she may be deflowered.

C. Sati

1. Widows and sati, Alberuni[10]

If a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things – either to remain a widow as long as she lives or to burn herself; and the latter eventuality is considered the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives. As regards the wives of the kings, they are in the habit of burning them, whether they wish it or not, by which they desire to prevent any of them by chance committing something unworthy of the illustrious husband. They make an exception only for women of advanced years and for those who have children; for the son is the responsible protector of his mother.

2. Sati, Odoric of Pordenone[11]

But the idolaters of this realm have one detestable custom (that I must mention). For when any man dies, they burn him, and if he leave a wife they burn her alive with him, saying that she ought to go and keep her husband company in the other world. But if the women have sons by her husband she may abide with them, an she will. And, on the other hand, if the wife die there is no law to impose the like on him; but he, if he if likes, can take another wife. It is also customary there for the women to drink wine and not the men. The women also have their foreheads shaven, whilst the men shave not the beard.

3. Sati in India the Less, Friar Jordanus[12]

In this India, on the death of a noble, or of any people of substance; their bodies are burned: and eke their wives follow them alive to the fire, and, for the sake of worldly glory, and for the love of their husbands, and for eternal life, burn along with them, with as much joy as if they were going to be wedded; and those who do this have the higher repute for virtue and perfection among the rest. Wonderful! I have sometimes seen for one dead man who was burnt, five living women take their places on the fire with him, and die with their dead.

4. Sati at Ajudahan, Ibn Battuta[13]

Two days later we reached Ajudahan [Pakpattan], a small town belonging to the pious Shaykh Farid ad-Din. As I returned to the camp after visiting this personage, I saw the people hurrying out, and some of our party along with them. I asked them what was happening and they told me that one of the Hindu infidels had died, that a fire had been kindled to burn him, and his wife would burn herself along with him. After the burning my companions came back and told me that she had embraced the dead man until she herself was burned with him. Later on I used often to see a Hindu woman, richly dressed, riding on horseback, followed by both Muslims and infidels and preceded by drums and trumpets; she was accompanied by Brahmans, who are the chiefs of the Hindus. In the sultan's dominions they ask his permission to burn her, which he accords them. The burning of the wife after her husband's death is regarded by them as a commendable act, but is not compulsory; only when a widow burns herself her family acquires a certain prestige by it and gain a reputation for fidelity. A widow who does not burn herself dresses in coarse garments and lives with her own people in misery, despised for her lack of fidelity, but she is not forced to burn herself.

At Am-jhera

Once in the town of Amjari [Am-jhera, near Dhar] I saw three women whose husbands had been killed in battle and who had agreed to burn themselves. Each one had a horse brought to her and mounted it, richly dressed and perfumed. In her right hand she held a coconut, with which she played, and in her left a mirror, in which she looked at her face. They were surrounded by Brahmans and their own relatives, and were preceded by drums, trumpets and bugles. Everyone of the infidels said to them "Take greetings from me to my father, or brother or mother, or friend" and they would say 'Yes' and smile at them. I rode out with my companions to see the way in which the burning was carried out.

After three miles we came to a dark place with much water and shady trees, amongst which there were four pavilions, each containing a stone idol. Between the pavilions there was a basin of water over which a dense shade was cast by trees so thickly set that the sun could not penetrate them. The place looked like a spot in hell – God preserve us from it! On reaching these pavilions they descended to the pool, plunged into it and divested

themselves of their clothes and ornaments, which they distributed as alms. Each one was then given an unsewn garment of coarse cotton and tied part of it round her waist and part over her head and shoulders. The fires had been lit near this basin in a low lying spot, and oil of sesam poured over them, so that the flames were increased. There were about fifteen men there with faggots of thin wood and about ten others with heavy pieces of wood, and the drummers and trumpeters were standing by waiting for the woman's coming. The fire was screened off by a blanket held by some men, so that she should not be frightened by the sight of it. I saw one of them, on coming to the blanket, pull it violently out of the men's hands, saying to them with a smile "Do you frighten me with the fire? I know that it is a fire, so let me alone." Thereupon she joined her hands above her head in salutation to the fire and cast herself into it. At the same moment the drums, trumpets and bugles were sounded, the men threw their firewood on her and the others put the heavy wood on top of her to prevent her moving, cries were raised and there was a loud clamour. When I saw this I had all but fallen off my horse, if my companions had not quickly brought water to me and laved my face, after which I withdrew.

5. Sati in Cambay, Nicolo Conti[14]

It is the custom when husbands die, for one or more of their wives to burn themselves with them, in order to add to the pomp of the funeral. She who was the most dear to the deceased, places herself by his side with her arm round his neck, and burns herself with him; the other wives, when the funeral pile is lighted, cast themselves into the flames.

6. Sati in Central India, Nicolo Conti[15]

In central India the dead are burned, and the living wives, for the most part, are consumed in the same funeral pyre with their husband, one or more, according to the agreement at the time the marriage was contracted. The first wife is compelled by the law to be burnt, even though she should be the only wife. But others are married under the express agreement that they should add to the splendour of the funeral ceremony by their death, and this is considered a great honour for them. The deceased husband is laid on a couch, dressed in his best garments. A vast funeral pyre is erected over him in the form of a pyramid, constructed of odoriferous woods. The pile being ignited, the wife, habited in her richest garments, walks gaily around

it, singing, accompanied by a great concourse of people, and amid the sounds of trumpets, flutes, and songs. In the meantime one of the priests, called Bachali, standing on some elevated spot, exhorts her to a contempt of life and death, promising her all kinds of enjoyment with her husband, much wealth, and abundance of ornaments. When she has walked round the fire several times, she stands near the elevation on which is the priest, and taking off her dress puts on a white linen garment, her body having first been washed according to custom. In obedience to the exhortation of the priest she then springs into the fire. If some show more timidity (for it frequently happens that they become stupefied by terror at the sight of the struggles of the others, or of their sufferings in the fire), they are thrown into the fire by the bystanders, whether consenting or not. Their ashes are afterwards collected and placed in urns, which form an ornament for the sepulchres.

7. Sati at Coromandel, Hieronimo di Santo Stefano[16]

Departing thence after twelve days we reached a port called Coromandel, where the red sandal wood tree grows in such abundance, that they build houses of it. The lord of this place is an idolater, like the preceding. There is another custom in practice here, that when a man dies and they prepare to burn him, one of his wives burns herself alive with him; and this is their constant habit.

D. Devadasis

1. In Gujarat, Chau Ju-kua[17]

There are four thousand Buddhist [?] temple buildings, in which live over twenty thousand dancing-girls who sing twice daily while offering food to the Buddha (i.e., the idols) and while offering flowers. When offering flowers they tie them in bunches with cotton thread, of which they use three hundred catties every day.

2. Dedicated to the Gods, Marco Polo[18]

In their temples there are many idols, the forms of which represent them of the male and the female sex; and to these, fathers and mothers dedicate their daughters. Having been so dedicated, they are expected to attend whenever the priests of the convent require them to contribute to the gratification of the idol; and on such occasions they repair thither, singing

and playing on instruments, and adding by their presence to the festivity. These young women are very numerous, and form large bands. Several times in the week they carry an offering of victuals to the idol to whose service they are devoted, and of this food they say the idol partakes. A table for the purpose is placed before it, and upon this the victuals are suffered to remain for the space of a full hour; during which damsels never cease to sing, and play, and exhibit wanton gestures. This lasts as long as a person of condition would require for making a convenient meal. They then declare that the spirit of the idol is content with its share of the entertainment provided, and, ranging themselves around it, they proceed to eat in their turn; after which they repair to their respective homes.

E. House of prostitution

At Vijayanagar, Abder Razzak[19]

Opposite the *darab-khaneh* (the mint) is the house of the Governor, where are stationed twelve thousand soldiers as a guard, who receive every day a payment of twelve thousand *fanom,* levied on the receipts of the houses of prostitution. The magnificence of the places of this kind, the beauty of the young girls collected therein, their allurements, and their coquetry, surpass all description. I will confine myself to the description of some particulars. Behind the *darab-khaneh* is a sort of bazaar, which is more than three hundred *ghez* in length, and more than twenty in breadth. On two sides are ranged chambers and *estrades;* in front of them are erected, in the form of thrones, several platforms constructed of beautiful stones. On the two sides of the avenue formed by the chambers are represented figures of lions, panthers, tigers, and other animals. All are so well drawn, and their movements have so natural an appearance, that you would think these animals were alive. Immediately after midday prayer they place before the doors of the chambers, which are decorated with extreme magnificence, thrones and chairs, on which the courtezans seat themselves. Each of these women is bedecked with pearls and gems of great value, and is dressed in costly raiment. They are all extremely young, and of perfect beauty. Each one of them has by her two young slaves, who give the signal of pleasure, and have the charge of attending to everything which can contribute to amusement. Any man may enter into this locality, and select any girl that

pleases him, and take his pleasure with her. Anything that he carries about with him is delivered into the keeping of these engaged in the service of the houses of prostitution; and if anything is lost, these latter are responsible for it.

Each of the seven fortresses alike contains a great number of places of prostitution, and their general proceeds amount to twelve thousand *fanom*, which forms the pay allotted to the guards. These latter have it assigned to them as a duty to make themselves acquainted with every event which occurs within the fortresses*;* if any article is lost or stolen by thieves it is their place to report it; if not they are bound to make it good. Some slaves which had been bought by my companions, had run away. Information was given of the circumstance to the governor, who gave orders to the superintendents of the quarter in which we lived to bring back the fugitives or to make good the loss. These guards, on being informed of the value of the slaves, paid up the amount.

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CHAPTER — 9

Hindu Rulers

A. The kings of India
B. Pulakesin II
C. Rai Dahir
D. The Rashtrakutas
E. Al-Jurz
F. The Kings of Bengal
G. The Kingdom of Lakhimpur
H. The Kingdom of Tafar
I. The Kingdom of Kashbin
J. The Kingdom of Kiranj
K. The Kingdom of Kanauj
L. The Chola kingdom
M. The Kingdom of Telingana
N. The Kingdom of Nairs
O. The Kingdom of Mabar
P. Kings of India the Greater
Q. The Zamorin
R. The King of Vijayanagar
S. The King of Cochin
T. The King of Calicut

A. The kings of India

1. Richly adorned, Abu Zaidu-l Hasan, of Sira[1]

The kings of India are accustomed to wear earrings of precious stones, mounted in gold. They also wear necklaces of great value, formed of the most precious red and green stones. Pearls, however are held in the highest esteem, and are greatly sought after…

2. Indian kings maintain large armies, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[2]

The Indian kings possess large armies, but they do not maintain them. Whenever a king calls them to fight, they do so and maintain themselves

with their own money; the king has no liability in this regard. But the Chinese pay [money] to them as the Arabs do.

B. Pulakesin II

The Sassanian monarch, Khusru II, to his sons on an astrological prediction sent by Pulakesin II [as recorded by the Persian historian, Tabari; A.D. 838-923][3]

Two years ago, Pulakesi, King of India, sent to us, in the thirty-sixth year of our reign, ambassadors carrying a letter imparting to us various news, and presents for us, for you, and our other sons. He also wrote a letter to each of you. To you he presented – don't you remember it? – an elephant, a sword, a white falcon and a piece of gold brocade. When we looked at the presents and at the letters, we remarked that yours bore the mark 'Private' on the cover in the Indian language. Then we ordered that the presents and other letters should be delivered to each of you, but we kept back your letter, on account of the remark written on the outside. We then sent for an Indian scribe, had the seal broken, and the letter read. The contents were : 'Rejoice and be of good cheer, for on the day Dai ba Adhar, of the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Chosroes thou wilt be crowned king and become ruler of the whole empire. Signed, Pulakesi.' But we closed this letter with our seal, and gave it into the keeping of our consort Shirin.

C. Rai Dahir

1. Dahir fights Muhammad Kasim, *Chach-Nama*[4]

Historians have related that Dahir was slain at the fort of Rawar at sunset, on Thursday, the 10th of Ramazan, in the year 93 (June, 712 A.D.). Abu-l Hasan relates upon the authority Abu-l Lais Hindi, who heard it from his father, that when the army of Islam made the attack, and most of the infidels were slain, a noise arose upon the left, and Dahir thought it came from his own forces. He cried out, "Come hither; I am here." The women then raised their voices, and said, "O king, we are your women, who have fallen into the hands of the Arabs, and are captives." Dahir said, "I live as yet, who cap-tured you?" So saying, he urged his elephant against the Musulman army. Muhammad Kasim told the naphtha throwers that the opportunity was theirs, and a powerful man, in obedience to this direction, shot his

naphtha arrow into Dahir's howda, and set it on fire. Dahir ordered his elephant driver to turn back, for the elephant was thirsty, and the howda was on fire. The elephant heeded not his driver, but dashed into the water, and in spite of all the efforts of the man, refused to turn back. Dahir and the driver were carried into the rolling waves. Some of the infidels went into the water with them, and some stood upon the banks; but when the Arab horsemen came up, they fled. After the elephant had drunk water, he wanted to return to the fort. The Muhammadan archers plied their weapons, and a rain of arrows fell around. A skilful bowman aimed an arrow, which struck Dahir in the breast *(bar dil),* and he fell down in the howda upon his face. The elephant then came out of the water and charged. Some of the infidels who remained were trampled under foot, and the others were dispersed. Dahir got off his elephant, and confronted an Arab; but this brave fellow struck him with a sword in the very centre of his head, and cleft it to his neck. The Muhammadans and infidels closed and maintained a deadly fight, until they reached the fort of Rawar. When the Brahmans who had gone into the water found the place of Dahir fall deserted, they came out and hid the body of Dahir under the bank. The white elephant turned towards the army of the infidels, and no trace was left.

2. Jaisiya enters the fort of Rawar and prepares to fight, *Chach-Nama*[5]

When the news of the death of Dahir arrived, and that the white elephant was hamstrung, Jaisiya, son of Dahir said that he would go to oppose the enemy, and strike a blow to save his honour and name, for it would be no loss if he were to be slain. Sisakar, the minister, observed that the resolve of the prince was not good, the king had been killed, the army defeated and dispersed, and their hearts were averse to battle through fear of the enemy's sword. How could he go to fight with the Arabs? His dominions still existed, and the strongest forts were garrisoned with brave warriors and subjects. It was, therefore, advisable that they should go to the fort of Brahmanabad, which was the inheritance of his father and ancestors. It was the chief residence of Dahir. The treasuries and stores were full, and the inhabitants of the place were friends and well wishers of the family of Chach, and would all assist in fighting against the enemy. Then the Allafi was also asked what he considered proper. He replied that he concurred in this opinion. So Jaisiya assented, and with all their dependants and trusty

servants, they went to Brahmanabad. Bai (Main), the wife of Dahir, together with some of the generals, prepared for battle. She reviewed the army in the fort, and fifteen thousand warriors were counted. They had all resolved to die. Next morning, when it was learnt that Dahir had been killed between the Mihran and the stream called Wadhawah, all the chiefs (Rawats) and officers who were attached to the Rani entered the fort. Muhammad Kasim, on receiving the intelligence, marched in that direction, and encamped under the walls. The garrison began to beat drums and sound clarions, and threw down from the ramparts and bastions stones from mangonels and balistas as well as arrows and javelins.

3. The fort is taken and Bai [Main], the sister of Dahir, burns herself, *Chach-Nama*[6]

Muhammad Kasim disposed his army, and ordered the miners to dig and undermine the walls. He divided his army into two divisions; one was to fight during the day with mangonels, arrows, and javelins, and the other to throw naphtha, fardaj (?), and stones during the night. Thus the bastions were thrown down. Bai (Main), the sister of Dahir, assembled all her women, and said, "Jaisiya is separated from us, and Muhammad Kasim is come. God forbid that we should owe our liberty to these outcast cow-eaters! Our honour would be lost! Our respite is at an end, and there is nowhere any hope of escape; let us collect wood, cotton, and oil, for I think that we should burn ourselves and go to meet our husbands. If any wish to save herself she may." So they went into a house, set it on fire, and burnt themselves. Muhammad took the fort, and stayed there for two or three days. He put six thousand fighting men, who were in the fort, to the sword, and shot some with arrows. The other dependants and servants were taken prisoners, with their wives and children.

4. Slaves, cash, taken by Kasim, *Chach-Nama*[7]

It is said that when the fort was captured, all the treasures, property, and arms, except those which were taken away by Jaisiya, fell into the hands of the victors, and they were all brought before Muhammad Kasim. When the number of the prisoners was calculated, it was found to amount to thirty thousand persons, amongst whom thirty were the daughters of chiefs, and one of them was Rai Dahir's sister's daughter, whose name was Jaisiya [Hasna?]. They were sent to Hajjaj. The head of Dahir and the fifth part of

the prisoners were forwarded in charge of K'ab, son of Maharak. When the head of Dahir, the women, and the property all reached Hajjaj, he prostrated himself before God, offered thanksgivings and praises, for, he said, he had in reality obtained all the wealth and treasures and dominions of the world.

5. Resistance offered by Dahir's son and wife, *Chach-Nama*[8]

It is said, on the authority of the old men of Brahmanabad, that when the fort of Brahmanabad was taken, Ladi, the wife of Dahir Rai, who since Dahir's death had staid in the fort with his son, rose up and said, "How can I leave this strong fort and my family. It is necessary that we should stop here, overcome the enemy, and preserve our homes and dwelling. If the army of the Arabs should be successful, I must pursue some other course. She then brought out all her wealth and treasures, and distributing them among the warriors of the army, she thus encouraged her brave soldiers while the fight was carried on at one of the gates. She had determined that if the fort should be lost, she would burn herself alive with all her relations and children. Suddenly the fort was taken, and the nobles came to the gate of Dahir's palace and brought out his dependants. Ladi was taken prisoner.

6. Ladi, the wife of Dahir taken prisoner along with his two maiden daughters, *Chach-Nama*[9]

When the plunder and the prisoners of war were brought before Kasim, and enquiries were made about every captive, it was found that Ladi, the wife of Dahir, was in the fort with two daughters of his by his other wives. Veils were put on their faces, and they were delivered to a servant to keep them apart. One-fifth of all the prisoners were chosen and set aside; they were counted as amounting to twenty thousand in number, and the rest were given to the soldiers.

Protection is given to the artificers

Protection was given to the artificers, the merchants, and the common people, and those who had been seized from those classes were all liberated. But he (Kasim) sat on the seat of cruelty, and put all those who had fought to the sword. It is said that about six thousand fighting men were slain, but, according to some, sixteen thousand were killed, and the rest were pardoned.

7. Relations of Dahir betrayed, *Chach-Nama*[10]

It is related that when none of the relations of Dahir were found among the prisoners, the inhabitants of the city were questioned respecting them, but no one gave any information or hint about them. But the next day nearly one thousand Brahmans, with shaven heads and beards, were brought before Kasim.

Brahmans came to Muhammad Kasim

When Muhammad Kasim saw them, he asked to what army they belonged, and why they had come in that manner. They replied, "O faithful noble! our king was a Brahman. You have killed him, and have taken his country; but some of us have faithfully adhered to his cause, and have laid down our lives for him; and the rest, mourning for him, have dressed themselves in yellow clothes, and have shaved their heads and beards. As now the Almighty God has given this country into your possession, we have come submissively to you, just Lord, to know what may be your orders for us." Muhammad Kasim began to think, and said, "By my soul and head, they are good, faithful people. I give them protection, but on this condition, that they bring hither the dependents of Dahir, wherever they may be." Thereupon they brought out Ladi. Muhammad Kasim fixed a tax upon all the subjects, according to the laws of the Prophet. Those who embraced the Muhammadan faith were exempted from slavery, the tribute, and the poll-tax; and from those who did not change their creed a tax was exacted according to three grades. The first grade was of great men, and each of these was to pay silver, equal to forty-eight dirams in weight, the second grade twenty-four dirams, and the lowest grade twelve dirams. It was ordered that all who should become Musulmans at once should be exempted from the payment, but those who were desirous of adhering to their old persuasion must pay the tribute and poll-tax. Some showed an inclination to abide by their creed, and some having resolved upon paying tribute, held by the faith of the forefathers, but their lands and property were not taken from them.

8. Order from the Capital to Muhammad Kasim, *Chach-Nama*[11]

…when Rai Dahir was killed, his two virgin daughters were seized in his palace, and Muhammad Kasim had sent them to Baghdad under the care of his negro slaves. The Khalifa of the time sent them into his harem to be taken care of for a few days till they were fit to be presented to him. After

some time, the remembrance of them recurred to the noble mind of the Khalifa, and he ordered them both to be brought before him at night. Walid ‘Abdul Malik told the interpreter to inquire from them which of them was the eldest, that he might retain her by him, and call the other sister at another time. The interpreter first asked their names. The eldest said, “My name is Suryadeo,” and the youngest replied, “my name is Parmaldeo.” He called the eldest to him, and the youngest he sent back to be taken care of. When he had made the former sit down, and she uncovered her face, the Khalifa of the time looked at her, and was enamoured of her surpassing beauty and charms. Her powerful glances robbed his heart of patience. He laid his hand upon Suryadeo and drew her towards him. But Suryadeo stood up, and said, “Long live the king! I am not worthy the king’s bed, because the just Commander Imadu-d-Din Muhammad Kasim kept us three days near himself before he sent us to the royal residence. Perhaps it is a custom among you; but such ignominy should not be suffered by kings.” The Khalifa was overwhelmed with love, and the reins of patience had fallen from his hand. Through indignation he could not stop to scrutinize the matter. He asked for ink and paper, and commenced to write a letter with his own hand, commanding that at whatever place Mu-hammad Kasim had arrived, he should suffer himself to be sewed up in a hide and sent to the capital.

9. Muhammad Kasim reaches Udhafar, and receives the order from the Khalifa’s capital, *Chach-Nama*[12]

When Muhammad Kasim received the letter at Udhafar, he gave the order to his people and they sewed him up in a hide, put him in a chest, and sent him back. Muhammad Kasim thus delivered his soul to God. The officers who were appointed to the different places remained at their stations, while he was taken in the chest to the Khalifa of the time. The private chamberlain reported to Walid ’Abdul-Malik, son of Marwan, that Muhammad Kasim Sakifi had been brought to the capital. The Khalifa asked whether he was alive or dead. It was replied, “May the Khalifa’s life, prosperity, and honour be prolonged to eternity. When the royal mandates were received in the city of Udhapur, Muhammad Kasim immediately, according to the orders, had himself sewed up in a raw hide, and after two days delivered his soul to God and went to the eternal world. The

authorities whom he had placed at different stations maintain the country in their possession, the Khutba continues to be read in the name of the Khalifa, and they use their best endeavours to establish their supremacy."

10. The Khalifa opens the chest, *Chach-Nama*[13]

The Khalifa then opened the chest and called the girls into his presence. He had a green bunch of myrtle in his hand, and pointing with it towards the face of the corpse, said, "See, my daughters, how my commands which are sent to my agents are observed and obeyed by all. When these my orders reached Kanauj, he sacrificed his precious life at my command."

11. The address of Janki, daughter of Dahir, to Khalifa 'Abdu-l Malik, son of Marwan, *Chach-Nama*[14]

Then the virtuous Janki [different from the name she first gave the Khalifa] put off the veil from her face, placed her head on the ground, and said, "May the king live long, may his prosperity and glory increase for many years; and may he be adorned with perfect wisdom. It is proper that a king should test with the touchstone of reason and weigh in his mind whatever he hears from friend or foe, and when it is found to be true and indubitable, then orders compatible with justice should be given. By so doing he will not fall under the wrath of God, nor be contemned by the tongue of man. Your orders have been obeyed, but your gracious mind is wanting in reason and judgement. Muhammad Kasim respected our honour, and behaved like a brother or son to us, and he never touched us, your slaves, with a licentious hand. But he had killed the king of Hind and Sind, he had destroyed the dominion of our forefathers, and he had degraded us from the dignity of royalty to a state of slavery, therefore, to retaliate and to revenge these injuries, we uttered a falsehood before the Khalifa, and our object has been fulfilled. Through this fabrication and deceit have we taken our revenge. Had the Khalifa not passed such peremptory orders; had he not lost his reason through the violence of his passion, and had he considered it proper to investigate the matter, he would not have subjected himself to this repentance and reproach; and had Muhammad Kasim, assisted by his wisdom, come to within one day's journey from this place, and then have put himself into a hide, he would have been liberated after inquiry, and not have died." The Khalifa was very sorry at this explanation, and from excess of regret he bit the back of his hand.

Janki again addressed the Khalifa

Janki again opened her lips and looked at the Khalifa. She perceived that his anger was much excited, and she said, "The king has committed a very grievous mistake, for he ought not, on account of two slave girls, to have destroyed a person who had taken captive a hundred thousand modest women like us, who had brought down seventy chiefs who ruled over Hind and Sind from their thrones to their coffins; and who instead of temples had erected mosques, pulpits, and minarets. If Muhammad Kasim had been guilty of any little neglect or impropriety, he ought not to have been destroyed on the mere word of a designing person." The Khalifa ordered both the sisters to be enclosed between walls. From that time to this day the flags of Islam have been more and more exalted every day, and are still advancing.

D. The Rashtrakutas

1. Balahara – fourth greatest king in the world, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[15]

The Indians and the Chinese are in agreement that the number of the kings of the world is four. The first of these four that they count is the king of the Arabs. There is a consensus amongst them, and there is no difference of opinion in that he is the greatest of the kings; that he is the richest and the most magnificent; and that he is the king of the great faith above which there is nothing else. Then the king of China counts himself as the next [king] after the king of the Arabs; then the king of al-Rum; then Ballahara, the king of the [people] whose ears are perforated.

As for this Ballahara, verily he is the noblest among the Indians, and they acknowledge his nobility. Each one of the kings of India is the sovereign of his own country, but they acknowledge his suzerainty. Thus, when his ambassadors visit other kings, they pay homage to his ambassadors as a mark of respect for him. This king pays allowances [to the soldiers] as the Arabs do. He possesses a large number of horses and elephants and has abundance of riches. His wealth consists of *dirhams* called *al-Tatariya.* Each *dirham* weighs a *dirham* and a half of the royal currency. The date of his [reign] in the year of his rule is (determined) by the death of the previous [ruler]. It is unlike the tradition of the Arabs whose [calendar is

determined] from the period of the Prophet (May Peace be Upon Him). On the other hand, their calendar is [fixed] according to [the reign] of the kings. Their kings have long lives, and sometimes a king rules for fifty years.

2. Greatest king of India, Ibn Khurdadhbih[16]

The greatest king of India is Balhara [the Rashtrakuta ruler, Govinda III], that is to say, 'the king of kings'. Among the other kings of India are: Jaba [hill state of Chamba], the king of al-Taqa [between the Beas and Indus], the king of al-Jurz, [Nagabhatta II of the Pratihara dynasty], Ghaba [Jaba], Rahma [Dharmapala of the Pala dynasty], and the king of Qamrun [Kamarupa]…

The greatest king of India is Balhara which means 'the king of kings'. His signet-ring has the following engraved on it: 'Anyone who loves you with a purpose will turn his back up on you as soon as it is served.' He resides in al-Kumkam, the land of teak-wood. He is followed by the King of al-Taqa; then comes Jaba; then after him comes the King of al-Jurzj; he uses the *Tatariya dirhams* [as his currency]. He is followed by Ghaba (Jaba); and then comes Rahma (Dharma). Between his kingdom and those of the others there is a journey of one year. It is related that he possesses fifty thousand elephants. In his kingdom are found the cotton-velvet cloth and the Indian aloes-wood. Then comes the king of Qamrun (Qamarub). His kingdom adjoins China. In his country there is abundant gold and rhinoceros. This animal has a single horn in his forehead, which is one cubit long and two handfuls in thickness. One usually finds inside it an image from one end of the horn to the other, so that when it is ripped open you will see the white image on a jet-black background having the shape of either a human being, an animal, fish, peacock, or some other bird. The Chinese make girdles out of it, and the price of each one ranges from three hundred to three thousand or up to four thousand *dinars.* All the above-mentioned kings have perforated ears.

3. Kings of India turn their faces towards him in their prayers, Al Masudi[17]

The greatest of the kings of India in our time is the Balhara [Indra III], sovereign of the city of Mankir. Many of the kings of India turn their faces towards him in their prayers, and they make supplications to his ambassadors, who come to visit them. The kingdom of Balhara is bordered

by many other countries of India. Some kings have their territory in the mountains away from the sea, like the Rai, King of Kashmir, the King of Tafan, and others. There are other kings who possess both land and sea. The capital of the Balhara is eighty Sindi parasangs from the sea, and the parasang is equal to eight miles. His troops and elephants are innumerable, but his troops are mostly infantry, because the seat of his government is among the mountains.

4. Balhara possesses many war elephants, Al Masudi[18]

Of all the kings of Sind and India, there is no one who pays greater respect to the Musulmans than the Balhara. In his kingdom Islam is honoured and protected...The money consists of dirhams, called Tahiriya, each weighing a dirham and a half. They are impressed with the date of the reign, The Balhara possesses many war elephants. This country is also called Kamkar. On one side it is exposed to the attacks of the king of Juzr [Guzerat]; a king who is rich in horses and camels, and has a large army.

5. Balhara has an extensive territory, Abu Ishak al Istakhri[19]

From Kambaya to Saimur is the land of the Balhara, and in it there are several Indian kings. It is a land of infidels, but there are Musalmans in its cities, and none but Musalmans rule over them on the part of the Balhara. There are Jama masjids in them. The city in which the Balhara dwells is Mankir, which has an extensive territory.

E. Al-Jurz [al-Jurzara, Gurjara]

1. Gujara-desa, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind,* An Account of China and India[20]

Among them there is a king who is called the king of al-Jurz. He has a large army, and none [of the kings] of India has a cavalry comparable to his. He is an enemy of the Arabs, but he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest king. And among the Indian [kings] none is a greater enemy of Islam than he is. His [kingdom] lies on 'a tongue of the land'. The kingdom has abundance of wealth and numerous camels and cattle. The commercial means of exchange in it are the silver ingots, and it is said that the kingdom has [silver] mines. There is no place in India more secure than this from theft.

2. The king of Jurz, Sulaiman[21]

This king [of Jurz] maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry. He is unfriendly to the Arabs, still he acknowledges that the king of the Arabs is the greatest of kings. Among the princes of India there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he. His territories form a tongue of land. He has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous. Exchanges arc carried on in his state with silver (and gold) in dust, and there are said to be mines (of these metals) in the country. There is no country in India more safe from robbers.

F. Kings of Bengal

1. King called Dharma, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India[22]

Adjacent to them is a king called Dharma with whom the king of al-Jurz wages wars, but he is not superior in sovereignty; he also carries on wars with Ballahara as he does with the king of al-Jurz. This Dharma has a larger army as compared to the King Ballahara, the king of al-Jurz and the King al-Taqa. It is said that when he goes out for a combat he carries about fifty thousand elephants, and he does not go [to war] except in the winter season, for the elephants cannot endure thirst. Hence he is not able to go [to war] except in winter. It is said that the number of the washermen of his army is about ten to fifteen thousand.

Cloth so fine as passes through ring

In his country one finds cloth, the like of which is not found in any other [kingdom]. A piece of this cloth can be passed through the circle of a ring as it is so fine and beautiful. It is made of cotton, and we have seen some of them. In his country cowry-shell is used which is the money of the land, that is to say, his wealth. In his country there is also gold, silver, aloes-wood and *al-samar* cloth from which the fly-whisk is made.

2. Tripartite struggle, Sulaiman[23]

These three states border on a kingdom called Ruhmi, which is at war with that of Jurz. The king is not held in very high estimation. He is at war with the Balhara as he is with the king of Jurz. His troops are more numerous than those of the Balhara, the king of Jurz, or the king of Tafak.

3. Rahma has more troops than the Balhara, Al Masudi[24]

Beyond this kingdom is that of Rahma, which is the title for their kings, and generally at the same time their name. His dominions border on those of the king of Juzr [Guzerat], and, on one side, on those of the Balhara, with both of whom he is frequently at war. The Rahma has more troops, elephants, and horses, than the Balhara, the king of Juzr and of Tafan. When he takes the field, he has no less than fifty thousand elephants. He never goes to war but in winter, because elephants cannot bear thirst. His forces are generally exaggerated; some assert that the number of fullers and washers in his camp is from ten to fifteen thousand...The kingdom of Rahma extends both along the sea and the continent. It is bounded by an inland state called the kingdom of Kaman. The inhabitants are fair, and have their ears pierced. They have elephants, camels, and horses. Both sexes are generally handsome.

4. Rai Lakhmaniya of Bengal [twelfth century], Minhaju-s Siraj[25]

He was a great Rai, and had sat upon the throne for a period of eighty years. A story about that Rai may be here related:

When the father of the Rai departed this world, he was in the womb of his mother, so the crown was placed upon her belly, and all the great men expressed their loyalty before her. His family was respected by all the Rais or chiefs of Hindustan, and was considered to hold the rank of Khalif, or sovereign. When the time of the birth of Lakhmaniya drew near, and symptoms of delivery appeared, his mother assembled the astrologers and Brahmans, in order that they might see if the aspect of the time was auspicious. They all unanimously said that if the child were born at that moment it would be exceedingly unlucky, for he would not become a sovereign. But that if the birth occurred two hours later the child would reign for eighty years. When his mother heard this opinion of the astrologers, she ordered her legs to be tied together, and caused herself to be hung with her head downwards. She also directed the astrologers to watch for the auspicious time. When they all agreed that the time for delivery was come, she ordered herself to be taken down, and Lakhmaniya was born directly, but he had no sooner come into the world than his mother died from the anguish she had endured. Lakhmaniya was placed upon the throne, and he ruled for eighty years. It is said by trustworthy persons that no one,

great or small, ever suffered injustice at his hands. He used to give a lac to every person that asked him for charity; as was also the custom of the generous Sultan, the Hatim of the time, Kutbu-d din. In that country the current money is *kaudas* (kauris) instead of *chitals*, and the smallest present he made was a lac of *kaudas*…

G. Kingdom of Lakhimpur

1. Kingdom in interior, *Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind,* An Account of China and India[26]

Next to him is a king whose [kingdom] is in the interior. He has no [access] to the sea. He is called the King of Lakshmibur. The [inhabitants of this realm] are white people; they have pierced ears and are handsome. They are the dwellers of deserts and mountains.

2. Kingdom borders on China, Ibn Khurdadhib[27]

The king of Assam (Qamrun) is a king of *al-Hind*…whose kingdom borders on China and abounds in gold.

H. Kingdom of Tafar

The state of Tafar, Sulaiman[28]

By the side of this kingdom lies that of Tafak, which is but a small state. The women are white, and the most beautiful in India. The king lives at peace with his neighbours, because his soldiers are so few. He esteems the Arabs as highly as the Balhara does.

I. Kingdom of Kashmir

Powerful king, *Chach-Nama*[29]

…the king of Kashmir who is the mighty possessor of a crown, kettledrums and standards, on whose royal threshold the other kings of Hind have placed their heads, who sways the whole of Hind and even the country of Makran and Turan, whose chains many grandees and lords have willingly placed on their knees…

J. Kingdom of Kiranj

1. A kingdom called Kiranj, Sulaiman[30]

Afterwards comes a sea, on the shores of which there is a kingdom called Kiranj [the country of Kalinga on that coast?]. Its king is poor and proud. He collects large quantities of amber, and is equally well provided with elephant's teeth. They eat pepper green in this country because it is scarce.

2. The kingdom of Firanj, Al Masudi[31]

Afterwards comes the kingdom of Firanj, which has power both on land and sea. It is situated on a tongue of land which stretches into the sea, from whence large quantities of amber are obtained. The country produces only little pepper, but large numbers of elephants are found here. The king is brave, haughty, and proud, but to tell the truth he has more haughtiness than power, and more pride than courage.

K. Kingdom of Kanauj

1. Centre of learning, Abu Zayd[32]

…poets, astronomers, philosophers and diviners [are concentrated above all] in Kanauj, a large country forming the kingdom of al-Jurz.

2. Bhaura [Mihir Bhoja the great ruler of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty?], Al Masudi[33]

One of the neighbouring kings of India, who is far from the sea, is the Bauura, who is lord of the city of Kanauj. This is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has large armies in garrisons on the north and on the south, on the east and on the west, for he is surrounded on all sides by warlike kings…

The kingdom of the Bauura, king of Kanauj, extends about one hundred and twenty square parasangs of Sind, each parasang being equal to eight miles of this country. This king has four armies, according to the four quarters of the wind. Each of them numbers 700,000 or 900,000 men. The army of the north wars against the prince of Multan, and with the Musulmans, his subjects, on the frontier. The army of the south fights against the Balhara, king of Mankir. The other two armies march to meet enemies in every direction.

3. Kanauj, Alberuni[34]

The middle of *al-Hind* is the country around Kanauj, which they call *Madhyadesha*, i.e., the middle of the realm. It is the middle or centre from a

geographical point of view, in so far as it lies halfway between the sea and the mountains, in the midst between the hot and the cold provinces, and also between the eastern and western frontiers of *al-Hind*. But it is a political centre too, because in former times it was the residence of their famous heroes and kings.

L. The Chola Kingdom

1. War elephants in Chola dominions, Chau Ju-Kua[35]

"The country is at war with the kingdoms of the west (of India?). The government owns sixty thousand war elephants, every one seven or eight feet high. When fighting these elephants carry on their backs houses, and these houses are full of soldiers who shoot arrows at long range, and fight with spears at close quarters. When victorious, the elephants are granted honorary names to signalize their merit."

2. Embassies from Coromandel to China, Chau Ju-Kua[36]

In former times they did not send tribute to our court, but "in the eighth year of the *ta-chung* and *siang-Iu* periods (A.D. 1015), its sovereign sent a mission with pearls and like articles as tribute. The interpreters, in translating their speech, said they wished to evince the respect of a distant nation for (Chinese) civilisation." They were ordered by Imperial decree to remain in waiting at the side gate of the Palace, and to be entertained at a banquet by the Associates in the College of Court Annalists. By Imperial favour they were ranked with envoys of K'iu-tz-'i. It happened to be the Emperor's birthday, and the envoys had a fine opportunity to witness the congratulations in the Sacred Enclosure.

"In the tenth year *si-ning* (1077) they again sent tribute of native produce. The Emperor Shun-tsung sent an officer of the Inner Department (i.e., a Chamberlain) to bid them welcome."

3. Feasts in Chola dominions, Ma Twan-lin[37]

During feasts, the king and the four great officers salute each other, crossing their hands, and inclining the body like the Buddhist priests; then they all sit together. They eat meat, but they do not drink wine. They have different sorts of soups, cakes and particular dishes of very good taste. They wear cotton clothes. The feast is accompanied by music, singing and dances. The service is done by women.

M. Kingdom of Telingana

***Akhbar Al-Sin wa'l Hind*, An Account of China and India**[38]

[The king is] called al-Tanluwing. He is poor but arrogant. He gets plenty of ambergris and has elephant tusks. He has black pepper which is eaten fresh because of its scarcity there.

N. The king of Nan-p'i country [the country of Nairs, Malabar]

Ruler goes barefoot, Chau Ju-Kua[39]

The ruler of the country has his body draped, but goes barefooted. He wears a turban and a loin-cloth, both of white cotton cloth. Sometimes he wears a white cotton shirt with narrow sleeves. When going out he rides an elephant, and wears a golden hat ornamented with pearls and gems.

On his arm is fastend a band of gold, and around his leg is a golden chain. Among his regalia is a standard of peacock feathers on a staff of vermilion colour; over twenty men guard it round.

Women Guards

He is attended by a guard of some five hundred picked foreign women, chosen for their fine physique. Those in front lead the way with dancing, their bodies draped, barefooted and with a cotton loincloth. Those behind ride horses bareback; they have a loincloth, their hair is done up and they wear necklaces of pearls and anklets of gold, their bodies are perfumed with camphor and musk and other drugs, and umbrellas of peacock feathers shield them from the sun.

In front of the dancing-women are carried the officers of the king's train, seated in litters of white foreign cotton, and which are called *pu-tai-kiau* [manjil, a kind of hammock-litter] and are borne on poles plated with gold and silver.

O. The Kingdom of Mabar

1. Knights in Mabar die with king, Marco Polo[40]

The king [of Mabar] retains about his person many knights, who are distinguished by an appellation, signifying "the devoted servants of his

majesty, in this world and the next." These attend upon his person at court, ride by his side in processions, and accompany him on all occasions. They exercise considerable authority in every part of the realm. Upon the death of the king, and when the ceremony of burning his body takes place, all these devoted servants throw themselves into the same fire, and are consumed with the royal corpse; intending by this act to bear him company in another life.

The following custom likewise prevails. When a king dies, the son who succeeds him does not meddle with the treasure which the former had amassed, under the impression that it would reflect upon his own ability to govern, if being left in full possession of the territory, he did not show himself as capable of enriching the treasury as his father was. In consequence of this prejudice it is supposed that immense wealth is accumulated by successive generations.

2. The king, Marco Polo[41]

The king is extremely rich and powerful, and has much delight in the possession of pearls and valuable stones. When the traders from Maabar present to him such as are of superior beauty, he trusts to their word with respect to the estimation of their value, and gives them double the sum that each is declared to have cost them. Under these circumstances, he has the offer of many fine jewels.

3. Royal horses, Marco Polo[42]

No horses being bred in this country, the king and his three royal brothers expend large sums of money annually in the purchase of them from merchants of Ormus, Diufar, Pecher, and Adem, who carry them thither for sale, and become rich by the traffic, as they import to the number of five thousand, and for each of them obtain five hundred saggi of gold, being equal to one hundred marks of silver. At the end of the year, in consequence, as it is supposed, of their not having persons properly qualified to take care of them or to administer the requisite medicines, perhaps not three hundred of these remain alive, and thus the necessity is occasioned for replacing them annually. But it is my opinion that the climate of the province is unfavorable to the race of horses, and that from hence arises the difficulty in breeding or preserving them. For food they give them flesh dressed with rice and other prepared meats, the country not

producing any grain besides rice. A mare, although of a large size, and covered by a handsome horse, produces small ill-made colt, with distorted legs, and unfit to be trained for riding.

4. The rulers of Mabar, Abdu-Llah, Wassaf[43]

Mabar extends in length from Kulam to Nilawar (Nellore), nearly three hundred parasangs along the seacoast, and in the language of that country the king is called Dewar, which signifies the Lord of Empire. The curiosities of Chin and Machin, and the beautiful products of Hind and Sind, laden on large ships (which they call junks), sailing like mountains with the wings to the wind on the surface of the water, are always arriving there. The wealth of the Isles of the Persian Gulf in particular, and in part the beauty and adornment of other countries, from 'Irak and Khurasan as far as Rum and Europe, are derived from Ma'bar, which is so situated as to be the key of Hind.

Sundar Pandi

A few years since the Dewar was Sundar Pandi who had three brothers, each of whom established himself in independence in some different country. The eminent prince, the margrave *(marzban)* of Hind, Takiu-d din 'Abdu-r Rahman, son of Mu-hammadu-t Tibi, whose virtues and accomplishments have for a long time been the theme of praise and admiration among the chief inhabitants of that beautiful country, was the Dewar's deputy, minister, and adviser, and was a man of sound judgement. Fitan, Mali Fitan and Kabil were made over to his possession, for he is still worthy *(kabil)* of having the Khutba read in his name, and, notwithstanding these high dignities, is not worthy of seditions *(fitna)*.

Horses imported

It was a matter of agreement that Maliku-l Islam Jamalu-d din and the merchants should embark every year from the island of Kais and land at Ma'bar 1,400 horses of his own breed, and of such generous origin that, in comparison with them the most celebrated horses of antiquity, such as the Rukhs of Rustam, etc., should be as worthless as the horse of the chessboard. It was also agreed that he should embark as many as he could procure from all the isles of Persia, such as Katif, Lahsa, Bahrein, Hurmuz and Kulhatu. The price of each horse was fixed from of old at 220 dinars of red gold, on this condition, that if any horses should sustain any injury

during the voyage, or should happen to die, the value of them should be paid from the royal treasury. It is related by authentic writers, that in the reign of Atabak Abu Bakr, 10,000 horses were annually exported from these places to Ma'bar, Kambayat, and other ports in their neighborhood, and the sum total of their value amounted to 2,200,000 dinars, which was paid out of the overflowing revenues of the estates and endowments belonging to the Hindu temples, and from the tax upon courtesans attached to them, and no charge was incurred by the public treasury. It is a strange thing that when those horses arrive there, instead of giving them raw barley they give them roasted barley and grain dressed with butter, and boiled cow's milk to drink.…

They bind them for forty days in a stable with ropes and pegs, in order that they may get fat; and afterwards, without taking measures for training, and without stirrups and other appurtenances of riding, the Indian soldiers ride upon them like demons.

They are equal to Burak in celerity, and are employed either in war or exercise. In a short time the most strong, swift, fresh, and active horses become weak, slow, useless, and stupid. In short, they all become wretched and good for nothing. In this climate these powerful horses which fly swiftly without a whip (for whips are required for horses, especially if they are to go any distance), should they happen to cover, become exceedingly weak and altogether worn out and unfit for riding. There is, therefore, a constant necessity of getting new horses annually, and, consequently, the merchants of Muhammadan countries bring them to Ma'bar, Their loss is not without its attendant advantage, for it is a providential ordinance of God that the western should continue in want of eastern products, and the eastern world of western products, and that the north should with labour procure the goods of the south, and the south be furnished in like manner with commodities brought in ships from the north. Consequently, the means of easy communication are always kept up between these different quarters, as the social nature of human beings necessarily requires and profits by…

Extent of wealth

In the months of the year 692 H. the above-mentioned Dewar, the ruler of Ma'bar, died, and left behind him much wealth and treasure. It is related by Maliku-l Islam Jamalu-d din, that out of that treasure 7,000 oxen, laden

with precious stones, and pure gold and silver, fell to the share of the brother who succeeded him. Malik-i a'zam Takiu-d din continued prime minister as before, and, in fact, ruler of that kingdom, and his glory and magnificence were raised a thousand times higher.

Notwithstanding the immense wealth acquired by trade, he gave orders that whatever commodities and goods were imported from the remotest parts of China and Hind into Ma'bar, his agents and factors should be allowed the first selection, until which no one else was allowed to purchase. When he had selected his goods he dispatched them on his own ships, or delivered them to merchants and ship owners to carry to the island of Kais. There also it was not permitted to any merchant to contract a bargain until the factors of Maliku-l Islam had selected what they required, and after that the merchants were allowed to buy whatever was suited to the wants of Ma'bar. The remnants were exported on ships and beasts of burden to the isles of the sea, and the countries of the east and west, and with the prices obtained by their sale such goods were purchased as were suitable for the home market; and the trade was so managed that the produce of the remotest China was consumed in the farthest west. No one has seen the like of it in the world…

P. The kings of India the Greater

1. Distinct from others, Friar Jordanus[44]

…the kings have this distinction from others, that they wear upon their arms gold and silver rings, and on the neck a gold collar with a great abundance of gems.

Succession in India the Greater

In this India never do (even) the legitimate sons of great kings, or princes, or barons, inherit the goods of their parents, but only the sons of their sisters; for they say that they have no surety that those are their own sons, because wives and mistresses may conceive and generate by some one else; but 'tis not so with the sister, for whatever man may be the father they are certain that the offspring is from the womb of their sister, and is consequently thus truly of their blood.

2. Many idolatrous kings in India the Greater, Friar Jordanus[45]

In this Greater India are twelve idolatrous kings, and more. For there is one very powerful king in the country where pepper grows, and his kingdom is called Molebar. There is also the king of Singuyli and the king of Columbum, the king of which is called Lingua, but his kingdom Mohebar. There is also the king of Molephatam, whose kingdom is called Molepoor, where pearls are taken in infinite quantities. There is also another king in the island of Sylen, where are found precious stones and good elephants. There be also three or four kings on the island of Java, where the good spices grow. There be also other kings, as the king of Telenc, who is very potent and great. The kingdom of Telenc abounds in corn, rice, sugar, wax, honey and honeycomb, pulse, eggs, goats, buffalos, beeves, milk, butter, and in oils of divers kinds and in many excellent fruits, more than any other part of the Indies. There is also the kingdom of Maratha which is very great; and there is the king of Batigala, but he is of the Saracens. There be also many kings in Chopa.

What shall I say? The greatness of this India is beyond description. But let this much suffice concerning India the Greater and the Less.

Q. The Zamorin

1. Samuri [*Samudri*, Sea King, Zamorin according to the Portuguese], Ibn Batutta[46]

The sultan of Calicut is an infidel, known is 'the Samari.' He is an aged man and shaves his beard, as some of the Greeks do. In this town too lives the famous shipowner Mithqal, who possesses vast wealth and many ships for his trade with India, China, Yemen, and Fars. When we reached the city, the principal inhabitants and merchants and the sultan's representative came out to welcome us, with drums, trumpets, bugles and standards on their ships. We entered the harbour in great pomp, the like of which I have never seen in those lands, but it was a joy to be followed by distress.

2. The Zamorin, Abder Razzak[47]

The sovereign of this city bears the title of *Sameri* [the Zamorin]. When he dies it is his sister's son who succeeds him, and his inheritance does not belong to his son, or his brother, or any other of his relations. No one reaches the throne by means of the strong hand…

When I obtained my audience of this prince, the hall was filled with two or three thousand Hindus, who wore the costume above described; the principal personages amongst the Mussulmauns were also present. After they had made me take a seat, the letter of his majesty, the happy Khakan [Mirza Shah Rukh], was read, and they caused to pass in procession before the throne, the horse, the pelisse, the garment of cloth of gold, and the cap to be worn at the ceremony of Nauruz. The *Sameri* showed me but little consideration…

On a sudden a man arrived, who brought me the intelligence that the king of Bidjanagar [Vijayanagar], who holds a powerful empire and a mighty dominion under his sway, had sent to the *Sameri* a delegate charged with a letter, in which he desired that he would send on to him the ambassador of his majesty, the happy Khakan [Mirza Shah Rukh]. Although the *Sameri* is not subject to the laws of the king of Bidjanagar, he nevertheless pays him respect, and stands extremely in fear of him; since, if what is said is true, this latter prince has in his dominions three hundred ports, each of which is equal to Calicut, and on *terra firma* his territories comprise a space of three months' journey. The coast, which includes Calicut with some other neighbouring ports, and which extends as far as Kabel, a place situated opposite the Island of Serendib, otherwise called Ceylon, bears the general name of Melibar. From Calicut are vessels continually sailing for Mecca, which are for the most part laden with pepper. The inhabitants of Calicut are adventurous sailors: they are known by the name of Tchini-betchegan (son of the Chinese), and pirates do not dare to attack the vessels of Calicut…

R. King of Vijayanagar

1. Powerful ruler, Abder Razzak[48]

…we arrived at the city of Bidjanagar. The king sent a numerous cortege to meet us, and appointed us a very handsome house for our residence.

The preceding details, forming a close narrative of events, have shown to readers and writers that the chances of a maritime voyage had led Abd-er-Razzak, the author of this work, to the city of Bidjanagar. He saw a place extremely large and thickly peopled; and a king possessing greatness and sovereignty to the highest degree, whose dominion extends from the

frontier of Serendib to the extremities of the country of Kalbergah. From the frontiers of Bengal to the environs of Belinar (Melibar), the distance is more than a thousand parasangs. The country is for the most part well cultivated, very fertile, and contains about three hundred harbours. One sees there more than a thousand elephants, in their size resembling mountains, and in their forms resembling devils. The troops amount in number to eleven lak (1,100,00).

One might seek in vain throughout the whole of Hindoostan to find a more absolute *rai* (king); for the monarchs of this country bear the title of *rai.* Next to him the Brahmins hold a rank superior to that of all other men. The book of Kalilah and Dimna, the most beautiful work existing in the Persian language, and which presents us with the stories of a *rai* and a Brahmin, is probably a production of the talent of the literati of this country.

2. Audience with king, Abder Razzak[49]

The author of this narrative, having arrived in this city at the end of the month of *Zou'lhidjah* [the end of April 1443] took up his abode in an extremely lofty house, which had been assigned to him…. One day some messengers sent from the palace of the king came to seek me, and at the close of that same day I presented myself at court, and offered for the monarch's acceptance five beautiful horses, and some *tokouz* of damask and satin. The prince was seated in a hall, surrounded by the most imposing attributes of state. Right and left of him stood a numerous crowd of men ranged in a circle. The king was dressed in a robe of green satin, around his neck he wore a collar, composed of pearls of beautiful water and other splendid gems. He had an olive complexion, his frame was thin, and he was rather tall; on his cheeks might be seen a slight down, but there was no beard on his chin. The expression of his countenance was extremely pleasing. On being led into the presence of this prince I bowed my head three times. The monarch received me with interest, and made me take a seat very near him. When he took the august letter of the emperor, he handed it to the interpreter and said: "My heart is truly delighted to see that a great king has been pleased to send me an ambassador."

As the humble author of this narrative, in consequence of the heat, and the great number of robes in which he was dressed, was drowned in perspiration, the monarch took pity upon him, and sent him a fan, similar to

the khata which he held in his hand. After this a salver was brought, and they presented to the humble author two packets of betel, a purse containing five hundred *fanoms,* and twenty *mithkals* of camphor. Then, receiving permission to depart he returned to his house. Hitherto his provisions had been brought him daily, consisting of two sheep, four pair of fowls, five *man* of rice, one of butter, one of sugar, and two *varahahs* of gold; and they continued supplying him regularly with the same articles. Twice in the week, at the close of day, the king sent for him, and put questions to him respecting his majesty, the happy Khakan. On each occasion the author received a packet of betel, a purse of *fanoms,* and some *mithkal* of camphor.

The king said to him by his interpreter: "Your monarchs invite an ambassador, and receive him to their table; as you and we may not eat together, this purse full of gold is the feast we give to an ambassador."…

3. Royal entourage at Vijayanagar, Nicolo Conti[50]

Their king is more powerful than all the other kings of India. He takes to himself twelve thousand wives, of whom four thousand follow him on foot wherever he may go, and are employed solely in the service of the kitchen. A like number, more handsomely equipped, ride on horseback. The remainder are carried by men in litters, of whom two thousand or three thousand are selected as his wives on condition that at his death they should voluntarily burn themselves with him, which is considered to be a great honour for them.

4. Weapons at Vijayanagar, Nicolo Conti[51]

The natives of this part of India, when engaged in war, use javelins, swords, arm-pieces, round shields, and also bows. The inhabitants of the other parts of India wear also the helmet and corslet. The natives of central India make use of balistae, and those machines which we call bombardas, also other warlike implements adapted for besieging cities. They call us Franks, and say: "While they call other nations blind, that they themselves have two eyes and that we have but one, because they consider that they excel all others in prudence."

S. The King of Cochin

The king of Ko-Chih [Cochin], Ma Huan[52]

The king or ruler is of the solar race, and is a sincere believer in Buddhism [Ma Huan does not distinguish between Hinduism and Buddhism], and has the greatest reverence for elephants and oxen; and every morning at daylight prostrates himself before an image of Buddha. The king wears no clothing on the upper part of his person; he has simply a square of silk wound round his loins, kept in place by a coloured waistband of he same material, and on his head a turban of yellow or white cotton cloth. The dress of the officers and the rich differs but little from that of the king.

T. The king of Calicut

1. King of Nair caste, Ma Huan[53]

The king belongs to the Nair class, and, like his brother of Cochin, is a sincere follower of Buddha, and as such does not eat beef; his overseer, being a Muhammadan, does not eat pork. This led, it is said in times past, to a compact being made between the king and his overseer, to the effect that if the king would give up eating pork the overseer would give up eating beef. This compact has been most scrupulously observed by the successors of both parties up to the present day.

The king at his devotions prostrates himself before an image of Buddha every morning; which being over, his attendants collect all the cow-dung about the place, and smear it over the image of the god. Some of the dung the king orders to be burnt to ashes and put into a small cotton bag, which he continually wears upon his person; and when his morning ablutions are over, he mixes some of the powdered dung with water and smears it over his forehead and limbs; by so doing he considers he is showing Buddha the greatest reverence.

Muhammadan subjects

Many of the King's subjects are Muhammadans, and there are twenty or thirty mosques in the kingdom to which the people resort every seventh day for worship. On this day, during the morning, the people being at the mosque, no business whatever is transacted; and in the after part of the day, the services being over, business is resumed…

Succession at Calicut

The succession to the throne is settled in a somewhat curious manner. The king is not succeeded by his son, but by his sister's son, because his nephew, being born of his sister's body is considered nearer to him by blood. If the king has no sister the succession goes to his brother; if he has no brother it goes to a man of ability and worth. Such has been the rule for many generations.

2. Vasco da Gama's audience with the king[54]

[A *Royal Audience, May* 28.] The king was in a small court, reclining upon a couch covered with a cloth of green velvet, above which was a good mattress, and upon this again a sheet of cotton stuff, very white and fine, more so than any linen. The cushions were after the same fashion. In his left hand the king held a very large golden cup [spittoon], having a capacity of half an almude [8 pints]. At its mouth this cup was two palmas [16 inches] wide, and apparently it was massive. Into this cup the king threw the husks of a certain herb which is chewed by the people of this country because of its soothing effects, and which they call *atambor* [a corruption of the Arabic *tambur*, betel-nut]. On the right side of the king stood a basin of gold, so large that a man might just encircle it with his arms: this contained the herbs. There were likewise many silver jugs. The canopy above the couch was all gilt.

The captain, on entering, saluted in the manner of the country: by putting the hands together, then raising them towards Heaven, as is done by Christians when addressing God, and immediately afterwards opening them and shutting the fists quickly. The king beckoned to the captain with his right hand to come nearer, but the captain did not approach him, for it is the custom of the country for no man to approach the king except only the servant who hands him the herbs, and when anyone addresses the king he holds his hand before the mouth, and remains at a distance. When the king beckoned to the captain he looked at us others, and ordered us to be seated on a stone bench near him, where he could see us. He ordered that water for our hands should be given us, as also some fruit, one kind of which resembled a melon, except that its outside was rough and the inside sweet, whilst another kind of fruit resembled a fig, and tasted very nice [the fruits were the jack and bananas]. There were men who prepared these fruits for

us; and the king looked at us eating, and smiled; and talked to the servant who stood near him supplying him with the herbs referred to.

Then, throwing his eyes on the captain, who sat facing him, he invited him to address himself to the courtiers present, saying they were men of much distinction, that he could tell them whatever he desired to say, and they would repeat it to him (the king). The captain-major replied that he was the ambassador of the King of Portugal, and the bearer of a message which he could only deliver to him personally. The king said this was good, and immediately asked him to be conducted to a chamber. When the captain-major had entered, the king, too, rose and joined him, whilst we remained where we were. All this happened about sunset. An old man who was in the court took away the couch as soon as the king rose, but allowed the plate to remain. The king, when he joined the captain, threw himself upon another couch, covered with various stuffs embroidered in gold, and asked the captain what he wanted.

And the captain told him he was the ambassador of a King of Portugal, who was Lord of many countries and the possessor of great wealth of every description, exceeding that of any king of these parts; that for a period of sixty years his ancestors had annually sent out vessels to make discoveries in the direction of India, as they knew that there were Christian kings there like themselves. This, he said, was the reason which induced them to order this country to be discovered, not because they sought for gold or silver, for of this they had such abundance that they needed not what was to be found in this country. He further stated that the captains sent out travelled for a year or two, until their provisions were exhausted, and then returned to Portugal, without having succeeded in making the desired discovery. There reigned a king now whose name was Dom Manuel, who had ordered him to build three vessels, of which he had been appointed captain-major, and who had ordered him not to return to Portugal until he should have discovered this King of the Christians, on pain of having his head cut off. That two letters had been intrusted to him to be presented in case he succeeded in discovering him, and that he would do so on the ensuing day; and, finally, he had been instructed to say by word of mouth that he [the King of Portugal] desired to be his friend and brother.

In reply to this the king said that he was welcome; that, on his part, he held him as a friend and brother, and would send ambassadors with him to

Portugal. This latter had been asked as a favour, the captain pretending that he would not dare to present himself before his king and master unless he was able to present, at the same time, some men of this country.

These and many other things passed between the two in this chamber, and as it was already late in the night, the king asked the captain with whom he desired to lodge, with Christians or with Moors? And the captain replied, neither with Christians nor with Moors, and begged as a favour that he be given a lodging by himself. The king said he would order it thus, upon which the captain took leave of the king and came to where we were, that is, to a veranda lit up by a huge candlestick. By that time four hours of the night had already gone…

[Presents for the King.] On Tuesday [May 29] the captain got ready the following things to be sent to the king, viz., twelve pieces of *lambel* [striped cloth], four scarlet hoods, six hats, four strings of coral, a case containing six wash-hand basins, a case of sugar, two casks of oil, and two of honey. And as it is the custom not to send anything to the king without the knowledge of the Moor, his factor, and of the *bale* [governor], the captain informed them of his intention. They came, and when they saw the present they laughed at it, saying that it was not a thing to offer to a king, that the poorest merchant from Mecca, or any other part of India, gave more, and that if he wanted to make a present it should be in gold, as the king would not accept such things. When the captain heard this he grew sad, and said that he had brought no gold, that, moreover, he was no merchant, but an ambassador; that he gave of that which he had, which was his own [private gift] and not the king's; that if the King of Portugal ordered him to return he would intrust him with far richer presents; and that if King Camolim [Zamorin, a corruption of Samudriya Raja, king of the coast] would not accept these things he would send them back to the ships. Upon this they declared that they would not forward his presents, nor consent to his forwarding them himself. When they had gone there came certain Moorish merchants, and they all depreciated the present which the captain desired to be sent to the king.

When the captain saw that they were determined not to forward his present, he said, that as they would not allow him to send his present to the palace he would go to speak to the king, and would then return to the ships. They approved of this, and told him that if he would wait a short time they

would return and accompany him to the palace. And the captain waited all day, but they never came back. The captain was very wroth at being among so phlegmatic and unreliable a people, and intended, at first, to go to the palace without them. On further consideration, however, he thought it best to wait until the following day. As to us others, we diverted ourselves, singing and dancing to the sound of trumpets, and enjoyed ourselves much.

[A Second Audience, May 30.] On Wednesday morning the Moors returned, and took the captain to the palace, and us others with him. The palace was crowded with armed men. Our captain was kept waiting with his conductors for fully four long hours, outside a door, which was only opened when the king sent word to admit him, attended by two men only, whom he might select. The captain said that he desired to have Fernao Martins with him, who could interpret, and his secretary. It seemed to him, as it did to us, that this separation portended no good.

When he had entered, the king said that he had expected him on Tuesday. The captain said that the long road had tired him, and that for this reason he had not come to see him. The king then said that he had told him that he came from a very rich kingdom, and yet had brought him nothing; that he had also told him that he was the bearer of a letter, which had not yet been delivered. To this the captain rejoined that he had brought nothing, because the object of his voyage was merely to make discoveries, but that when other ships came he would then see what they brought him; as to the letter, it was true that he had brought one, and would deliver it immediately.

The king then asked what it was he had come to discover: stones or men? If he came to discover men, as he said, why had he brought nothing? Moreover, he had been told that he carried with him the golden image of a Santa Maria. The captain said that the Santa Maria was not of gold, and that even if she were he would not part with her, as she had guided him across the ocean, and would guide him back to his own country. The king then asked for the letter. The captain said that he begged as a favour, that as the Moors wished him ill and might misinterpret him, a Christian able to speak Arabic should be sent for. The king said this was well, and at once sent for a young man, of small stature, whose name was Quaram. The captain then said that he had two letters, one written in his own language and the other in that of the Moors; that he was able to read the former, and knew that it contained nothing but what would prove acceptable; but that as to the other

he was unable to read it, and it might be good, or contain something that was erroneous. As the Christian was unable to read Moorish, four Moors took the letter and read it between them, after which they translated it to the king, who was well satisfied with its contents.

The king then asked what kind of merchandise was to be found in his country. The captain said there was much corn, cloth, iron, bronze, and many other things. The king asked whether he had any merchandise with him. The captain replied that he had a little of each sort, as samples, and that if permitted to return to the ships he would order it to be landed, and that meantime four or five men would remain at the lodgings assigned them. The king said no! He might take all his people with him, securely moor his ships, land his merchandise, and sell it to the best advantage. Having taken leave of the king the captain returned to his lodgings, and we with him. As it was already late no attempt was made to depart that night.

3. The 16th century author, Fernao Lopes de Castanheda, in his *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses,* based on the near contemporary account *Relation* attributed to Alvaro Velho[55]

[Gama convinced he was before an image of Virgin] went down on his knees, and the others along with him, and they said their prayers. ..And Joao de Saa who had his doubts about whether that was really a Christian church, on seeing the ugliness of the images that were on the walls, said while going down on his knees: If this is the Devil, I worship the true God. And Vasco da Gama who heard him, looked at him smiling.

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CHAPTER — 10

Parsees, Jews, Christians

A. Parsees
B. Jews
C. The legend of Prester John
D. The St. Thomas tradition

A. Parsees

Parsees in India, Friar Jordanus[1]

There be also other pagan-folk in this India who worship fire; they bury not their dead, neither do they burn them, but cast them into the midst of a certain roofless tower, and there expose them totally uncovered to the fowls of heaven. These believe in two First Principles, to wit, of Evil and of Good, of Darkness and of Light, matters which at present I do not purpose to discuss.

B. Jews

Jews, the Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela[2]

All the cities and countries inhabited by these people contain only about one hundred Jews, who are of black colour as well as the other inhabitants. The Jews are good men, observers of the law, and possess the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and some little knowledge of the Thalmud and its decisions.

C. The legend of Prester John

1. Otto von Freising writing around 1145 A.D. in the first reference to the Indian priest-king[3]

A certain John, who lives beyond Persia and Armenia in the Far East, is Christian along with his people.

2. Emperor Sigismund, at the close of the Middle Ages, on the issue of the priest-king[4]

…a priest is Emperor in India, where none can become Emperor unless he is a priest.

3. Friar Odoric, the last medieval traveller to place Prester John in Asia[5]

…as regards [the Prester] not one hundredth part is true of what is told of him.

4. The missionary, Francesco Alvarez, described the orders by King John to Pedro Covilham and Alfonso de Payva to find the country of Prester John[6]

When Peter de Covillan was returned, the king John called him and told him secretly, that having always knowne him loyal and his faithfull servant, and readie to doe his majestie good service; seeing he understood the Arabic tongue; he purposed to send him with another companion to discover and learne where Prete Janni dwelt, and whether his territories reached into the sea; and where the pepper and cinnamon grew, and other sorts of spicerie which were brought unto the citie of Venice from the countries of the Moores…And so in the year 1487, the 7th of May, they were both dispatched…

D. The St. Thomas tradition

1. Isidore of Seville on St. Thomas [c. 638 A.D.][7]

This Thomas preached the Gospel of Christ to the Parthians, the Medes, the Persians, the Hyrcanians and the Bactrians, and to the Indians of the Oriental region and penetrating the innermost regions and sealing his preaching by his passion he died transfixed with a lance at Calamina, a city of India, and there was buried with honour…

2. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* on the tradition of St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew's apostolate in India [A.D. 883][8]

This year went the army up the Scheldt to Conde, and there sat a year. And Pope Marinus sent King Alfred the *Lignum domni.* The same year led Sighelm and Athelstan to Rome the alms which King Alfred ordered thither, and also in India to St. Thomas and to St. Bartholomew. Then they sat against the army at London; and there, with favour of God, they were very successful after the performances of their vows.

3. William of Malmesbury on the St. Thomas Tradition [A.D. 1114-1123][9]

Ever intent on almsgiving, he confirmed the privileges of the churches as appointed by his father and sent many presents overseas to Rome and St. Thomas in India. Sighelm, Bishop of Sherborne sent an ambassador for this purpose, who penetrated successfully into India…Returning thence, he brought back many brilliant exotic gems and aromatic juices in which that country abounds.

4. Saint Thomas, Marco Polo[10]

In this province of Maabar is the body of the glorious martyr, Saint Thomas the Apostle, who there suffered martyrdom. It rests in a small city, not frequented by many merchants, because unsuited to the purposes of their commerce; but, from devout motives, a vast number both of Christians and Saracens resort thither. The latter regard him as a great prophet, and name him Ananias, signifying a holy personage. The Christians who perform this pilgrimage collect earth from the spot where he was slain, which is of a red colour, and reverentially carry it away with them; often employing it afterwards in the performance of miracles, and giving it, when diluted with water, to the sick, by which many disorders are cured.

5. The kingdom of Mobar, where lieth the body of St. Thomas, Odoric of Pordenone[11]

From this realm is a journey of ten days to another realm which is called Mobar [the Arabic name Ma'abar, the passage or ferry, was probably a corruption of Marawar, the name of the Hindu state which adjoined Adam's Bridge] and this is very great, and hath under it many cities and towns. And in this realm is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas the Apostle. His church is filled with idols, and beside it are some fifteen houses of the Nestorians, that is to say Christians, but vile and pestilent heretics.

6. St. Thomas at Malabar, Nicolo Conti[12]

Proceeding onwards the said Nicolo arrived at a maritime city which is named Malepur, situated in the Second Gulf beyond the Indus [the Bay of Bengal]. Here the body of Saint Thomas lies honourably buried in a very large and beautiful church: it is worshipped by heretics, who are called Nestorians, and inhabit this city to the number of a thousand. These Nestorians are scattered over all India, in like manner as are the Jews among us. All this province is called Malabar.

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CHAPTER — 11

Muslim Invaders

A. Early expeditions unsuccessful
B. Conquest of Multan and Sindh
C. Subuktigin's invasions
D. Some conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni
E. Tilak the Hindu
F. Ahmad Nialtigin at Banaras
G. Muhammad Ghori
H. Bhaktiyar Khalji
I. Timur

Note. An Arab pillaging expedition visited Thana [near Bombay] as early as A.D. 637, during the reign of the second Caliph, Omar. More raids followed on the Indian coast. As part of a forward policy, the Umayyad governor of Iraq, al-Hajjaj [694-714], sent his nephew and son-in-law, Muhammad bin Qasim, a young lad of seventeen, to annex the region from Sindh to Transoxiana. Sindh was then ruled by Raja Dahir, son the Brahmin, Chach.

Qasim first laid siege to Dabul, an inland commercial port near modern Karachi. Dahir's garrison offered stiff resistance, but, faced with heavy bombardment, was forced to capitulate. Dahir's sister rallied the women, who, to save themselves from dishonour, set their house ablaze and perished in the flames. Another battle was fought at Brahmanabad in June 712, in which Dahir was killed. This opened the way to Multan, the chief city of the upper Indus which was captured after a siege. The Arab invasion was not followed by a further thrust into the subcontinent for the Arabs had attacked from the wrong quarter. The great Thar Desert blocked Islamic expansion into the subcontinent.

It was only several centuries later, under the Turks, that Islamic power advanced in the subcontinent. In A.D. 962, Alptagin, a Turk who began his career as a military slave, established himself as Governor of Ghazni, in Afghanistan. His son-in-law and successor, Subuktigin, annexed large parts of Afghanistan and became the first of the Ghaznavid Turkic rulers of Afghanistan. He was also the first Muslim to attempt the invasion of India

from the north-west. His adversary was the Hindu Shahi ruler, Jaipal, whose territory extended from Lamghan to the river Chenab and from the hills of southern Kashmir to the frontier kingdom of Multan. Subuktigin engaged in several military encounters with Jaipal in the Kabul valley, but could not subdue him. Nonetheless, he had shown the way to Hindustan.

The major expansion of the Islamic realm began with his son, Mahmud Ghaznavi, who, between A.D. 1000 and 1026, led no less than sixteen campaigns to India. Mahmud first attacked the frontier towns of the Khaibar pass. Jaipal endeavoured in vain to save Peshawar. He, along with fifteen of his relatives, was brought as captive before the conqueror. Their costly necklaces were torn off and immense booty taken. Jaipal was released from captivity, but, unable to bear the disgrace, cast himself upon a funeral pyre.

In his campaign of A.D. 1008, Mahmud found ranged against him the rajas of Punjab supported by allies from other parts of India. They were led by Jaipal's son, Anandpal. Mahmud had never encountered such an army. A lucky accident tilted the scales in his favour in the battle of Waihind.

In subsequent years, Mahmud kept up his attack. Kangra [Nagarkot], Mathura, Kanauj, Gwalior, Kalinjar, and, in A.D. 1025-26, the famous temple of Somnath bore the brunt of his fervour. His victory at Somnath made him a hero in the Islamic world.

The kingdom Mahmud founded survived for a century and a half after his death, but diminished every decade. The Ghaznavids retained their hold over a small region around Lahore, Punjab being the only part of India they had annexed.

There was a considerable interval before the next series of invasions commenced with Muhammad Ghori [1173-1206] in the late twelfth century. The Ghurids, unlike the Ghaznavids, desired annexation of territory. Their two most formidable adversaries were Prithviraj Chauhan of Ajmer and Jayachand Gahadvala of Kanauj. Muhammad Ghori himself led the campaigns against the two rulers. He was badly wounded in 1191 in the battle at Tarain against Prithviraj Chauhan. Never had the armies of Islam been so worsted in the subcontinent. Muhammad Ghori, however, returned the following year, and his success at the second battle of Tarain marked the beginning of Turkic rule in India. This was followed in 1194, with his victory over Jayachand Gahadvala in the battle of Chandawar.

Several other campaigns were led by his Turkish slave, Qutubuddin Aibak, while a military adventurer, Bakhtiyar Khalji attacked Bihar as far as the Buddhist university of Odantapuri, where he slaughtered the monks and seized the town. In 1204-1205, he attacked Nadia, one of the capitals of the Bengal ruler, Lakshmansena. His forays in the Assam region ended in disaster. In 1206 the Delhi Sultanate was established.

A. Early Expeditions unsuccessful

Expedition to Thana, Al Biladhuri[1]

Ali, son of Muhammad, son of Abdullah, son of Abu Saif, has related that the Khalif ‘Umar, son of Al Khattab appointed Usman, son of Abu-l Asi of the tribe of Sakif to Bahrain and Uman in the year 15 H. (636 A.D.) Usman sent his brother Hakam to Bahrain, and he himself went to Uman, and despatched an army to Tana [Thana]. When the army returned he wrote to the Khalif Umar to inform him of it. Umar wrote in, reply: “O brother of Sakif, thou has placed the worm in the wood but I swear by the God, that if our men had been killed I would taken (slain) an equal number from your tribe.” Hakam dispatched a force to Barauz [Broach]; he also sent to the bay of Debal his brother Mughira, who met and defeated the enemy.

When ‘Usman, son of Akkan become Khalif, he appointed Abdullah, son of Amar, son of Kuraiz to [the government of] Irak and wrote to him an order to send a person to the confines of Hind in order to acquire knowledge and bring back information. He accordingly deputed Hakim, son of Jaballa al ‘Abdi. When this men returned he was sent on to the Khalif, who questioned him about the state of those regions. He replied that he knew them because he had examined them. The Khalif then told him to describe them. He said, “Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold; if few troops are sent there they will be slain, if many, they will starve.” Usman asked him whether he spoke accurately or hyperbolically. He said that he spoke according to his knowledge. The Khalif abstained from sending any expedition there.

At the end of the year 38, or the beginning of the year 39 H. (659 A.D.) in the Khalifat of Ali, son of Abu Salib, Haras, the son of Marra-I Abdi went with the sanction of the Khalif to the same frontier, as a volunteer. He was victorious, got plunder, made captives, and distributed in one day a

thousand heads. He and those who were with him, saving a few, were slain in the land of Kikan in the year 42 H. (662 A.D.) Kikan is in Sind near the frontiers of Khurasan.

In the year 44 H. (664. A.D.), and in the days of the Khalif Mu'awiya, Muhallab, son of Abu Safra made war upon the same frontier, and advanced as far as Banna and Alahwar, which lie between Multan and Kabul. The enemy opposed him and killed him and his followers. In the land of Kikan, Muhallab encountered eighteen Turki horsemen, riding crop-tailed horses. They fought well but were all slain. Muhallab said, "How much more active than we those barbarians were." So he docked the tails of his horses, and was the first among the Musulmans who did so.

In the reign of Mu'awiya, son of Abu Sufain, the Amir Abdullah, son of Amir, or according to some, Mu'awiya himself sent Abdullah, son of Suar al 'Abdi, to the frontier of Hind. He fought in Kikan and captured booty. Then he came to Mu'awiya and presented to him some Kikan horses…

In the reign of the same Mu'awiya, the Chief Ziyad, son of Abu Sufian, appointed Sinan, son of Salama, son of al Muhabbik the Huzaili (to the command). He was a good, and godly man, and the first who made his troops take an oath of divorce. He proceeded to the frontier and having subdued Makran and its cities by force, he staid there, and established his power in the country. According to Ibn al Kalbi, it was Hakim bin Jabala al 'Abdi who conquered Makran.

Ziyad then appointed Rashid son of Umru-l Judaidi of the tribe of Azd to the frontier. He proceeded to Makran and was victorious in warring against Kikan; but he was slain fighting against the Meds. Sinan, son of Salama, then succeeded to the command and was confirmed therein by Ziyad. He remained there two years.

'Abbad, son of Ziyad, then made war on the frontier of Hind by way of Sijistan. He went to Sanaruz, from whence he proceeded by way of Khaz to Ruzbar in Sijistan on the banks of the Hind-mand. Then he descended to Kish, and crossing the desert came to Kandahar. He fought the inhabitants, routed them, put them to flight and subdued the country; but many Musulmans perished. 'Abbad observed the high caps of the people of that country, and had some made like them, which he called Abbadiya.

Ziyad next appointed Al Manzar, son of Al Jarud al Abdi, to the frontiers of India. He was known by the name of Abu-l Ash'as. He attacked and

conquered Nukan and Kikan. The Musulmans obtained great plunder, and their forces spread over all the country. He captured Kusdar and took prisoners there. Sinan had previously taken it, but its inhabitants had been guilty of defection. He died there (in Kuzdar).

The governor Ubaidullah, son of Ziyad, then appointed Ibn Harri al Bahali. God, by his hands, subdued these countries, for he waged fierce war on them and conquered and plundered them. Some writers say that it was Sinan, son of Salama, who was appointed to the (chief) command by Ubaidullah and that Harri led the forces.

The people of Nukan are now Muhammadans. Amran, son of Musa, son of Yahya, son of Khalid the Barmakide, built a city there in the Khalifat of M'utasim bi-llah which he called Al Baiza (the white). When al Hajjaj, son of Yusuf, son of al Hakim, son of Abu 'Akail al Sakifi, was governor of Irak, Said, son of Aslam, son of Zura'a al Kalabi was appointed to Makran and its frontiers. He was opposed and slain there by Mu'awiya and Muhammad, sons of al Haras al 'Alafi.

Hajjaj then appointed Mujja', son of S'ir al Tamimi to the frontier. He made war upon, plundered and defeated the tribes about Kanda-bil, and this conquest was subsequently completed by Muhammad, son of al Kasim. Mujja' died in Makran after being there a year.

After the death of Mujja', Hajjaj appointed in his place Muhammad, son of Harun, son of Zara al Namari. Under the government of Muhammad, the king of the Isle of Rubies [Ceylon] sent as a present to Hajjaj, certain Muhammadan girls who had been born in his country, the orphan daughters of merchants who had died there. The king hoped by this measure to ingratiate himself with Hajjaj; but the ship in which he had embarked these girls was attacked and taken by some barks *(bawarij)* belonging to the Meds of Debal. One of the women of the tribe of Yarbu exclaimed, 'Oh Hajjaj!' When this news reached Hajjaj, he replied, 'I am here.' He then sent an ambassador to Dahir to demand their release, but Dahir replied, "They are pirates who have captured these women, and over them I have no authority." Then Hajjaj sent Ubaidullah, son of Nabhan, against Debal. Ubaidullah being killed, Hajjaj wrote to Budail, son of Tahfa, of the tribe of Bajali, who was at 'Uman, directing him to proceed to Debal. When he arrived there his horse took fright (and threw him), and the enemy

surrounded him and killed him. Some authors say he was killed by the Jats of Budha…

Afterwards, Hajjaj, during the Khilafat of Walid, son of ‘Abdul malik appointed Muhammad, son of Kasim, son of Muhammail, son of Hakim, son of Abu ‘Ukail to command on the Sindian frontier. Muhammad was in Fars when the order arrived, and had previously received instructions to go to Rai [south of the Caspian Sea]. Abu-l Aswad Jahm, son of Zahru-l Ju’fi, was at the head of the advanced guard, and he was ordered to return to Muhammad, and he joined him on the orders of Sind. Hajjaj ordered six thousand Syrian warriors to attend Muhammad, and others besides. He was provided with all he could require, without omitting even thread and needles. He had leave to remain at Shiraz until all the men who were to accompany him had assembled, and all the preparations had been duly made. Hajjaj had some dressed cotton saturated with strong vinegar, and then dried it in the shade, and said, “When you arrive in Sind, if you find the vinegar scarce, soak the cotton in water, and with the water you can cook your food and season your dishes as you wish.” Some authors say, that when Muhammad arrived on the frontiers, he wrote to complain of the scarcity of vinegar, and this was the reason which induced Hajjaj to send cotton soaked in vinegar.

Then Muhammad, son of Kasim went to Makran, and remained there some time. He then went to Kannazbur and took it, and then to Armail, which he also took. Muhammad, son of Harun, son of Zara, went to meet him, and joined him, but he died near Armail at Kasim’s side, and was buried at Kambal [Kambali?].

B. Conquest of Multan and Sindh, Al- Biladuri[2]

Muhammad, son of Kasim, left Armial, accompanied by Jahm, the son of Zahru-l Ju’fi, and arrived at Debal on Friday, where ships brought to him a supply to men, arms, and warlike machines. He dug an entrenchment which he defended with spearmen, and unfurled his standards; each body of warriors was arrayed under its own banner, and he fixed the manjanik, which was called ‘the bride,’ and required five hundred men to work it. There was at Debal a lofty temple, (*budd*) surmounted by a long pole, and on the pole was fixed a red flag, which when the breeze blew was unfurled

over the city. The budd is a high steeple, below which the idol, or idols, are deposited as in this instance. The Indians give in general the name of budd to anything connected with their worship or which forms the object of their veneration. So an idol is called budd.

In the correspondence which ensued, Muhammad informed Hajjaj of what he had done, and solicited advice respecting the future. Letters were written every three days. One day a reply was received to this effect:—"Fix the manjanik and shorten its foot, and place it on the east; you will then call the manjanik-master, and tell him to aim at the flag staff, of which you have given a description." So he brought down the flagstaff, and it was broken; at which the infidels were sore afflicted. The idolaters advanced to the combat, but were, put to flight; ladders were then brought and the Musulmans escaladed the wall. The first who gained the summit was a man of Kufa, of the tribe of Murad. The town was thus taken by assault, and the carnage endured for three days. The governor of the town, appointed by Dahir fled, and the priests of the temple were massacred. Muhammad marked out a place for the Musulmans to dwell in, build a mosque, and left four thousand Musulmans to garrison the place.

Muhammad, son of Yahya, says that Mansur, the son of Hatim, the grammarian, a freeman of the family of Khalid, son of Assaid, relates that he had seen the pole broken into fragments which had been placed on the steeple of the temple. 'Amibissa, son of Ishak Az Zabbi, the governor of Sind, in the Khalifat of Mu'tasim billah, knocked down the upper part of the temple and converted it into a prison. At the same time he began to repair the ruined town with the stones of the minaret; but before he had completed his labours, he was deprived of his employment, and was succeeded by Harun, son of Abi Khalid-al Maruruzi, and he was slain there.

Muhammed, son of Kasim then went to Nirun, the inhabitants of which place had already sent two Samanis, or priests, of their town to Hajjaj to treat for peace. They furnished Muhammad with supplies, and admitting him to enter the town, they were allowed to capitulate. Muhammad conquered all the towns successively which he met on his route, until he had crossed a river which runs on this side of the Mihran [Indus]. He then saw approaching towards him Sarbidas, the Samani, who came to demand peace in the name of the inhabitants. Muhammad imposed tribute upon them, and then went towards Sahban, and took it. Then he went to the banks

of the Mihran, and there remained. When this news reached Dahir, he prepared for battle. Muhammad, son of Kasim, had sent Muhammad, son of Musab, son of Abdu-r Rahman as Sakifi, to Sadusan, with men mounted on horses and asses, at whose approach the inhabitants solicited quarter and peace, the terms of which were negotiated by the Samani. Muhammad granted them peace, but he imposed tribute on the place, and took pledges from them, and then retuned to his master. He brought with him four thousand Jats, and left at Sadusan an officer in command.

Muhammad sought the means of crossing the Mihran, and effected the passage in a place which adjoined the dominions of Rasil, chief of Kassa, in Hind, upon a bridge which he had caused to be constructed. Dahir had neglected every precaution, not believing that the Musulmans would dare to advance so far. Muhammad and his Musulmans encountered Dahir mounted on his elephant, and surrounded by many of these animals, and his Takakaras [Thakurs] were near his person. A dreadful conflict ensued, such as had never been heard of. Dahir dismounted and fought valiantly, but he was killed towards the evening, when the idolater fled, and the Musulmans glutted themselves with massacre. According to Al Madaini, the slayer of Dahir was a man of the tribe of Kalab, who composed some verses upon the occasion…

Various authors concur in saying that Muhammad took the village of Rawar by assault, in which city there was a wife of Dahir, who, afraid of being captured, burned herself along with her handmaids and all that she possessed.

Then Muhammad, son of Kasim, went to old Brahmanabad, two parasangs from Manama, which town indeed did not then exist, it site being a forest. The remnant of the army of Dahir rallied at Brahmanabad and resistance being made, Muhammad was obliged to resort to force, when eight, or as some say, twenty-six thousand men were put to the sword. He left a prefect there. The place is now in ruins.

Muhammad then marched towards Alrur and Baghrur. The people of Sawandari came out to meet him and sued for peace, which was granted them, on the condition that they should entertain the Muhammadans and furnish guides. At this time they profess the Muhammadan creed. After that he went to Basmad, where the inhabitants obtained peace on the same terms as those accorded to the Sawandrians. At last he reached Alrur; one of the

cities of Sind. It is situated on a hill. Muhammad besieged it for several months, and compelled it to surrender promising to spare the lives of the inhabitants and not touch the temples *(budd)*. 'The temples' he said, "shall be unto us, like all the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire temples of the Magians." He imposed, however, the tribute upon the inhabitants, and built a mosque in the city.

Muhammad advanced to Alsaka, a town on this side of the Biyas, which was captured by him, and is now in ruins. He then crossed the Biyas, and went towards Multan, where, in the action which ensued, Zaida, the son of Umur, of the tribe of Tai, covered himself with glory. The infidels retreated in disorder into the town, and Muhammad commenced the siege, but the provisions being exhausted, the Musulmans were reduced to eat asses. Then came there forward a man who sued for quarter, and pointed out to them an aqueduct, by which the inhabitants were supplied with drinking water from the river of Basmad. It flowed within the city into a reservoir like a well, which they call *talah.* Muhammad destroyed the watercourse; upon which the inhabitants, oppressed with thirst, surrendered at discretion. He massacred the men capable of bearing arms, but the children were taken captive, as well as the ministers of the temple, to the number of six thousand. The Musulmans found there much gold in a chamber ten cubits long by eight broad, and there was an aperture above, through which the gold was poured into the chamber. Hence, they call Multan "the Frontier of the House of Gold," for *farj* means 'a frontier.' The temple *(budd)* of Multan received rich presents and offerings, and to it the people of Sind resorted as a place of pilgrimage. They circumambulated it, and shaved their heads and beards. They conceived that the image was that of the prophet Job – God's peace be on him!…

Hakim, son of 'Awana al Kalbi, succeeded Tamim. The people of India had returned to idolatry excepting those of Kassa, and the Musulmans had no place of security in which they could take refuge, so he built a town on the other side of the lake facing India, and called it Al Mahfuza, 'the secure,' and this he made a place of refuge and security for them, and their chief town. He asked the elders of the tribe of Kalb, who were of Syrian descent, what name he should give the town. Some said Dimashk [Damascus], others, Hims [Emessa], and other Tadmur [Palmyra]. Hakim

said (to the latter), "May God destroy you, O fool." He gave it the name of Al Mahfuza, and dwelt there…

The Khalif al Mansur sent to Sind Hasham, son of 'Amru al Taghlabi, and he reduced those places which still held out. He sent 'Amru, son of Jamal, in boats to Narand. He also sent (a force) to the territories of Hind, subdued Kashmir, and took many prisoners and slaves. Sultan was reduced, and he overpowered a body of Arabs who were in Kandabil, and drove them out. He then went to Kandahar in boats, and conquered it. He destroyed the *budd* there, and built in its place a mosque. There was abundance in the country under his rule, and the people blessed him – he extended the frontier, and enforced his decrees…

Musa died in 221 A.H. (836 A.D.), leaving a high reputation, and he appointed his son Amran as his successor. The Khalif Mu'tasim bi-llah wrote to him confirming him in the government of the frontier. He marched to Kikan against the Jats, whom he defeated and subjugated. He built a city there, which he called Al Baiza, 'the white,' and he posted a military force there. Then he proceeded to Multan, and from thence to Kandabil which city stands upon a hill. Muhammad, the son of Khalil, was reigning there, but Amran slew him, conquered the town, and carried away its inhabitants to Kusdar. Then he made war upon the Meds, and killed three thousand of them. There he constructed a *band,* which is called 'Sakru-l Med,' *Band of the Meds*. He encamped on the river at Alrur. There he summoned the Jats, who came to his presence, when he sealed their hands, took from them the *jizya*, and he ordered that every man of them should bring a dog with him when he came to wait upon him, – hence the price upon a dog rose to fifty dirhams. He again attacked the Meds, having with him the chief men of the Jats. He dug a canal from the sea to their tank, so their water become salt; and he sent out several marauding expeditions against them…

Abu Bakr, who had been a slave of the Karizis, related to me that the country called Al 'Usaifan between Kashmir and Multan and Kabul, was governed by a wise king. The people of this country worshipped an idol for which they had built a temple. The son of the king fell sick, and he desired the ministers of the temple to pray to the idol for the recovery of his son. They retired for a short time, and then returned and said, "We have prayed and our supplications have been accepted." But no long time passed before the youth died. Then the king attacked the temple, destroyed and broke in

pieces the idol, and slew its ministers. He afterwards invited a party of Muhammadan traders who made known to him the unity of God. Hereupon he believed in the unity and became a Musulman. This happened in the Khalifat of Mu'tasim bi-llah, may God have mercy on him.

C. Amir Subuktigin's invasions

1. Subuktigin's first invasion of Hind, Al Utbi[3]

…he made frequent expeditions into Hind, in the prosecution of holy wars…When Jaipal had ascertained the calamity which had befallen him from the reports of the people who travelled in his country, and how Subuktigin was taking different parts of the territory into his own possession, and injuring everybody who opposed him in his projects of ambition the deepest grief seized him and made him restless, and his lands became narrow under his feet, though their expanse was broad. Then he arose with his relations and the generals of his army, and his vassals, and hastened with his huge elephants to wreak his revenge upon Subuktigin, by treading the field of Islam under his feet, and doing dishonour to that which should be treated with respect. In this disposition he marched on until he passed Lamghan, and approached the territory of Subuktigin, trusting to his own resources and power, for Satan had laid an egg in Jaipal's brain and hatched it; so that he waxed proud, entertaining absurd thoughts, and anticipating an immediate accomplishment of his wishes, impracticable as they were.

When the Amir heard of Jaipal's approach towards his territory, and of his great power, he girt up his loins to fight, and collecting his vassals and the Muhammadan forces whose duty it was to oppose infidels, he advanced from Ghazna against Jaipal, who was encamped between that place and Lamghan, with soldiers as black as night, and as impetuous as a torrent. Yaminu-d daula Mahmud accompanied Amir Subuktigin, like a lion of the forest or a destructive eagle, and they attempted no difficult undertaking which they did not easily accomplish.

The armies fought several days successively against each other, and cups filled to the brim with blood, drawn from wounds inflicted by sword and spear, circulated amongst them till they were drunken…

In consequence of the great fear which fell upon Jaipal, who confessed he had seen death before the appointed time, he sent a deputation to the Amir soliciting peace, on the promise of his paying down a sum of money, and offering to obey any order he might receive respecting his elephants and his country. The Amir Subuktigin consented on account of the mercy he felt towards those who were his vassals, or for some other reason which seemed expedient to him. But the Sultan Yaminu-d daula Mahmud addressed the messengers in a harsh voice, and refused to abstain from battle, until he should obtain a complete victory suited to his zeal for the honour of Islam and of Musulmans, and one which he was confident God would grant to his arms. So they returned, and Jaipal being in great alarm, again sent most humble supplications that the battle might cease, observing, "You have seen the impetuosity of the Hindus and their indifference to death, whenever any calamity befalls them, as at this moment. If, therefore, you refuse to grant peace in the hope of obtaining plunder, tribute, elephants and prisoners, then there is no alternative for us but to mount the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into the fire, and rush on each other with sword and spear, so that all that will be left to you, is stones and dirt, dead bodies, and scattered bones."

When the Amir heard these words and knew what Jaipal would do in his despair, he thought that religion and the views of the faithful would best be consulted by peace, and the acquisition of tribute. So the Amir Mahmud agreed with Subuktigin as to the propriety of withdrawing the hand of vengeance, on the condition of receiving at that time 1,000,000 dirhams of royal stamp, and fifty elephants, and some cities and forts in the middle of his country. Jaipal was to deliver these forts to the officers nominated by the Amir, and was to send hostages from among his relatives and friends to remain with the Amir until these conditions of cession were fulfilled. The Amir sent two deputies with Jaipal to see that he did not swerve from his en-gagements, and they were accompanied by confidential officers who were to receive charge of the ceded places.

When Jaipal had marched to a great distance, and thought that the demand upon him had relaxed, and that the rope round his throat was loosened, his bad disposition suggested to him to break his engagements, and his folly made him beget enmity, insomuch that he imprisoned those who

accompanied him on the part of the Amir, in reprisal for those of his relations whom the Amir had taken as hostages.

2. Amir Subuktigin's second invasion of Hind, Al-Utbi[4]

…The Amir marched out towards Lamghan, which is a city celebrated for its great strength and abounding in wealth. He conquered it and set fire to the places in its vicinity which were inhabited by infidels, and demolishing the idol-temples, he established Islam in them. He marched and captured other cities and killed the polluted wretches, destroying the idolatrous and gratifying the Musulmans. After wounding and killing beyond all measure, his hands and those of his friends became cold in counting the value of the plundered property. On the completion of his conquest he returned and promulgated accounts of the victories obtained for Islam, and everyone, great and small, concurred in rejoicing over this result and thanking God…

D. Some conquests of Mahmud of Ghazni

1. Defeat of Jaipal by Mahmud of Ghazni, Al-Utbi[5]

Sultan Mahmud at first designed in his heart to go to Sijistan, but subsequently preferred engaging previously in a holy war against Hind… On his reaching Purshaur (Peshawar), he pitched his tent outside the city. There he received intelligence of the bold resolve of Jaipal, the enemy of God, and the King (malik) of Hind, to offer opposition, and of his rapid advance towards meeting his fate in the field of battle…

Swords flashed like lightning amid the blackness of clouds, and fountains of blood flowed like the fall of setting stars. The friends of God defeated their obstinate opponents, and quickly put them to a complete rout. Noon had not arrived when the Musulmans had wreaked their vengeance on the infidel enemies of God, killing 15,000 of them, spreading them like a carpet over the ground, and making them food for beasts and birds of prey. Fifteen elephants fell on the field of battle, as their legs, being pierced with arrows, became as motion-less as if they had been in a quagmire, and their trunks were cut with the swords of the valiant heroes.

The enemy of God, Jaipal, and his children and grandchildren, and nephews, and the chief men of his tribe, and his relatives, were taken prisoners, and being strongly bound with ropes, were carried before the Sultan, like as evildoers, on whose faces the fumes of infidelity are evident,

who are covered with the vapours of misfortune, will be bound and carried to Hell. Some had their arms forcibly tied behind their backs, some were seized by the cheek, some were driven by blows on the neck. The necklace was taken off the neck of Jaipal, – composed of large pearls and shining gems and rubies set in gold, of which the value was two hundred thousand dinars; and twice that value was obtained from the necks of those of his relatives who were taken prisoners, or slain, and had become the food of the mouths of hyenas and vultures. God also bestowed upon his friends such an amount of booty as was beyond all bounds and all calculation, including five hundred thousand slaves, beautiful men and women.…

After the victory, the Sultan directed that the polluted infidel, Jaipal, should be paraded about, so that his sons and chieftains might see him in that condition of shame, bonds, and disgrace; and that the fear of Islam might fly abroad through the country of the infidels. He then entered into conditions of peace with him, after demanding fifty elephants, and took from him as hostages his son and grandson, till he should fulfil the conditions imposed upon him.

The infidel returned to his own country and remained there, and wrote to his son, Andpal, whose territory, on which he prided himself, was on the other side of the Sihun (Indus), explaining the dreadful calamity which had befallen him, and beseeching him with many entreaties to send the elephants which were according to agreement to be given to the Sultan. Upon this And-pal sent the elephants to Jaipal, after dismissing the courier who had brought the letter, and the elephants were sent on to the Sultan. The Sultan, therefore, ordered the release of the hostages, and his myrmidons gave them a smack on the buttocks, telling them to return to their country.

Andpal reflected that his father, Jaipal, had put on the sheaf of old age, and had fallen under the influence of Lyra and other unlucky constellations, and it was time he should contemplate his death and devote himself to religious exercises. There is a custom among these men that if anyone is taken prisoner by an enemy, as in this case Jaipal was by the Musulmans, it is not lawful for him to continue to reign. When Jaipal, therefore, saw that he was captive in the prison of old age and degradation, he thought death by cremation preferable to shame and dishonour. So he commenced with shaving his hair off, and then threw himself upon the fire till he was burnt.

2. The Hindu Shahis – men of noble bearing, Alberuni[6]

The Hindus had kings residing in Kabul, Turks who where said to be of Tibetan origin…

The last king of this race was *Lagaturman,* and his Vazir was Kallar, a Brahman…. Now the Vazir put him in chains and imprisoned him for correction, but then he himself found ruling sweet, his riches enabled him to carry out his plans, and so he occupied the royal throne. After him ruled the Brahman kings Samand (Samanta), Kamalu, Bhim (Bhima), Jaipal (Jayapala), Ananda-pala, Tarojanapala (Trilocanapala). The latter was killed A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021), and his son Bhimapala five year later (A.D. 1026).

This Hindu Shahiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.

3. Conquest of Bhatia, *Kamilu-T Tawarikh,* Ibn Asir[7]

In the year 396 Hijra (1006 A.D.) Yaminu-d daula fought against Bhatia, one of the dependencies of Hind, which is situated beyond Multan. The chief of the place was named Bahira. It is a fine city, enclosed with high walls, and a deep ditch. The chief marched out to meet his enemy, and fought for three days with the Musulmans. On the fourth he fled, and sought to get back into the city; but the Musulmans reached the gate before the fugitives overpowered them, and disarmed them. A dreadful slaughter ensued, the women were dishonoured, and the property seized. When Bahira saw this destruction; he fled with some trusty followers to the tops of the mountains. Mahmud sent a force in pursuit, which overtook and surrounded the party, and put all the chiefs to the sword. Bahira saw that no hope was left, so he drew a dagger and killed himself. Mahmud remained in Bhatia until he had settled its affairs, and drawn up rules for its governance. He then returned towards Ghazna, having appointed a representative at Bhatia to instruct the people who had become Muhammadans. On his journey home he encountered great difficulties from heavy rains and swollen rivers, and great quantities of things belonging to him and his army were carried away by the waters.

4. Victory near Waihind, Al-Utbi[8]

The Sultan, contrary to the disposition of man, which induces him to prefer a soft to a hard couch, and the splendour of the cheeks of pomegranate-bosomed girls to well-tempered sword blades, was so offended at the standard which Satan had raised in Hind, that he determined on another holy expedition to that land. On the last day of Rabi'u-l-akhir of the same year, the Sultan prayed God for the accomplishment of his wishes. When he had reached as far as the river of Waihind, he was met by Brahmanpal, the son of Andpal, at the head of a valiant army, with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and ash-coloured elephants. Fight opened its crooked teeth, attacks were frequent like flaming meteors, arrows fell like rain from bows, and the grinding-stone of slaughter revolved, crushing the bold and the powerful. The battle lasted from morning till evening, and the infidels were near gaining the victory, had not God aided by sending the slaves of the household to attack the enemy in rear, and put them to fight. The victors obtained thirty large elephants, and slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains, and hills.

5. Capture of Bhimnagar, Al-Utbi[9]

The Sultan himself joined in the pursuit, and went after them as far as the fort called Bhimnagar [Nagarkot, modern Kangra], which is very strong, situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters. The kings of Hind, the chiefs of that country, and rich devotees, used to amass their treasures and precious jewels, and send them time after time to be presented to the large idol that they might receive a reward for their good deeds and draw near to their God. So the Sultan advanced near to this crow's fruit [probably an allusion to the expression of the blackness of the Hindus], and this accumulation of years, which had attained such an amount that the backs of camels would not carry it, nor vessels contain it, nor writers' hands record it, nor the imagination of an arithmetician conceive it.

The Sultan brought his forces under the fort and surrounded it, and prepared to attack the garrison vigorously, boldly, and wisely. When the defenders saw the hills covered with the armies of plunderers, and the arrows ascending towards them like flaming sparks of fire, great fear came upon them, and, calling out for mercy, they opened the gates, and fell on the earth, like sparrows before a hawk, or rain before lightning. Thus did God

grant an easy conquest of this fort to the Sultan, and bestowed on him as plunder the products of mines and seas, the ornaments of heads and breasts, to his heart's content. The Sultan entered the fort with Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad Farighuni, the ruler of Juzjan, and all his own private attendants, and appointed his two chief chamberlains, Altuntash and Asightigiu, to take charge of the treasures of gold and silver and all the valuable property, while he himself took charge of the jewels. The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure, and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand thousand royal dirhams, and the gold andi silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred *mans* in weight, besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sus, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft, and embroidered. Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen. It could be taken to pieces and put together again. And there was a canopy, made of the fine linen of Rum, forty yards long and twenty broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles, which had been cast in moulds.

The Sultan appointed one of his most confidential servants to the charge of the fort and the property in it. After this he returned to Ghazna in triumph; and, on his arrival there, he ordered the courtyard of his palace to be covered with a carpet, on which he displayed jewels and unbored pearls and rubies, shining like sparks, or like wine congealed with ice, and emeralds like fresh sprigs of myrtle, and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates. Then ambassadors from foreign countries, including the envoy from Taghan Khan, king of Turkistan, assembled to see the wealth which they had never yet even read of in books of the ancients, and which had never been accumulated by kings of Persia or of Rum, or even by Karun who had only to express a wish and God granted it.

6. Conquest of Tanesar, Al-Utbi[10]

The Sultan learnt that in the country of Tanesar there were large elephants of the Sailaman breed, celebrated for military purposes. The chief of Tanesar was on this account obstinate in his infidelity and denial of God. So the Sultan marched against him with his valiant warriors, for the purpose of planting the standards of Islam and extirpating idolatry. He marched

through a desert which no one had yet crossed, except birds and wild beasts, for the foot of man and the shoe of horse had not traversed it. There was no water in it, much less any other kind of food. The Sultan was the first to whom God had granted a passage over this desert, in order that he might arrive at the accomplishment of his wishes.

Beneath it (Tanesar) flowed a pure stream; the bottom was covered with large stones, and its banks were precipitous and sharp as the points of arrows. The Sultan had reached this river where it takes its course through a hill-pass, behind which the infidels had posted themselves, in the rear of their elephants, with a large number of infantry and cavalry. The Sultan adopted the stratagem of ordering some of his troops to cross the river by two different fords, and to attack the enemy on both sides…

The blood of the infidels flowed so copiously, that the stream was discoloured, notwithstanding its purity, and people were unable to drink it. Had not night come on and concealed the traces of their flight, many more of the enemy would have been slain. The victory was gained by God's grace, who had established Islam for ever as the best of religions, notwithstanding that idolaters revolt against it. The Sultan returned with plunder which it is impossible to recount. – Praise be to God, the protector of the world, for the honour he bestows upon Islam and Musulmans!

7. Capture of Mathura, Al-Utbi[11]

The Sultan then departed from the environs of the city, in which was a temple of the Hindus. The name of this place was Maharatu-l Hind. He saw there a building of exquisite structure, which the inhabitants said had been built, not by men, but by Genii, and there he witnessed practices contrary to the nature of man, and which could not be believed but from evidence of actual sight. The wall of the city was constructed of hard stone, and two gates opened upon the river flowing under the city, which were erected upon strong and lofty foundations, to protect them against the floods of the river and rains. On both sides of the city there were a thousand houses, to which idol temples were attached, all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron, and all made of masonry work; and opposite to them were other buildings, supported on broad wooden pillars, to give them strength.

In the middle of the city there was a temple larger and firmer than the rest, which can neither be described nor painted. The Sultan thus wrote

respecting it : “If any should wish to construct a building equal to this, he would not be able to do it without expending an hundred thousand thousand red dinars, and it would occupy two hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were employed.” Among the idols there were five made of red gold, each five yards high, fixed in the air without support. In the eyes of one of these idols there were two rubies, of such value, that if anyone were to sell such as are like them, he would obtain fifty thousand dinars. On another, there was a sapphire purer than water, and more sparkling than crystal; the weight was four hundred and fifty miskals. The two feet of another idol weighed four thousand four hundred miskals, and the entire quantity of gold yielded by the bodies of these idols, was ninety-eight thousand three hundred miskals. The idols of silver amounted to two hundred, but they could not be weighed without breaking them to pieces and putting them into scales. The Sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and levelled with the ground.

8. The Conquest of Kanauj, Al-Utbi[12]

…The Sultan advanced to the fortifications of Kanauj, which consisted of seven distinct forts, washed by the Ganges, which flowed under them like the ocean. In Kanauj there were nearly ten thousand temples, which the idolaters falsely and absurdly represented to have been founded by their ancestors two or three hundred thousand years ago. They worshipped and offered their vows and supplications to them, in consequence of their great antiquity. Many of the inhabitants of the place fled and were scattered abroad like so many wretched widows and orphans, from the fear which oppressed them, in consequence of witnessing the fate of their deaf and dumb idols. Many of them thus effected their escape, and those who did not fly were put to death. The Sultan took all seven forts in one day, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder them and take prisoners.

9. Mahmud’s conquests ruined India, Alberuni[13]

Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards and Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have

retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places. And there the antagonism between them and all foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources.

10. Mahmud the first Muhammadan king to receive title of Sultan from the Khalifa, Ibn Asir[14]

Sultan Mahmud was a great monarch. He was the first Muhammadan king who received the title of Sultan from the Khalif. He was born on the night of Thursday, the tenth of Muharram, A.H. 361 (2nd October, 971), in the seventh year after the time of Bilkatigin. A moment (*sa'at*) before his birth, Amir Subuktigin saw in a dream that a tree sprang up from the fireplace in the midst of his house, and grew so high that it covered the whole world with its shadow. Waking in alarm from his dream, he began to reflect upon the import of it. At that very moment a messenger came, bringing the tidings that the Almighty had given him a son. Subuktigin greatly rejoiced, and said, I name the child Mahmud. On the same night that he was born, an idol temple in India, in the vicinity of Parshawar, on the banks of the Sind, fell down.

Mahmud was a man of great abilities, and is renowned as one of the greatest champions of Islam. He ascended the throne in Balkh, in the year 387 H. (997A.D.), and received investiture by the Khalifa Al Kadir bi-llah. His influence upon Islam soon became widely known, for he converted as many as a thousand idol-temples into mosques, subdued the cities of Hindustan, and vanquished the Rais of that country. He captured Jaipal, who was the greatest of them, kept him at Yazd (?), in Khurasan, and gave orders so that he was bought for eighty dirams. He led his armies to Nahrwala and Gujarat, carried off the idol (*manat*) from Somnat, and broke it into four parts. One part he deposited in the Jami Masjid of Ghazni, one he placed at the entrance of the royal palace, the third he sent to Mecca, and the fourth to Medina. Unsuri composed a long *Kasida* on this victory.

E. Tilak the Hindu, Abu-l Fazl Al Baihaki[15]

This Tilak was the son of a barber, but he was handsome in face and appearance, and had an eloquent tongue. He wrote an excellent hand, both

in Hindi and Persian. He had lived a long time in Kashmir, where he studied and acquired some proficiency in dissimulation, amours, and witchcraft. From thence he came to Kazi Shiraz Bu-l Hasan, who was captivated by him, for every great man who saw him was enamoured of him. The Kazi restrained him from going anywhere else; but Tilak contrived by stratagem to have his case, and the iniquity of which the Kazi was capable, reported to the great Khwaja Ahmad Hasan (May God be pleased with him). There was ill-feeling between the Khwaja and the Kazi. The Khwaja sent royal orders with three peons, and to the great disgust of the Kazi they brought Tilak to the court. Khwaja Ahmad Hasan heard what he had to say, saw the way clear before him, and took measures to have the matter brought to the notice of Amir Mahmud in such a manner that he did not know the Khwaja had contrived the means. The Amir ordered the Khwaja to hear Tilak's complaint, and the Kazi fell into great difficulty.

After this event Tilak became one of the great confidants of the Khwaja. He was made his secretary and interpreter between him and the Hindus. Thus he acquired great influence in the minister's court, where I, says Bu-l Fazi, used to see him standing before the Khwaja, doing the duties of a secretary and interpreter, and carrying and bringing messages, and managing difficult affairs. When that trouble fell on the Khwaja, which I have before mentioned, Amir Mahmud called together his servants and secretaries, in order that he might appoint the most clever to offices in his court. Tilak met with his approval, and was associated as interpreter with Bahram. He was a young man and a clever speaker. Amir Mahmud wanted such persons. His fortune thus improved. Secretly he rendered valuable services to Sultan Masud, that is, he brought all the Hindu Kators and many outsiders under his rule, and he obtained honour from such a great king as Mahmud.

When Shah Masud arrived in Balkh from Hirat and the affairs of the country were settled, Sundar, the general of the Hindus, was not in his place. He therefore promoted Tilak, and granted him a gold embroidered robe, hung a jewelled necklace of gold round his neck, and placed an army under him. Thus he obtained the name of man. A tent and an umbrella were also given to him. Kettle drums were beaten at his quarters, according to the custom of the Hindu chiefs, and banners with gilded tops were granted. Fortune befriended him; he was elevated to such a degree as to sit among

the nobles in the privy councils, and as I have said, he was employed in important duties, until at length he undertook the command against Ahmad Nialtigin. His luck and fortune aided him, and carried him through. The Arabs say, "There is a cause for everything, and men must seek it." Wise men do not wonder at such facts, because nobody is born great – men become such. But it is important that they should leave a good name behind. This Tilak soon became a man, and had excellent qualities. All the time he lived he sustained no injury on account of being the son of a barber. But if with such a character, wisdom and spirit, he had been of good extraction, he would have been better, for nobility and talents are both very agreeable. But nobility is good for nothing, if learning, propriety and spirit are wanting.

F. Ahmad Nialtigin at Banaras, Abu-l Fazl Al Baihaki[16]

Unexpectedly (na-gah) he arrived at a city which is called Banaras and which belonged to the territory of Gang. Never had a Muhammadan army reached this place. The city was two parasangs square, and contained plenty of water. The army could only remain there from morning to mid-day prayer because of the peril. The markets of the drapers, perfumers, and jewellers, were plundered, but it was impossible to do more. The people of the army became rich, for they all carried off gold, silver, perfumes, and jewels, and got back in safety…

G. Muhammad Ghori

1. Muhammad Ghori's defeat by the Rai of Nahrwala, Minhaju-s Siraj[17]

In the year after this victory he conducted his army by way of Uch and Multan towards Nahrwala. The Rai of Nahrwala, Bhim-deo, was a minor, but he had a large army and many elephants. In the day of battle the Muhammadans were defeated and the Sultan was compelled to retreat. This happened in the year 574 H. (1178 A.D.).

2. Battle of Tarain, Minhaju-s Siraj[18]

Rai Kolah Pithaura came up against the fort, and the Sultan returned and faced him at Narain. All the Rais of Hindustan were with the Rai Kolah. The battle was formed and the Sultan, seizing a lance, made a rush upon the elephant which carried Gobind Rai of Delhi. The latter advanced to meet him in front of the battle, and then the Sultan, who was a second Rustam, and the Lion of the Age, drove his lance into the mouth of the Rai and knocked two of the accursed wretch's teeth down his throat. The Rai, on the other hand, returned the blow and inflicted a severe wound on the arm of his adversary. The Sultan reined back his horse and turned aside, and the pain of the wound was so insufferable that he could not support himself on horseback. The Musulman army gave way and could not be controlled. The Sultan was just falling when a sharp and brave young Khilji recognised him, jumped upon the horse behind him, and clasping him round the bosom, spurred on the horse and bore him from the midst of the fight.

When the Musulmans lost sight of the Sultan, a panic fell upon them; they fled and halted not until they were safe from the pursuit of the victors. A party of nobles and youths of Ghor had seen and recognised their leader with that lionhearted Khilji, and when he came up they drew together, and, forming a kind of litter with broken lances, they bore him to the halting-place. The hearts of the troops were consoled by his appearance, and the Muhammadan faith gathered new strength in his life. He collected the scattered forces and retreated to the territories of Islam, leaving Kazi Tolak in the fort of Sarhind. Rai Pithaura advanced and invested the fort, which he besieged for thirteen months.

Next year the Sultan assembled another army, and advanced to Hindustan to avenge his defeat. A trustworthy person named Mu'inu-d din, one of the principal men of the hills of Tolak, informed me that he was in this army, and that its force amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand horsemen bearing armour. Before the Sultan could arrive the fort of Sarhind had capitulated, and the enemy were encamped in the vicinity of Narain. The Sultan drew up his battle array, leaving his main body in the rear, with the banners, canopies, and elephants, to the number of several divisions. His plan of attack being formed, he advanced quietly. The light unarmoured horsemen were made into four divisions of 10,000, and were directed to advance and harass the enemy on all sides, on the right and on the left, in the front and in the rear, with their arrows. When the enemy collected his

forces to attack, they were to support each other, and to charge at full speed. By these tactics the infidels were worsted, the Almighty gave us the victory over them, and they fled.

Pithaura alighted from his elephant, mounted a horse, and galloped off but he was captured near Sarsuti, and sent to hell. Gobind Rai, of Delhi, was killed in the battle, and the Sultan recognised his head by the two teeth which he had broken. The capital, Ajmir, and all the Siwalik hills, Hansi, Sarsuti, and other districts were the results of this victory, which was gained in the year 588 H. (1192 A.D.)

3. Conquest of Ajmer by Muhammad Ghori, Hasan Nizami[19]

He accordingly prepared for an expedition against the Rai [of Ajmer], and mounted his steed, of which there is a poetical description "The victorious army on the right and on the left departed towards Ajmir." "When the Kola (natural son) of the Rai of Ajmir, the vaunts of whose courage had reached the ears of far and near, heard of the approach of the auspicious standard and the victorious armies, he advanced for the purpose of fighting, and having adjusted the robe of slaughter and the arms of battle, marched on over hills and deserts with a well-equipped army, the number which cannot be conceived in the picture gallery of the imagination."…

The army of Islam was completely victorious, and "an hundred thousand grovelling Hindus swiftly departed to the fire of hell." The Rai of Ajmir was taken prisoner during the action, but his life was spared. After this great victory, the army of Islam marched forward to Ajmir, where it arrived at a fortunate moment and under an auspicious bird, and obtained so much booty and wealth, that you might have said, that the secret depositories of the seas and hills had been revealed."

While the Sultan remained at Ajmir, "he destroyed the pillars and foundations of the idol temples, and built in their stead mosques and colleges, and the precepts of Islam, and the customs of the law were divulged and established."

4. The conquest of Delhi by Muhammad Ghori, Hasan Nizami[20]

After settling the affairs of Ajmir, the conqueror marched "towards Dehli (may God preserve its prosperity and perpetuate its splendour!) which is among the chief (mother) cities of Hind." When he arrived at Dehli, he saw "a fortress which in height and strength had not its equal nor second

throughout the length and breadth of the seven climes." The army encamped around the fort. "A torrent of blood flowed on the field of battle, and it became evident to the chiefs that if they did not seek for safety from the sword of the king of the earth, and if they should deliver into the hands of Satan the time of option and the reins of good counsel, the condition of Dehli would be like that of Ajmir; so from the dread of kingly punishment, the Rai and mukaddams of that country placed their heads upon the line of slavery, and their feet within the circle of obedience, and made firm the conditions of tribute (*malguzari*) and the usages of service."

The Sultan then returned "towards the capital of Ghazna (may God preserve it in prosperity!)" but "the army remained encamped within the boundary of Dehli, at the *mauza* of Indarpat (Indraprastha)."

5. The flight of Jatwan [probably a leader of the Jats] and his death in battle, Hasan Nizami[21]

"When the honoured month of Ramazan, 588 H., the season of mercy and pardon, arrived, fresh intelligence was received at the auspicious Court, that the accursed Jatwan, having admitted the pride of Satan into his brain, and placed the cup of chieftainship and obstinacy upon his head, had raised his hand in fight against Nusratu-d din, the Commander, under the fort of Hansi, with an army animated by one spirit."

Kutbu-d din mounted his horse, and "marched during one night twelve parasangs." "The accursed Jatwan, when he heard the news of the arrival of the victorious armies, felt himself compelled to depart from under the fort," and fled. "The soldiers of Islam came up to the army of Hind on the borders of Bagar; and although Jatwan saw there was no chance of successful opposition in battle, yet as he saw destruction impending on him from the throat of the dragon, and the road for flight was blocked up, and the standards of the State and royal victory were unfurled, yielding to the necessity of the case, and not at his own option," he prepared for fight, and the noise of the hautbois and shells confounded the world, the thunder of the drums ascended to heaven, and the blast of the brazen clarions resembled the sounding trump (of resurrection.)"

The armies attacked each other "like two hills of steel, and the field of battle became tulip-dyed with the blood of the warriors." The Hindus were completely defeated, and their leader slain. "Jatwan, who was the essence

of vice and turbulence, and the rod of infidelity and perverseness, the friend of grief, and the companion of shame, had his standards of God-plurality and ensigns of perdition lowered by the hand of power;" "and the dust of the field of battle was commingled with the blood of that God- abandoned wretch, and the whole country was washed from the filth of his idolatry."

6. Fight with the Rai of Banaras and capture of Asni, Hasan Nizami[22]

When the army was mustered, it was found to amount to "fifty thousand mounted men clad in armour and coats of mail," with which they advanced to fight against the Rai of Benares. The king ordered Kutbu-d din to proceed with the vanguard, consisting of one thousand cavalry, which fell upon "the army of the enemies of religion," and completely defeated it. On its return to the king, the officers were presented with robes of honour.

"The Rai of Benares, Jai Chand, the chief of idolatry and perdition, advanced to oppose the royal troops with an army, countless as the particles of sand," and the noise of the war-drum proclaimed to the ears of the worshippers of one God, aid comes from the Almighty, and the sound of the silver kettledrum and the blast of the brazen trumpets resounded to heaven." "The Rai of Benares, who prided himself on the number of his forces and war elephants," seated on a lofty howdah, received a deadly wound from an arrow, and fell from his exalted seat to the earth." His head was carried on the point of a spear to the commander, and "his body was thrown to the dust of contempt." "The impurities of idolatry were purged by the water of the sword from that land, and the country of Hind was freed from vice and superstition."

"Immense booty was obtained, such as the eye of the beholder would be weary to look at," including one (some copies say three) hundred elephants. The royal army then took possession "of the fort of Asni where the treasure of the Rai was deposited," and there much more precious spoil of all kinds rewarded the victors.

7. The capture of Banaras, Hasan Nizami[23]

From that place the royal army proceeded towards Benares, "which is the centre of the country of Hind," and here they destroyed nearly one thousand temples, and raised mosques on their foundations; and the knowledge of the law became promulgated, and the foundations of religion were established;"

“and the face of the dinar and the diram was adorned with the name and blessed titles” of the king.

8. The capture of Gwalior, Hasan Nizami[24]

When the affairs of this tract was settled, the royal army marched, in the year 592 H., (1196 A.D.) “towards Galewar (Gwalior), and invested that fort, which is the pearl of the necklace of the castles of Hind, the summit of which the nimble-footed wind from below cannot reach, and on the bastion of which the rapid clouds have never cast their shade, and which the swift imagination has never surmounted, and at the height of which the celestial sphere is dazzled.”...

“Rai Solankh Pal who had raised the standard of infidelity, and perdition, and prided himself on his countless army and elephants, and who expanded the fist of oppression from the hiding place of deceit, and who had lighted the flame of turbulence and rebellion, and who had fixed the root of sedition and enmity firm in his heart, and in the courtyard of whose breast the shrub of tyranny and commotion had shot forth its branches, when he saw the power and majesty of the army of Islam,” he became alarmed and dispirited. “Wherever he looked, he saw the road of flight blocked up.” He therefore “sued for pardon, and placed the ring of servitude in his ear,” and agreed to pay tribute, and sent ten elephants as a peace offering, in which he was graciously admitted to protection, and was allowed to retain his fort. “When the neighbouring country was freed from the enemies of religion, and the Rai of Hind became enrolled amongst the number of servants and friends,” the Sultan prepared to return to Ghazna, and Kutbu-d din, after his departure, returned to Dehli, where festivities were celebrated on his arrival. – Praise of wine-bibbing and cup-bearers.

9. The conquest of Nahrwala, the most celebrated city of Gujarat, Hasan Nizami[25]

“In the middle of the month of Safar, 593 H. (Jan., 1197), the world-conquering Khusru departed from Ajmir, and with every description of force turned his face towards the annihilation of the Rai of Nahrwala.” When he reached the lofty forts of Pali and Nandul, he found them abandoned, and the abode of owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmans, and had collected under their leaders Rai Karan and Darabars, in great numbers” at the foot of Mount Abu, and at the mouth of a

pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." The Musulmans did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultan Muhammad Sam Ghori had been wounded, and it was considered of bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander. The Hindus seeing this hesitation, and misconstruing it into cowardice and alarm, abandoning the pass, "turned their faces towards the field of battle and the plain of honour and renown;" for "they were persuaded that fear had established itself in the hearts of the protectors of the seared enclosure of religion." "The two armies stood face to face for some time, engaged in preparations for fight, and on the night preceding Sunday, the 13th of Rabi'u-l awwal, in a fortunate moment the army of Islam advanced from its camp, and at morn reached the position of the infidels." A severe action ensued from dawn to mid-day, when "the army of idolatry and damnation turned its back in flight from the line of battle. Most of their leaders were taken prisoners, and nearly fifty thousand infidels were despatched to hell by the sword, and from the heaps of the slain, the hills and the plains became of one level." Rai Karan effected his escape from the field. "More than twenty thousand slaves, and twenty elephants, and cattle and arms beyond all calculation, fell into the hands of the victors." "You would have thought that the treasures of the kings of all the inhabited world had come into their possession."

10. Capture of the fort of Kalinjar, Hasan Nizami[26]

In the year 599 H. (1202 A.D.), Kutbu-d din proceeded to the investment of Kalinjar, on which expedition he was accompanied by the Sahib-Kiran, Shamsu-d din Altamsh. 'The accursed Parmar,' the Rai of Kalinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and "placed the collar of subjection" round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted on the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmud Subuktigin, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His Diwan, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate, in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. "On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness

and distraction, came out of the fort, and by compulsion left their native place empty," "and the fort of Kalinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander" was taken. "The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated." "Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus." Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also became the spoil of the victors.

11. Death of Sultan Muhammad Sam, Hasan Nizami[27]

On the king's return from Lahore towards Ghazni, he had fixed his camp "within the borders of Dhamek, and his tent was pitched on the bank of a pure stream in a garden filled with lilies, jasmins," and other flowers. Here while he was engaged in his evening prayer, "some impious men (God's curse and destruction on them!) came running like the wind towards his majesty, the king of the world, and on the spot killed three armed attendants and two chamber-sweepers. They then surrounded the king's own tent, and one or two men out of these three or four conspirators, ran up towards the king, and inflicted five or six desperate wounds upon the lord of the seven climes, and his spirit flew above the eight paradises and the battlements of the nine heavens, and joined those of the ten evangelists."

12. Death of Muhammad Ghori, Alau-d din Juwaini[28]

In the year 602 H. (1205 A.D.), Muhammad Ghori determined on prosecuting a holy war in Hind, in order to repair the fortunes of his servants and armies; for within the last few years Khurasan, on account of the disasters it had sustained, yielded neither men nor money. When he arrived in Hind, God gave him such a victory that his treasures were replenished, and his armies renewed. On his return, after crossing the Jailam, he was encamped on the banks of the Jihun (Indus), so that one-half of the royal enclosure, where the private apartments were, was in the water. In consequence of which no precaution had been taken to ensure their protection. About the time of the mid-day siesta, two or three Hindus came through the water, and falling like fire upon the royal tent, slew the Sultan, who was entirely unprepared for such a treacherous attack.

H. Malik Ghazi Ikhtiyaru-d din Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji, of Lakhnauti

1. Invasion of Bihar and Bengal, Minhaju-s Siraj[29]

It is related that this Muhammad Bakhtiyar was a Khilji, of Ghor, of the province of Garmsir. He was a very smart, enterprising, bold, courageous, wise, and experienced man…Being a bold and enterprising man, he used to make incursions into the districts of Munir (Monghir), and Behar, and bring away much plunder, until in this manner he obtained plenty of horses, arms, and men. The fame of his bravery and of his plundering raids spread abroad, and a body of Khiljis joined him from Hindustan. His exploits were reported to Sultan Kutbu-d din, and he sent him a dress and showed him great honour. Being thus encouraged, he led his army to Behar and ravaged it. In this manner he continued for a year or two to plunder the neighbourhood, and at last prepared to invade the country.

It is said by credible persons that he went to the gate of the fort of Behar with only two hundred horse, and began the war by taking the enemy unawares. In the service of Bakhtiyar there were two brothers of great intelligence. One of them was named Nizamu-d din and the other Samsamu-d din. The compiler of this book met Samsamu-d din at Lakhnauti in the year 641 H. (1243 A.D.), and heard the following story from him. When Bakhtiyar reached the gate of the fort, and the fighting began, these two wise brothers were active in that army of heroes. Muhammad Bakhtiyar with great vigour and audacity rushed in at the gate of the fort and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Brahmans with shaven heads. They were put to death. Large numbers of books were found there, and when the Muhammadans saw them, they called for some persons to explain their contents, but all the men had been killed. It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study (*madrasa*). In the Hindi language the word Behar (*vihar*) means a college….

After receiving a robe from the Sultan he returned to Behar. Great fear of him prevailed in the minds of the infidels of the territories of Lakhnauti, Behar, Bang (Bengal), and Kamrup.

It is related by credible authorities that mention of the brave deeds and conquests of Malik Muhammad Bakhtiyar was made before Rai Lakhmaniya, whose capital was the city of Nudiya…

Next year Muhammad Bakhtiyar prepared an army, and marched from Behar. He suddenly appeared before the city of Nudiya with only eighteen horsemen, the remainder of his army was left to follow. Muhammd Bakhtiyar did not molest any man, but went on peaceably and without ostentation, so that no one could suspect who he was. The people rather thought that he was a merchant, who had brought horses for sale. In this manner he reached the gate of Rai Lakhmaniya's palace, when he drew his sword and commenced the attack. At this time the Rai was at his dinner, and golden and silver dishes filled with food were placed before him according to the usual custom. All of a sudden a cry was raised at the gate of his palace and in the city. Before he had ascertained what had occurred, Muhammad Bakhtiyar had rushed into the palace and put a number of men to the sword. The Rai fled barefooted by the rear of the palace, and his whole treasure, and all his wives, maid servants, attendants, and women fell into the hands of the invader. Numerous elephants were taken, and such booty was obtained by the Muhammadans as is beyond all compute. When his army arrived, the whole city was brought under subjection, and he fixed his headquarters there.

Rai Lakhmaniya went towards Sanknat and Bengal, where he died. His sons are to this day rulers in the territory of Bengal. When Muhammad Bakhtiyar had taken possession of the Rai's territory, he destroyed the city of Nudiya and established the seat of his government at Lakhnauti. He brought the surrounding places into his possession, and caused his name to be read in the Khutba and struck on the coins. Mosques, colleges, and monasteries were raised everywhere by the generous efforts of him and his officers, and he sent a great portion of the spoil to Sultan Kutbu-d din.

2. Desires to take Turkistan and Tibet, worsted in Kamrup, Minhajus Siraj[30]

When several years had elapsed, he received information about the territories of Turkistan and Tibet, to the east of Lakhnauti, and he began to entertain a desire of taking Tibet and Turkistan. For this purpose he

prepared an army of about ten thousand horse. Among the hills which lie between Tibet and the territory of Lakhnauti, there are three races of people.

The one is called Kuch (Kuch Behar), the second Mich, and the third, Tiharu. They all have Turki features and speak different languages, something between the language of Hind and that of Tibet. One of the chiefs of the tribes of Kuch and Mich, who was called Ali Mich, had been converted to Muhammadanism by Muhammad Bakhtiyar, and this man agreed to conduct him into the hills. He led him to a place where there was a city called Mardhan-kot. It is said that in the ancient times when Gurshasp Shah returned from China, he came to Kamrud (Kam-rup) and built this city. Before the town there runs a stream which is exceedingly large. It is called Bangamati [Brahmaputra]. When it enters the country of Hindustan it receives in the Hindi language the name of Samundar. In length, breadth, and depth, it is three times greater than the Ganges. Muhammad Bakh-tiyar came to the banks of this river, and Ali Mich went before the Muhammadan army. For ten days they marched on until he led them along the upper course of the river into the hills, to a place where from old times a bridge had stood over the water having about twenty (*bist o and*) arches of stone. When the army reached the bridge, Bakhtiyar posted there two officers, one a Turk, and the other a Khilji, with a large force to secure the place till his return. With the remainder of the army he then went over the bridge. The Rai of Kamrup, on receiving intelligence of the passage of the Muhammadans, sent some confidential officers to warn Bakhtiyar against invading the country of Tibet, and to assure him that he had better return and make more suitable preparations. He also added that he, the Rai of Kamrup, had determined that next year he also would muster his forces and precede the Muhammadan army to secure the country. Muhammad Bakhtiyar paid no heed to these representations, but marched on towards the hills of Tibet.

One night in the year 641 (1243A.D.) he halted at a place between Deo-kot and Bangawan, and stayed as a guest in the house of Muatamadu-d daula, who had formerly been an equerry in the service of Muhammad Bakhtiyar and had lived in the town of Lakhnauti. From this man he heard that after passing over the bridge, the road lay for fifteen stages through the defiles and passes of the mountains, and at the sixteenth stage level land was reached. The whole of that land was well populated, and the villages

were flourishing. The village which was first reached had a fort, and when the Muhammadan army made an attack upon it, the people in the fort and the surrounding places came to oppose them, and a battle ensued. The fight raged from morning till the time of afternoon prayer, and large numbers of the Muhammadans were slain and wounded. The only weapons of the enemy were bamboo spears; and their armour, shields and helmets, consisted only of raw silk strongly fastened and sewed together. They all carried long bows and arrows. When night came on, the prisoners who had been taken were brought forward and questioned, and it was then ascertained that at five parasangs from that place there was a city called Karam-batan, and in it there was about three hundred and fifty thousand brave Turks armed with bows. The moment the horsemen of the Muhammadans arrived, messengers went to report their approach, and these messengers would reach their destination next morning. When the author was at Lakhnauti, he made enquiries about that place, and learnt that it was a pretty large city. The ramparts of it are built of stone. The inhabitants of it are Brahmans and Nunis, and the city is under the sway of the chief of these people. They profess the Buddhist religion. Every morning in the market of that city, about fifteen hundred horses are sold. All the saddle horses which come into the territory of Lakhnauti are brought from that country. Their roads pass through the ravines of the mountains, as is quite common in that part of the country. Between Kamrup and Tibet there are thirty-five mountain passes through which horses are brought to Lakhnauti.

In short, when Muhammad Bakhtiyar became aware of the nature of the country, and saw that his men were tired and exhausted, and that many had been slain and disabled in the first day's march, he consulted with his nobles, and they resolved that it was advisable to retreat, that in the following year they might return to the country in a state of greater preparation. On their way back there was not left on all the road a single blade of grass or a bit of wood. All had been set on fire and burnt. The inhabitants of the valleys and passes had all removed far away from the road, and for the space of fifteen days not a sir of food nor a blade of grass or fodder was to be found, and they were compelled to kill and eat their horses.

When, after descending the hill of the land of Kamrup, they reached the bridge, they found that the arches of it had been demolished. The two

officers who had been left to guard it had quarreled, and in their animosity to each other had neglected to take care of the bridge and the road, so the Hindus of Kamrup had come there and destroyed the bridge. When Muhammad Bakhtiyar with his army reached the place, he found no means of crossing. Neither was there a boat to be found, so he was greatly troubled and perplexed. They resolved to fix on some place where to encamp, and prepare rafts and boats to enable them to cross the river.

In the vicinity of this place was perceived a temple, very lofty and strong, and of beautiful structure. In it there were numerous idols of gold and silver, and one very large golden idol, which exceeded two or three thousand miskals in weight. Muhammad Bakhtiyar and the remnant of his army sought refuge in that temple, and set about procuring wood and ropes for constructing rafts to cross the stream. The Rai of Kamrup was informed of the distress and weakness of the Muhammadans, and he issued orders to all the Hindus of his territory to come up, levy after levy, and all around the temple they were to stick their bamboo spears in the ground and to plait them together so as to form a kind of wall. Then the soldiers of Islam saw this they told Muhammad Bakhtiyar that if they remained passive they would all be taken in the trap of the infidels and be made prisoners; some way of escape must be sought out. By common consent they made a simultaneous sally, and directing their efforts to one spot, they cleared for themselves a way through the dangerous obstacle to the open ground. The Hindus pursued them to the banks of the river and halted there. Every one exerted his ingenuity to devise some means of passing over the river. One of the soldiers urged his horse into the water, and it was found fordable to the distance of a bow-shot. A cry arose in the army that a fordable passage was found, and all threw themselves into the stream. The Hindus in their rear took possession of the banks. When the Muhammadans reached the middle of the stream, the water was found to be very deep, and they nearly all perished. Muhammad Bakhtiyar with some horse, to the number of about a hundred, more or less, crossed the river with the greatest difficulty, but all the rest were drowned….

I. Timur in India

1. Motives of the expedition to Hindustan[31]

About this time there arose in my heart the desire to lead an expedition against the infidels, and to become a *ghazi* for it had reached my ears that the slayer of infidels is a *ghazi,* and if he is slain he becomes a martyr…

My great officers told me that the inhabitants of Hindustan were infidels and unbelievers. In obedience to the order of Almighty God I determined on an expedition against them, and I issued orders to the *amirs* of mature years, and the leaders in war, to come before me, and when they had come together I questioned the assembly as to whether I should invade Hindustan or China, and said to them, "By the order of God and the Prophet it is incumbent upon me to make war upon these infidels and polytheists."…

My *wazirs* informed me that the whole amount of the revenue of India is six *arbs;* now each *arb* is a *100 krors,* and each *kror* is 100 *lacs,* and each *lac* is a 100,000 *miskals* of silver. Some of the nobles said, "By the favour of Almighty God we may conquer India, but if we establish ourselves permanently therein, our race will degenerate and our children will become like the natives of those regions, and in a few generations their strength and valour will diminish." The *amirs* of regiments (*kushunat*) were disturbed at these words, but I said to them, "My object in the invasion of Hindustan is to lead an expedition against the infidels that, according to the law of Muhammad (upon whom and his family be the blessing and peace of God), we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *ghazis* and *mujahids* before God."…

2. Account of the holy war against the infidel Kators and the Siyah-poshes[32]

The kingdom of Kator

When I made enquiries concerning the extent and condition of that kingdom from Muzid, who was the chief man of Indarab, he informed me that the length of the kingdom of Kator stretches from the frontier of Kashmir to the mountains of Kabul, and there are many towns and villages in this country. One of their large cities is called Shokal, and another Jorkal, which latter is the residence of their ruler. The country produces fruits in large quantities, such as grapes, apples, apricots, and various other kinds. Rice and other grains are cultivated. Much wine is made, and all people,

great and small, drink of it. The people eat swine's flesh. Cattle and sheep abound in this country. Most of the inhabitants are idolaters; they are men of a powerful frame and fair complexion. Their language is distinct from Turki, Persian, Hindi, and Kashmiri. Their weapons are arrows, swords, and slings. Their ruler is called Adalshu.

When I arrived at Khawak I perceived a dilapidated fort which I resolved to repair, so I immediately gave orders to the soldiers to that effect, and it was speedily executed. As most of the route was rocky and precipitous, I ordered most of the nobles and all the soldiers to leave horses, camels, and superfluous baggage in this fort. In obedience to this order most of the nobles and all the soldiers accompanied me on foot, while I, relying on the assistance of Almighty God, pressed steadily forward to the conquest of Kator and began to ascend the mountains. In spite of the heat of the wind there was so much snow on the hills that the feet of both men and cattle helplessly sank in it. I was therefore obliged to halt during the day, but at night when the snow congealed I pursued my way over the frozen surface of the ice till I reached the top of the mountain. At daybreak, when the ice thawed, carpets and horse-rugs were spread upon its surface and the horses were kept upon them. At nightfall we again went on as before, and in this manner I crossed several lofty mountains, but the nobles were obliged to send back to the fort several of the horses they had brought with them. When I reached the top of a lofty mountain, such that there can be none higher than it, I found that these wicked infidels had taken up their position in the caverns of the mountain, the entrances of which were blocked up with snow, so that they were almost inaccessible, nor, in spite of all my exertions, could I find a way to descend the mountain….

The ruler of Kator had a fort, on one side of which was a river, and beyond the river a lofty mountain reaching down to the water. As the infidels in this fort had gained intelligence of my approach a day before my arrival, and dread had taken possession of their hearts, they had removed their wealth and property from the fort, and having crossed the river, had taken refuge in the mountain which was very lofty, and abounded in caves very difficult of access. On its being represented to me that this fort was the most important stronghold of the ruler of Kator in those parts, I resolved to subdue it. When I advanced into the neighbourhood of the fort I did not perceive a trace of the infidels, and when I came to the place itself I saw

that they had abandoned it and fled. I obtained a booty of many sheep and some other things here, and ordered that they should set fire to the houses and buildings of the city, in the midst of which the fort was built, and that they should level it with the ground. Then crossing the river in haste and pursuing the track of the enemy, I reached the skirts of the mountain on the top of which the infidels had taken up their position in defiles and other strong places. I immediately gave orders to my valiant and experienced troops to ascend. Raising their war cry and shouting the *takbir,* they rushed to the attack, and before all the rest Shaikh Arslan Aztuman Kabak Khan, who is a lion in the day of battle, mounting the hill on the left hand, commenced the fight. Leading his men upon the infidels he put them to fight, and following up the enemy entered the fastnesses of the rock and sent numbers of the impious unbelievers to hell. Tawachi Ali Sultan, also on his side, made a valiant assault upon the foe, and with his own regiment charged and routed the infidel enemy, sending numbers of them to hell. Amir Shah Malik too, on his side, displayed great valour, making a great slaughter of the infidels and driving them completely out of the mountain. Mubashir Bahadur and Mankali Khwajah, and Sunjak Bahadur, and Shaikh Ali Sa1ar, and Musa Zakmal, and Husain Malik Kuchin, and Mir Husain Kur, and the other nobles, displayed great valour and used their swords well. They all proved their zeal for Islam on the unbelieving foe, and having overpowered the infidels they put many of them to death, and took possession of their fastnesses. Only a few of the enemy succeeded in sheltering themselves, wounded and worn out with fatigue, in their caverns. of my troops only fourteen persons lost their lives, and that was in effecting the passage of the mountain. Some of the infidels held out in their defiles for three days and nights, but sending my valiant troops against them I so pressed them that they were obliged to surrender and call for quarter. I sent Ak Sultan to them with the message that if they would consent to submit unconditionally and would all become Musulmans and repeat the creed, I would grant them quarter, but otherwise I would exterminate them to a man. When Ak Sultan reached the infidels with this message, which he explained to them through the medium of an interpreter conversant both with their language and with Turki, they all proffered submission, and repeating the necessary formula, embraced the Muhammadan faith. Relying upon this external profession I spared their lives and property, and gave orders that no

one should interfere with their lives, wealth, or country. I then clothed some of them in dresses of honour and dismissed them. I halted with my army there for that night, and these black-hearted infidels made a nocturnal assault on the regiment of Amir Shah Malik, but as this leader was on his guard, the enemy were foiled in their intentions. Numbers of them were slain, and 150 fell into our hands alive, who were afterwards put to death by my enraged soldiery. As soon as it was day I ordered my troops to attack on all four sides at once, and forcing their way into the defiles to kill all the men, to make prisoners the women and children, and to plunder and lay waste all their property. In obedience to these orders, my nobles and troops making a valiant assault on all sides at once, and putting to the sword the remnant of the infidels, consigned them to the house of perdition. They made prisoners of their women and children, and secured an enormous booty. I directed towers to be built on the mountain of the skulls of those obstinate unbelievers, and I ordered an engraver on stone, who was in my camp, to cut an inscription somewhere on those defiles to the effect that I had reached this country by such and such a route, in the auspicious month of Rama-zan, A. H. 800 (May, 1398): that if chance should conduct anyone to this spot he might know how I had reached it….

3. The annihilation of Nusrat [Jasrath] Khokhar[33]

It was represented to me that in this country there was a certain *zamindar,* by name Nusrat, of the tribe of Khokhar, who, having established himself with two thousand bloodthirsty soldiers in a fortress on the bank of a lake, breathed out defiance and rebellion…I immediately marched to attack this Nusrat Khokhar…

When I arrived at the heavy swampy ground on the bank of the lake, where the God-forsaken Nusrat had taken up his position, I found that he was there with his two thousand men drawn up all ready to receive me… Nusrat himself fell among the slain, but it was not known how he had been killed, or whether he effected his escape. My victorious troops entered and set fire to the residence of Nusrat Khokhar, and having plundered the wealth and property of those Indians and taking an immense booty of' flocks, herds, buffaloes, etc., returned to my presence.

4. Conquest of the town of Sarsuti[34]

When I made inquiries about the city of Sarsuti, I was informed that the people of the place were strangers to the religion of Islam, and that they kept hogs in their houses and ate the flesh of those animals. When they heard of my arrival, they abandoned their city. I sent my cavalry in pursuit of them, and a great fight ensued. All these infidel Hindus were slain, their wives and children were made prisoners, and their property and goods became the spoil of the victors. The soldiers then returned, bringing with them several thousand Hindu women and children who became Muhammadans, and repeated the creed. of all the braves who took part in this action, Adil Bahadur Farrash was the only one who fell…

5. Preparations for the conquest of Dehli[35]

Massacre of 100,000 Hindus

I now held a Court…

At this Court Amir Jahan Shah and Amir Sulaiman Shah and other *amirs* of experience, brought to my notice that from the time of entering Hindustan up to the present time, we had taken more than 100,000 infidels and Hindus prisoners, and that they were all in my camp. On the previous day, when the enemy's forces made the attack upon us, the prisoners made signs of rejoicing, uttered imprecations against us, and were ready, as soon as they heard of the enemy's success, to form themselves into a body, break their bonds, plunder our tents, and then to go and join the enemy, and so increase his numbers and strength. I asked their advice about the prisoners, and they said that on the great day of battle these 100,000 prisoners could not be left with the baggage, and that it would be entirely opposed to the rules of war to set these idolaters and foes of Islam at liberty. In fact, no other course remained but that of making them all food for the sword. When I heard these words I found them in accordance with the rules of war, and I directly gave my command for the *Tawachis* to proclaim throughout the camp that every man who had infidel prisoners was to put them to death, and whoever neglected to do so should himself be executed and his property given to the informer. When this order became known to the *ghazis* of Islam, they drew their swords and put their prisoners to death. 100,000 infidels, impious idolaters, were on that day slain. Maulana Nasiru-d din 'Umar, a counsellor and man of learning, who, in all his life, had

never killed a sparrow, now, in execution of my order, slew with his sword fifteen idolatrous Hindus, who were his captives…

War strategy

I did not wish the war to be of long continuance; so as soon as night was over and morning came, I arose to my devotions. I said the morning prayers in the congregation, and I repeated my private prayers, then I took the holy book, which I always carried with me, and sought a *fal* on the subject of the war. The verse which appeared was one in the CHAPTER — of the Bee. I immediately sought the interpretation of this verse from those who were present, and they replied that the manifest meaning of it was...I received this *fal* as a propitious indication, and acted in full reliance on its command and on the favour of God.…

6. Defeat of Sultan Mahmud of Dehli[36]

The whole of Sultan Mahmud's [the Tughlaq ruler of Delhi] army was defeated; part was slain, and part had found refuge in the fort, and I, exalted with victory, marched towards the fort. When I reached its gates I carefully reconnoitred its towers and walls, and then returned to the side of the *Hauz-i khass...* When I had pitched my camp here, the princes and *amirs* and *nuyans,* and all the generals and officers, came to wait upon me to pay their respects and offer their congratulations on this great victory.…

I mounted my horse and rode towards the gate of the *maidan.* I alighted at the *'id-gah,* a lofty and extensive building, and I gave orders for my quarters to be moved there, and for my throne to be set up in the *id-gah.* I took my seat upon the throne and held a Court. The *saiyids,* the *kazis,* the *'ulama* (learned Musulmans), the *shaikhs,* and the great men and chiefs of the (Muhammadans of the) city assembled and came out to attend my Court. I had them introduced one by one, and they made their obeisances and were admitted to the honour of kissing my throne. I received every one of them with respect and kindness, and directed them to be seated. Fazlu-llah Balkhi was *vakil* and *naib* of Mallu Khan, and he came out to wait upon me and do homage, accompanied by a party of the officials and clerks of the government of Sultan Mahmud and Mallu Khan. Hereupon all the *saiyids, 'ulama, shaikhs,* and other leading Musulmans arose, and, making the princes their mediators, they begged that quarter might be given to the people of Dehli, and that their lives might be spared. Out of respect to the

saiyids and *ulama,* whom I had always held in great esteem and honour, I granted quarter to the inhabitants of the city. I then ordered my ensign *(tauk)* and royal standard to be raised, and the drums to be beaten and music played on the tops of the gates of Dehli. Rejoicings for the victory followed. Some of the clever men and poets that accompanied me worked the date of the victory into a verse, which they presented to me. of all these memorial verses I have introduced (only) this one into my memoirs- —

'On Wednesday, the eighth of Rabi' the second (17th Dec., 1398), The Emperor Sahib-Kiran took the city of Dehli, etc., etc.

I rewarded and honourably distinguished the literary men and poets who presented these verses to me…

When Friday came, I sent Maulana Nasiru-d din 'Umar, with some other holy and learned men that accompanied my camp to the *masjid-i jami,* with directions to say the prayers for the Sabbath, and to repeat the *khutba* of my reign in the metropolis of Dehli. Accordingly, the *khutba,* with my name, was repeated in the pulpits of the mosques in the city of Dehli, and I rewarded the preachers with costly robes and presents….

7. Sack of Dehli[37]

On the 16th of the month some incidents occurred which led to the sack of the city of Dehli, and to the slaughter of many of the infidel inhabitants. One was this. A party of fierce Turk soldiers had assembled at one of the gates of the city to look about them and enjoy themselves, and some of them laid violent hands upon the goods of the inhabitants. When I heard of this violence I sent some *amirs,* who were present in the city, to restrain the Turks. A party of soldiers accompanied these *amirs* into the city. Another reason was that some of the ladies of my harem expressed a wish to go into the city and see the palace of *Hazar-sutun* (thousand columns) which Malik Jauna built in the fort called Jahan-panah. I granted this request, and I sent a party of soldiers to escort the litters of the ladies. Another reason was that Jalal Islam and other *diwans* had gone into that city with a party of soldiers to collect the contribution laid upon the city. Another reason was that some thousand troopers with orders for grain, oil, sugar, and flour, had gone into the city to collect these supplies. Another reason was that it had come to my knowledge that great numbers of Hindus and *gabrs,* with their wives and children, and goods, and valuables, had come into the city from all the

country round, and consequently I had sent some *amirs* with their regiments *(kushun)* into the city and directed them to pay no attention to the remonstrances of the inhabitants, but to seize and bring out these fugitives. For these several reasons a great number of fierce Turki soldiers were in the city. When the soldiers proceeded to apprehend the Hindus and *gabrs* who had fled to the city, many of them drew their swords and offered resistance. The flames of strife were thus lighted and spread through the whole city from Jahanpanah and Siri to old Dehli, burning up all it reached. The savage Turks fell to killing and plundering. The Hindus set fire to their houses with their own hands, burned their wives and children in them, and rushed into the fight and were killed. The Hindus and *gabrs* of the city showed much alacrity and boldness in fighting. The *amirs* who were in charge of the gates prevented any more soldiers from going into the place, but the flames of war had risen too high for this precaution to be of any avail in extinguishing them. On that day, Thursday, and all the night of Friday, nearly 15,000 Turks were engaged in slaying, plundering, and destroying. When morning broke on the Friday, all my army, no longer under control, went off to the city and thought of nothing but killing, plundering, and making prisoners. All that day the sack was general. The following day, Saturday, the 17th, all passed in the same way, and the spoil was so great that each man secured from fifty to a hundred prisoners, men, women, and children. There was no man who took less than twenty. The other booty was immense in rubies, diamonds, garnets, pearls, and other gems; jewels of gold and silver; *ashrafis, tankas* of gold and silver of the celebrated 'Alai coinage; vessels of gold and silver; and brocades and silks of great value. Gold and silver ornaments of the Hindu women were obtained in such quantities as to exceed all account. Excepting the quarter of the *saiyids,* the *ulama,* and the other Musulmans, the whole city was sacked. The pen of fate had written down this destiny for the people of this city. Although I was desirous of sparing them I could not succeed, for it was the will of God that this calamity should fall upon the city.

On the following day, Sunday, it was brought to my knowledge that a great number of infidel Hindus had assembled in the *masjid-i jami* of Old Dehli, carrying with them arms and provisions, and were preparing to defend themselves. Some of my people who had gone that way on business were wounded by them. I immediately ordered Amir Shah Malik and Ali

Sultan Tawachi to take a party of men and proceed to clear the house of God from infidels and idolaters. They accordingly attacked these infidels and put them to death. Old Dehli then was plundered…

By the will of God, and by no wish or direction of mine, all the three cities of Dehli, by name Siri, Jahanpanah, and Old Dehli, had been plundered. The *khutba* of my sovereignty, which is an assurance of safety and protection, had been read in the city. It was therefore my earnest wish that no evil might happen to the people of the place. But it was ordained by God that the city should be ruined. He therefore inspired the infidel inhabitants with a spirit of resistance, that they brought on themselves that fate which was inevitable…

8. Campaign against the infidels after sack of Dehli[38]

I had been at Dehli fifteen days, which time I had passed in pleasure and enjoyment, holding royal Courts and giving great feasts. I then reflected that I had come to Hindustan to war against infidels, and my enterprise had been so blessed that wherever I had gone I had been victorious. I had triumphed over my adversaries, I had put to death some *lacs* of infidels and idolaters, and I had stained my proselyting sword with the blood of the enemies of the faith. Now this crowning victory had been won, and I felt that I ought not to indulge in ease, but rather to exert myself in warring against the infidels of Hindustan.…

THREE VICTORIES IN ONE DAY

Hardwar

…some of the reconnoitring party came in with the information that there was a large number of Hindus assembled in the valley of Kutila [Kupila, Hardwar?] on the side of the Ganges, having made that valley a place of refuge. I instantly mounted, and leaving the greater part *(tamami)* of my force to secure the spoil, I started off for the valley of Kutila with only five hundred horsemen. When I reached the place I found an immense number of *gabrs* assembled in the *darra.* Instantly I ordered Amir Shah Malik and Ali Sultan Tawachi to charge the enemy without paying the slightest heed to their numbers, although they were twenty to one. Spurring their horses, shouting their war-cry, and brandishing their swords, they fell upon the forces (*afwaj*) of the enemy like hungry lions upon a flock of sheep. At the

first charge the ranks of the enemy were broken, and many of their men fell under the blows of the sword. God thus gave me victory with such a small band of followers over such a numerous host of the enemy. After many of them had been slain, those who escaped kept in the thickets and defiles *(darraha),* skulking like foxes and jackals. An immense booty was left, and my braves were busy in securing it…

Again I mounted my steed; and as I did so intelligence was brought to me that in the valley *(darra)* of Kutila, two *kos* distant, a large number of infidels and *gabrs* had collected with their wives and children, and with property, goods, and cattle beyond all estimate. The road thither was arduous, through jungles and thickets. When I heard this my first thought was that I had been awake since midnight, I had travelled a long distance without any halt, and had surmounted many difficulties, I had won two splendid victories with a few brave soldiers, and I was very tired, I would therefore stop and take rest. But then I remembered that I had drawn my sword, and had come to Hind with the resolution of waging a holy war against its infidels, and so long as it was possible to fight with them, rest was unlawful for me. Although I had only a few *amirs* and a few soldiers with me, I placed my trust in God, and determined to attack the enemy…

Pressing on with all haste I passed the jungles and thickets, and arrived in front of the infidels. After a slight resistance the enemy took to flight, but many of them fell under the swords of my soldiers.

All the wives and children of the infidels were made prisoners, and their property and goods, gold, money and grain, horses, camels *(shutur),* cows and buffalos in countless numbers, fell as spoil into the hands of my soldiers. Satisfied with this rout of the enemy, I said the afternoon prayers in public in that desert, and I returned thanks to God for that I had fought three times with enemies outnumbering my men by ten and twenty to one, and in each battle I had gained a signal victory.

Source of the Ganges

…information was brought to me that fifteen *kos* off, up the river, and near the mountains, there was a place in which there was the image of a cow, carved out of stone, and that the river *(ab)* ran from its mouth. In the belief of the people of Hindustan the source of the river Ganges was in this same mountain. The Hindu infidels worship the Ganges, and once every

year they come on to this place [Hardwar], which they consider the source of the river, to bathe and to have their heads and beards shaved. They believe these acts to be the means of obtaining salvation and securing future reward. They dispense large sums in charity among those who wear the brahmanical thread, and they throw money into the river. When infidels die in distant parts, their bodies are burned, and the ashes are brought to this river and are thrown into it. This they look upon as a means of sanctification. When I learned these facts, I resolved to war against the infidels of this place, so that I might obtain the merit of overthrowing them…

At dawn on the 5th Jumada-l awwal I said my morning prayer, and started with a suitable force for the valley of Kutita, which lies at the foot of a lofty mountain and on the banks of the Ganges. During the night all the *gabrs* who had been scattered reassembled under their chiefs, and as they had no place of refuge more secure, they resolved that if the Musulmans returned, they would fight till they died. So they were prepared for battle...My brave men displayed great courage and daring; they made their swords their banners, and exerted themselves in slaying the foe. They slaughtered many of the infidels, and pursued those who fled to the mountains. So many of them were killed that their blood ran down the mountains and the plain, and thus (nearly) all were sent to hell. The few who escaped, wounded, weary, and half dead, sought refuge in the defiles of the hills. Their property and goods, which exceeded all computation, and their countless cows and buffalos, fell as spoil into the hands of my victorious soldiers.

When I was satisfied with the destruction I had dealt out to the infidels, and the land was cleansed from the pollution of their existence, I turned back victorious and triumphant, laden with spoil. On that same day I crossed the Ganges, and said my mid-day prayers in the congregation, on the bank of that river. I prostrated myself in humble thanks to God, and afterwards again mounting my horse, marched five miles down the river and then encamped. It now occurred to my mind that I had marched as a conqueror from the river Sind to Dehli, the capital of the kings of India. I had put the infidels to the edge of the sword on both sides of my route, and had scoured the land; I had seized upon the throne of the kings of India; I had defeated Sultan Mahmud, the king of Dehli, and triumphed over him; I had crossed the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and I had sent many of the

abominable infidels to hell, and had purified the land from their foul existence. I rendered thanks to Almighty God that I had accomplished my undertaking, and had waged against the infidels that holy war I had resolved upon: then I determined to turn my course towards Samarkand, my capital and paradise…

2. Gonzalez de Clavijo, who did not visit India, collected information on the country during his stay in the court of Timur in the years 1403-1406 from informants, including a grandson of Timur who had just returned from India. His account is contrary to the boastful narrative of Timur[39]

The chief city of India is called Delhi and here Timour Beg fought a battle with the lord of India. The Indian collected a great force, and had fifty armed elephants; and in the first battle the lord of India defeated Timour Beg, by means of his elephants. On the following day they renewed the contest, and Timour took many camels, and loaded them with dry grass, placing them in front of the elephants. When the battle began, he caused the grass to be set on fire and when the elephants saw the burning straw upon the camels, they fled. They say that the elephants are much afraid of fire, because they have small eyes; and thus the lord of India was defeated.

Timour Beg conquered all the plain country from this lord, which bordered on the empire of Samarcand; but most of the land is rugged and mountainous. They say that there are many great towns and cities, and that the country is very rich and populous. When the lord of India was defeated, he fled to the mountains, and collected another force, but he did not venture to attack his enemy. The plain country which was then conquered, is governed by this grandson of Timour Beg from the great and rich city of Hormes; but the greater part of India is still held by the former lord. This battle took place about twelve years ago, and since that time, neither Timour Beg, nor his grandson have attempted to advance further into India.

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CHAPTER — 12

Muslim Rulers

A. The Sultans of Delhi
B. Sultan of Bedar
C. Sultan of Padua

A. The Sultans of Delhi

1. Qutbuddin Aibak, Minhaju-s Siraj[1]

When Sultan-i Ghazi Muhammad Sam died, Sultan Ghiyasu-d din Mahmud Muhammad Sam, his nephew, gave Kutbu-d din the royal canopy, and the title of Sultan...in the year 607 H. the Sultan fell from his horse in the field while he was playing chaugan, and the horse came down upon him, so that the pommel of the saddle entered his chest, and killed him. The period of his government, from his first conquest of Dehli up to this time, was twenty years, and the time of his reign, during which he wore the crown, and had the Khutba read and coin struck in his name, was something more than four years.

2. Sultan Iltutmish, Minhaju-s Siraj[2]

After he had reached the capital he sent, in A.H. 632 (1234 A.D.), the army of Islam towards Malwa and took the fort and city of Bhilsa. There was a temple there which was three hundred years in building. It was about one hundred and five *gaz* high. He demolished it. From thence he proceeded to Ujjain, where there was a temple of Maha-kal, which he destroyed.

3. Sultan Ruknu-d din Firoz Shah, Minhaju-s Siraj[3]

Sultan Ruknu-d din Firoz Shah was a generous and handsome king, full of kindness and humanity. In liberality he was a second Hatim. His mother, the queen of the world, Shah Turkan, was originally a Turki handmaid, but had become the chief wife of Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh. She lavished many offerings and much charity on learned men, *saiyids,* and devotees…

On the death of Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh, the princes and nobles placed Ruknu-d din upon the throne on Tuesday, 29th of Sha'ban 633 H. (beginning of May, 1236), and the crown and throne were graced by his

accession. The nobles were gratified and received robes of honour. When they returned home from the capital, the new monarch opened the doors of his treasury and gave himself up to pleasure, squandering the public wealth in improper places. So devoted was he to licentiousness and debauchery that the business of the State was neglected and fell into confusion.

His mother, Shah Turkan, began to interfere in the government of the country. During the life of her husband his other women had looked upon her with envy and disdain. She now seized the opportunity of punishing them, and in blind fury and vindictiveness she put several of them to death. This state of things began to trouble the minds of public men. In addition to her other cruel acts she caused the young prince Kutbu-d din, son of the late king, and a very excellent youth, to be blinded and afterwards to be put to death. These acts aroused an inimical feeling in the hearts of the great men in all direction….

When Ruknu-d din arrived at Kilu-ghari he found that rebellion had broken out, and that his mother had been made prisoner. The guards and Turkish nobles came into the city, and joining Raziya, proffered their allegiance to her, and raised her to the throne, Being thus elevated to the throne, she sent an army of Turks and nobles to Kilu-ghari and they brought Sultan Ruknu-d din prisoner to Dehli, where he was kept in confinement and died. His death happened on Sunday, the 18th of Rabi'u-l awwal A.H. 634 (November, 1236 A.D.) He reigned for six months and twenty-eight days. He was very generous; no king in any reign had ever scattered gifts, robes of honour, and grants in the way he did, but all his lavishness sprang from his inordinate addiction to sensuality, pleasure, and conviviality. He was so entirely devoted to riot and debauchery, that he often bestowed his honours and rewards on bands of singers, buffoons, and catamites.

4. Sultan Raziya, Minhaju-s Siraj[4]

Sultan Raziya was a great monarch. She was wise, just, and generous, a benefactor to her kingdom, a dispenser of justice, the protector of her subjects, and the leader of her armies. She was endowed with all the qualities befitting a king, but she was not born of the right sex, and so in the estimation of men all these virtues were worthless. (May God have mercy on her!)

5. Sultan-i Mu'azzam Nasiru-d dunya wau-d din Mahmud, Minhaju-s Siraj[5]

Sultan-i Mu'azzam Nasiru-d dunya wau-d din ascended the throne in the Green Palace at Delhi with the most favourable auspices on Sunday, 23rd Muharram 644 H. (10th June, 1246)…Ulugh Khan-I Azam, who now held the office of lord chamberlain, ...with the help of God, ravaged the hills of Jud and the Jailam, and sent many of the Kokhars (Gakkars) and rebellious infidels to hell…

In the neighbourhood of Kanauj there is a fortified village called Nandana, where there is a very strong fort vying with the wall of Alexander. A body of infidel Hindus shut themselves up in this place, resolved to fight to the extremity. For two days the royal army carried on a murderous conflict at this village, but at length the rebels were sent to hell, and the place subdued…

There was in the neighbourhood a Rana who (*ora*) was called Dalaki wa Malaki. He had many dependants, countless fighting men, great dominion and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. All these he (Ulugh Khan) ravaged. He took prisoners the wives, sons, and dependants of that accursed one, and secured great booty…

…His Majesty…advanced as far as Malwa. Jahir Deo was the greatest of all the Ranas of that country and neighbourhood. He had five thousand horse and two hundred thousand infantry, but he was defeated…Ulugh exhibited great energy in this campaign…

On the 16th Ramazan Ulugh Khan was sent into the hills of Delhi, to chastise the rebel inhabitants of Mewat, and to intimidate their Deo. Ten thousand horsemen in armour, and a large army of brave and warlike soldiers were under his command. Great booty was gained, and many cattle captured. Defiles and passes were cleared, strong forts were taken, and numberless Hindus perished under the merciless swords of the soldiers of Islam…

6. Ghiyasu-d din Balban

(a) Of Turkish stock, Minhaju-s Siraj[6]

The Khakan-I Muazzam Ulugh Khan-I Azam belonged to the stock of the Khakans of Albari…The Almighty desired to grant a support to the power of Islam and to the strength of the Muhammadan faith, to extend his

glorious shadow over it, and to preserve Hindustan within the range of his favour and protection. He therefore removed Ulugh Khan in his youth from Turkistan, and separated him from his race and kindred, from his tribe and relations, and conveyed him to the country (of Hindustan), for the purpose of curbing the Mughals [Mongols]…

(b) Campaigns in the Jud hills, Minhaju-s Siraj[7]

On Monday, the 1st Rajab, 644 H., the army set forth and proceeded to the river Sodra. Here Ulugh Khan was detached with several nobles and generals to make an incursion into the hills of Jud. The Rana of these hills had acted as guide to the infidel Mughals, and it was now determined to take vengeance. Ulugh Khan accordingly attacked the hills of Jud, and the countries on the Jailam, and led his forces as far as the banks of the Indus. All the women and dependants of the infidels which were in those parts were obliged to flee, and a party of the Mughal army crossed over the Jailam, and saw the forces which were arrayed under the command of Ulugh Khan. The manifold lines of the army, the numbers of the horse, the armour and the arms, filled the observers with wonder and dismay. The bravery and generalship which Ulugh Khan displayed in scaling the mountains, breaking through defiles, capturing fortified places, and crossing jungles, cannot be described in writing. The fame of this campaign extended to Turkistan…

The perseverance and resolution of Ulugh Khan had been the means of showing to the army of Turkistan and the Mughals such bravery and generalship that in the course of this year no one came from the upper parts towards Sindh…

(c) Turkish monopoly of power, Minhaju-s Siraj[8]

The nobles and servants of the State were all Turks of pure origin and Taziks of good stock, but Imadu-d din [an Indian convert] was an eunuch and impotent; he, moreover, belonged to one of the tribe of Hindustan. Notwithstanding all this he exercised authority over the heads of all these chiefs. They were disgusted with this state of affairs and could no longer endure it…

(d) Campaigns against the infidels, Minhaju-s Siraj[9]

At the beginning of 658 H. (December, 1259), Ulugh Khan resolved upon a campaign in the hills near the capital. These hills were inhabited by a

turbulent people, who committed depredations on the roads, plundered the goods of Musulmans, drove away the cultivators, and ravaged the villages in the districts of Harriana, the Siwalik hills, and Bayana. Three years before they had carried off from Hansi a drove of camels and a number of the people of Ulugh Khan. Their chief was a Hindu named Malka, a fierce and desperate fellow. It was he who carried off the camels, and he fomented disturbances among the Hindus from the hills to Rantambhor. But when he did these things the army was otherwise engaged…in repelling the Mughal forces, which had attacked the frontiers of Islam in Sindh, at Lahore, and in the vicinity of the river Biyah….

Ulugh Khan and other nobles...resolved upon a campaign in the hills, and made the first march in advance on Monday, 4th Safar, 658. In their first forced march (*kashish*) they accomplished nearly fifty *kos*, and fell unexpectedly upon the rebels. These retreated to the summits of the mountains, to the defiles, to deep gorges and narrow valleys, but they were all taken and put to the sword. For twenty days the troops traversed the hills in all directions. The villages and habitations of the mountaineers were on the summits of the loftiest hills and rocks, and were of great strength, but they were all taken and ravaged by order of Ulugh Khan…A silver *tanka* was offered for every head, and two *tankas* for every man brought in alive. Eager for these rewards the soldiers climbed the highest hills, and penetrated the ravines and deepest gorges, and brought in heads and captives…Fortune now so favoured Ulugh Khan that he was able to penetrate to a fastness which no Musulman army had ever reached…

In the course of twenty days this great work was accomplished, and the army returned to the capital on the 24th Rabi'u-l, 658. His Majesty, with a great retinue of chiefs and nobles, came forth to the plain of Hauz-rani to meet him, and a grand Court was held in which many honours and rewards were bestowed. After a stay of two days in the capital the Court went forth again to Hauz-rani on a mission of revenge. The elephants were prepared, and the Turks made ready their trenchant swords. By royal command many of the rebels were cast under the feet of elephants, and the fierce Turks cut the bodies of the Hindus in two. About a hundred met their death at the hands of the flayers, being skinned from head to foot; their skins were all stuffed with straw, and some of them were hung over every gate of the city. The plain of Hauz-rani and the gates of Delhi remembered no punishment like this, nor had any one heard such a tale of horror…

The last event which I have to record is this. When Ulugh Khan carried war into the hills, and punished the rebels in the way we have related, a number of them escaped by flight. They now again took to plundering on the highways, and murdering Musulmans, so that the roads became dangerous. This being reported to the Khan, he sent emissaries and spies to find out the places where the rebels had taken refuge, and to make a full report of their state and condition. On Monday, 24th Rajab, 658 (July, 1260), he marched from Delhi with his own forces, the main army, and the forces of several chiefs. He hastened towards the hills, and, accomplishing more than fifty *kos* in one day's journey (!), he fell upon the insurgents unawares, and captured them all, to the number of twelve thousand – men, women, and children – whom he put to the sword. All their valleys and strongholds were overrun and cleared, and great booty captured. Thanks be to God for this victory of Islam.

7. Alauddin Khalji

(a) Alauddin and the Mongol invasions, Abdu-llah Wassaf[10]

When Sultan 'Alau-d din had fully established himself in the empire of Dehli, and his conquests and holy wars had proclaimed him universally as the greatest champion of the Muhammadan religion, it happened, that in the year 708, Ali Beg Gurgan, with an army consisting of three tumans, marched to Hindustan, and pitched his camp in the vicinity of 'Iwaz (Oudh) and Badaun, expecting to make an easy conquest of that country. The Sultan dispatched his general Hazar-Dinari, who was called Malik Kafur, with 80,000 formidable and veteran cavalry to expel them; and when the army of Islam was within the distance of a day's journey from the enemy, it made suddenly a night attack on their camp, which was left quite unguarded, and the greater part of the Mughal armies received their retribution *(iwaz)* from the empire of Dehli, where they met with the silent tomb of entire annihilation. Having surrounded the remnant on the field of battle they deprived them of their arms," and 'Ali Beg and other officers of the Mughals were carried captive to Dehli.

"Sultan 'Alau-d din gave orders that the sword of menace and the declaration of unity should be offered to them; when, as they could not help themselves, they placed their heads on the line of Islam," and repeated the profession of the Muhammadan creed…. "Alau-d din honoured and gave

preferment to Ali Beg, and made him one of his nobles, and the Mughal army was provided for amongst the armies of Islam. After the battle an order was issued by Alau-d din to gather together the heads of those who had been slain. This matter was specially made over to the Hindus. On counting them after they were thrown at the feet of the holy warrior they were found to amount to 60,000, and, as was done with the Nigudari [a younger son of the Mongol invader, Chagatai] Mughals, a pillar was constructed of these heads before the Badaun gate, in order that it might be a warning and spectacle to future generations.

(b) Invasion of Telingana, Abdu-llah, Wassaf[11]

In the year 709 (1309 A.D.), – the year arrived in prosperity and the time was propitious – the lofty mind of the king greatly inclined towards the conquest of the whole of Hindustan, and the subjection of the infidels. Previous to this, Malwa had been conquered; he, therefore dispatched Malik Nabu, Zafar Khan, and Nanak Hindi, with an army consisting of one hundred thousand horse and foot, – Oh thou for whom there is an army that obtains victory, – to conquer the province of Telingana. When they arrived on its frontier, the Rai of that province adopted a prudent resolution, submitted to the Muhammadans, and agreed to pay an annual tribute and receive the royal collectors, and that populous territory replete with every kind of wealth – As the cheek of your friend full of excellence, In which are all desires you are in search of, – containing more than 30,000 tracts of country, was added to the Muhammadan empire. It is related that 6,000 kharwars, or loads, of gold were dispatched to Dehli, – Much yellow gold was in the large sacks, – and in consequence of the abundance of diamonds obtained by plunder, they became so cheap that, one weighing a miskal, could be purchased for three dinars.

(c) Invasion of Dwarsamundar, Abdu-llah, Wassaf[12]

The royal army marched from this place towards the country of Dur Samun. Rai Pandya offered opposition, and begged the assistance of an army from Ma'bar. At that time enmity prevailed between the two brothers, Sundar Pandi and Tira Pandi, after the murder of their father. The latter sent to his assistance an army of horse and foot. Subsequently, the Rai, turning to the right rank, declined a contest, and, having proffered his submission, he was left in possession of his country without the necessity of fighting.

He delivered up to Malik Kafur the country of Arikanna, as a proof of his allegiance, and treasure beyond what imagination can conceive, together with 55 large elephants, which were worthy of carrying the great and fortunate heroes of the time, so that the country was restored to him, and, instead of shell-blowing, pyrolatry, and idol-worship, the true faith and the five daily prayers were established. On account of these transactions the fame of the first holy wars which opened Hind under Mahmud Subuktigin was erased from the page of history.

At the present time the imperial army consists of 475,000 Muhammadan disciplined holy warriors, whose names are recorded by the imperial muster-master, and whose pay and rations are entered in the regulations of the deputy-victualler. They are most obedient to the orders they receive, and are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the especial sake of their religion. Four hundred war elephants…are kept in the royal stables, and forty swift camels…are employed to convey daily reports, with the greatest expedition, from and to the distant provinces of the empire…-

(d) Invasion of Ma'bar, Abdu-llah, Wassaf[13]

In the month of Rajab of the year 710 H. (1310 A.D.) the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were dispatched to conquer Ma'bar, and some of the towns were obtained through the animosity which has lately arisen between the two brothers; when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war, was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans. Malik Nabu, who thought himself a very Saturn, was obliged to retreat, and bring back his army.

8. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq

(a) System of presenting gifts to the Sultan, Ibn Battuta[14]

Every person proceeding to the court of this king must needs have a gift ready to present to him, in order to gain his favour. The sultan requites him for it by a gift many times its value. When his subjects grew accustomed to this practice, the merchants in Sind and India began to furnish each newcomer with thousands of dinars as a loan, and to supply him with whatever he might desire to offer as a gift or to use on his own behalf, such as riding animals, camels, and goods. They place both their money and their persons at his service, and stand before him like attendants. When he reaches the sultan, he receives a magnificent gift from him and pays off his

debt to them. This trade of theirs is a flourishing one and brings in vast profits. On reaching Sind I followed this practice and bought horses, camels, white slaves and other goods from the merchants. I had already bought from an 'Iraqi merchant in Ghazna about thirty horses and a camel with a load of arrows, for this is one of the things presented to the sultan. This merchant went off to Khurasan and on returning to India received his money from me. He made an enormous profit through me and became one of the principal merchants.

(b) The Sultan's palace, Ibn Battuta[15]

The sultan's palace at Delhi is called *Dar Sara,* and contains many doors. At the first door there are a number of guardians, and beside it trumpeters and flute-players. When any amir or person of note arrives they sound their instruments and say "So-and-so has come, so-and-so has come." The same takes place also at the second and third doors. Outside the first door are platforms on which the executioners sit, for the custom amongst them is that when the sultan orders a man to he executed, the sentence is carried out at the door of the audience hall, and the body lies there over three nights. Between the first and second doors there is a large vestibule with platforms along both sides, on which sit those whose turn of duty it is to guard the doors. Between the second and third doors there is a large platform on which the principal naqib [keeper of the register] sits; in front of him there is a gold mace, which he holds in his hand, and on his head he wears a jewelled tiara of gold, surmounted by peacock feathers. The second door leads to an extensive audience hall in which the people sit. At the third door there are platforms occupied by the scribes of the door. One of their customs is that none may pass through this door except those whom the sultan has prescribed, and for each person he prescribes a number of his staff to enter along with him. Whenever any person comes to this door the scribes write down "So-and-so-came at the first hour" or the second, and so on, and the sultan receives a report of this after the evening prayer. Another of their customs is that anyone who absents himself from the palace for three days or more, with or without excuse, may not enter this door thereafter except by the sultan's permission. If he has an excuse of illness or otherwise he presents the sultan with a gift suitable to his rank. The third door opens into an immense audience hall called *Hazar Uslun,* which

means ‘A thousand pillars.’ The pillars are of wood and support a wooden roof, admirably carved. The people sit under this, and it is in this hall that the sultan holds public audiences.

(c) The Sultan’s court, Ibn Battuta[16]

As a rule his audiences are held in the afternoon, though he often holds them early in the day. He sits cross-legged on a throne placed on a dais carpeted in white, with a large cushion behind him and two others as armrests on his right and left. When he takes his seat, the wazir stands in front of him, the secretaries behind the wazir, then the chamberlains and so on in order of precedence. As the sultan sits down the chamberlains and naqibs say in their loudest voice *Bismillah.* At the sultan’s head stands the ‘great king’ Qabula with a fly-whisk in his hand to drive off the flies. A hundred armour-bearers stand on the right and a like number on the left, carrying shields, swords, and bows. The other functionaries and notables stand along the hall to right and left. Then they bring in sixty horses with the royal harness, half of which are ranged on the right and half on the left, where the sultan can see them. Next fifty elephants are brought in, which are adorned with silken cloths, and have their tusks shod with iron for greater efficacy in killing criminals. On the neck of each elephant is its mahout, who carries a sort of iron axe with which he punishes it and directs it to do what is required of it. Each elephant has on its back a sort of large chest capable of holding twenty warriors or more or less, according to the size of the beast. These elephants are trained to make obeisance to the sultan and incline their heads, and when they do so the chamberlains cry in a loud voice *Bismillah.* They also are arranged half on the right and half on the left behind the persons standing. As each person enters who has an appointed place of standing on the right or left, he makes obeisance on reaching the station of the chamberlains, and the chamberlains say *Bismillah,* regulating the loudness of their utterance by the rank of the person concerned, who then retires to his appointed place, beyond which he never passes. If it is one of the infidel Hindus who makes obeisance, the chamberlains say to him ‘God guide thee.’

(d) Loves the company of learned men, Shihabuddin al Umari[17]

The jurist *Abul Fadhail Omar bin Ishaq ash-Shibli* narrated to me that this Sultan does not leave the company of learned men whether in travel or in

residence. He says: We were with him in one of his conquests. When we were on the way news of the victory reached him from the advance guard while we were in his presence. Then a joy befell him and he said: This is due to the blessing of those Ulama. Then he ordered them to enter the public treasury and they carried away as much wealth as they could. Those who were weak amongst them appointed a substitute who carried this wealth for them. The narrator continues, "They entered the treasury, but I did not enter, not did many of my peers because we did not belong to that group. Every one of those carried away two purses, each one containing 10,000 *dirhams*. But one of them carried three purses, two beneath his armpit, the other one on his head. When the Sultan saw them, he laughed in astonishment at the avarice of him who carried three. He (Sultan) asked about the rest of the persons and those who had not entered like me. It was said to him that these were below those because those were professors and these were assistants. He then ordered 10,000 *dirhams* to be given to everyone of them, and they were distributed among us. The narrator continues: the beacon of *shariat,* (Muslim Law) is standing on account of him and love for men of letters is found with him. They are shown honour and veneration. They exert to the highest to preserve that by which their reputation is established, by improving their mind and their appearance and in persevering in studying and in imparting knowledge, and right deliberation in all matters and moderation in all their affairs.

(e) Generosity of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Ibn Battuta[18]

I shall now mention a few of his magnificent gifts and largesses…

The doctor Shams ad-Din, who was a philosopher and a born poet, wrote a laudatory ode to the sultan in Persian. The ode contained twenty-seven verses, and the sultan gave him a thousand silver dinars for each verse. This is more than has ever been related of former kings, for they used to give a thousand dirhams for each verse, which is only a tenth of the sultan's gift. Then too when the sultan heard the story of the learned and pious qadi Majd ad-Din of Shiraz, whose history we have written in the first volume, he sent ten thousand silver dinars to him at Shiraz. Again, Burhan ad-Din of Sagharj [near Samarqand] was a preacher and imam so liberal in spending what he possessed that he used often to contract debts in order to give to others. The sultan heard of him and sent him forty thousand dinars, with a

request that he would come to Delhi. He accepted the gift and paid his debts with it, but went off to Cathay and refused to come to the sultan, saying "I shall not go to a sultan in whose presence scholars have to stand."

One of the Indian nobles claimed that the sultan had put his brother to death without cause, and cited him before the qadi. The sultan walked on foot and unarmed to the qadi's tribunal, saluted him and made obeisance, having previously commanded the qadi not to rise before him or move when he entered his court, and remained standing before him. The qadi gave judgement against the sultan, to the effect that he must give satisfaction to his adversary for the blood of his brother, and he did so. At another time a certain Muslim claimed that the sultan owed him a sum of money. They carried the matter before the qadi, who gave judgement against the sultan for the payment of the debt, and he paid it.

When a famine broke out in India and Sind, and prices became so high that a maund of wheat rose to six dinars, the sultan ordered that every person in Delhi should be given six months' provisions from the granary, at the rate of a pound and a half per person per day, small or great, freeman or slave. The doctors and qadis set about compiling registers of the population of each quarter and brought the people, each of whom received six months' provisions.

(f) Foreigners honoured by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Ibn Battuta[19]

The king of India, Sultan Muhammad Shah, makes a practice of honouring strangers and distinguishing them by governorships or high dignities of State. The majority of his courtiers, palace officials, ministers of state, judges, and relatives by marriage are foreigners, and he has issued a decree that foreigners are to be given in his country the title of *'Aziz* [Honourable], so that this has become a proper name for them.

(g) Cruelty of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Ibn Battuta[20]

This king is of all men the fondest of making gifts and of shedding blood. His gate is never without some poor man enriched or some living man executed, and stories are current amongst the people of his generosity and courage and of his cruelty and violence towards criminals...

In spite of all we have said of his humility, justice, compassion for the needy, and extraordinary generosity, the sultan was far too ready to shed

blood. He punished small faults and great, without respect of persons, whether men of learning, piety, or high station. Every day hundreds of people, chained, pinioned, and fettered, are brought to his hall, and those who are for execution are executed, those for torture tortured, and those for beating beaten. It is his custom that every day all persons who are in his prison are brought to the hall, except only on Fridays; this is a day of respite for them, on which they clean themselves and remain at ease – may God deliver us from misfortune ! The sultan had a half-brother named Masud Khan, whose mother was the daughter of Sultan 'Ala ad-Din, and who was one of the most beautiful men I have ever seen on earth. He suspected him of wishing to revolt, and questioned him on the matter. Masud confessed through fear of torture, for anyone who denies an accusation of this sort which the sultan formulates against him is put to the torture, and the people consider death a lighter affliction than torture. The sultan gave orders that he should be beheaded in the market place, and his body lay there for three days according to their custom.

(h) Inhabitants asked to leave Delhi, Ibn Battuta[21]

One of the gravest charges against the sultan is that of compelling the inhabitants of Delhi to leave the town. The reason for this was that they used to write missives reviling and insulting him, seal them and inscribe them, "By the hand of the Master of the World, none but he may read this." They then threw them into the audience-hall at night, and when the sultan broke the seal he found them full of insults and abuse. He decided to lay Delhi in ruins, and having bought from all the inhabitants their houses and dwellings and paid them the price of them, he commanded them to move to Dawlat Abad. They refused, and his herald was sent to proclaim that no person should remain in the city after three nights. The majority complied with the order, but some of them hid in the houses. The sultan ordered a search to be made for any persons remaining in the town, and his slaves found two men, in the streets, one a cripple and the other blind. They were brought before him and he gave orders that the cripple should be hung from a mangonel and the blind man dragged from Delhi to Dawlat Abad, a distance of forty days' journey. He fell to pieces on the road and all of him that reached Dawlat Abad was his leg. When the sultan did this, every person left the town, abandoning furniture and possessions, and the city

remained utterly deserted. A person in whom I have confidence told me that the sultan mounted one night to the roof of his palace and looked out over Delhi, where there was neither fire nor smoke nor lamp, and said "Now my mind is tranquil and my wrath appeased." Afterwards he wrote to the inhabitants of the other cities commanding them to move to Delhi to repopulate it. The result was only to ruin their cities and leave Delhi still unpopulated, because of its immensity, for it is one of the greatest cities in the world. It was in this state that we found it on our arrival, empty and unpopulated, save for a few inhabitants.

(i) The army and officers of the Government, *Subh-ul-A'sha*[22]

It is related that his army consists of 900,000 horsemen, a part of them are at His Majesty's court, others are scattered in the whole country. His Diwan provides for the means of subsistence for all of them. The army consists of Turks, Khitais, Persians, Indians and people of various nations. All of them have branded horses, excellent weapons and are elegant in appearance. The officers of his army are the Khans, Maliks, Amirs, Sipah-Salars and then the ranks.

He relates that in the Sultan's service there are eighty Khans or more and that each of them has followers according to his rank. The Khan has ten thousand horsemen, the Malik one thousand, the Amir one hundred, and the Sipah-Salar less than that. None of the Sipah-Salars are considered worthy to be near the Sultan, but they can be appointed as Valis or to posts equal to the rank of Vali. The Sultan has ten thousand Turkish slaves and ten thousand eunuchs; one thousand cashholders and one thousand Bashmaqdars [in charge of horseshoes of the Sultan]. He has two lakhs of *stirrup* slaves, who wear weapons, accompany him always and fight on foot in front of him. The whole army is exclusively attached to the Sultan and his Diwan pays them, even those who are in the service of the Khans and Maliks and Amirs. Fiefs cannot be given to them by their masters as it is the custom in Egypt and Syria….

Besides these he has one thousand falconers *(bazdar)* who carry the birds of prey for hunting while riding the horses and three thousand drivers who obtain the game; five hundred courtiers *(nadim)* and two hundred musicians besides his one thousand slaves who are specially trained for music; one thousand poets of fine taste and wit in Arabic, Persian and Hindi. His

Diwan pays all these as long as they are men of spotless purity and chastity, in public and private life.

(j) Royal elephants and slaves, Shihabuddin al Umari[23]

The Sultan has 3000 elephants which are covered in battle with iron trappings inlaid with gold. In times of peace they are covered with housing of silk brocade and different kinds of silk adorned with figures. They are adorned with canopy and seats overlaid with plates; and wooden towers are fixed on them with nails and the Indians construct their seats for fighting. On an elephant are from 10 to 6 men according to the strength of the elephant.

The Sultan has 20,000 Turkish slaves. *Al-Bazzi* says: 10,000 eunuchs, 1,000 treasurers, 1,000 *Bashmaqdars,* 2,00,000 attendants, who wear weapons and march with the Sultan in front of him.

(k) Karkhanas, Shihabuddin al Umari[24]

This Sultan has an embroidery house in which 4,000 silk-workers who make different kinds of cloth for robes of honour and garments and gifts in addition to the stuff which is imported from China, Iraq and Alexandria. The Sultan distributes every year 2,00,000 complete garments, namely 1,00,000 in spring and 1,00,000, in autumn. The garments, of spring are mostly from Alexandrian stuffs made in Alexandria; the garments of summer are all of silk made in the factory in Delhi and stuff from China and Iraq. He distributes (them) in Khanqahs and hospices.

The Sultan has 4,000 embroiderers who manufacture the brocades for the harem and manufacture things for his use which he bestows upon the officers of the state and presents (them) to their wives…

(l) Conquests of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, Shihabuddin al Umari[25]

The first place which was conquered was the country of Tilink [the Kakatiya kingdom of Telengana, was conquered by Muhammad bin Tughluq before his accession]. It is an extensive province with many villages, the number of which is nine hundred thousand and nine hundred. Then the province of Jajnagar [capital of Orissa] was conquered. In it there are 70 fine cities all ports on the sea, the revenue of which consists of pearls, elephants, different kinds of cloth, perfumes and aromatics. Then the province of Lakhnauti [Bengal, it was conquered by the Sultan's father] was

conquered which has been the seat of nine kings. Then the province of Devagir [the northern most Hindu kingdom of the south] was conquered. It has 84 strong hill forts. *Sheikh Burhanuddin Abu Bakr bin al-Khallal aI-Bazzi* related that there are one crore and two lakh villages in it. Then the province of Dursamand [Dwarasamudra] was conquered where *Sultan Bilal Deo* [Vira Ballala III, the Hoysala king of Dwarasamudra] and five infidel kings reigned. Then the province of Mabar was conquered.

It is a big country having ninety ports on the seacoast the revenue of which is derived from perfumes, muslin (lains), various kinds of cloth and other beautiful things.…

The Sufi Shaikh Burhanuddin Abu Bakr bin al-Khallalh Muhammad al-Bizzi has related to me the following: This Sultan sent his army to the province of…[name cannot be deciphered, Telingana?] and it is in the neighbourhood of Dewogir, in the extremity of its frontiers. The people were infidels and every king was called 'rai'. When the troops of the Sultan took the field against him he sent a messenger saying: Say to the Sultan that he should refrain from us and whatever he wishes in the form of wealth it will be given to him, he should send as many beasts of burden as he likes to carry away. The commander of the army sent information to the Sultan as to what he (the rai) had said. His answer came back that he should refrain from fighting them and give quarter to the Rai. When he presented himself before the Sultan, he honoured him very much and said to him: I have never heard the like of what you have said. What is the amount of wealth you have got that you have told me to send you as many beasts of burden as I like to carry that. The Rai replied: Seven rais have preceded me in this country and everyone of them collected 70,000 Babin and all of them are still with me. He said: A *bobin* is very wide cistern from the four sides of which one descends into it with ladders. The Sultan was surprised at his speech and ordered the sealing of the *babins* with his name (to preserve them). So they were sealed with the name of the Sultan. Then he ordered the Rai to nominate a viceroy in his country and that he himself should reside in Delhi and he offered him Islam, but he refused. So he let him act freely in the matter of his religion and he stayed in his court appointing a regent for him in his country and the Sultan assigned attendants for him, suitable for one like him and sent to that country great sums to be distributed to his people as alms saying that they were counted amongst the

number of his subjects. The Sultan did not interfere with the *babins,* but only put on them the seal and left them in the same condition under his seal. I have related this according to what *al-Bazzi* related and he is known for his veracity. The responsibility is with him. He who wants further information should turn to him.

(m) His Holy Wars, Shihabuddin al Umari[26]

This Sultan is not slow in waging Holy War *(Jihad)*. In the holy war by land or by sea his bridle or his spear do not deviate (from it). This is the sole object which engages his eye and his ear. He has spent a large amount in exalting the word of Faith and in spreading Islam in these regions, so that the light of Islam was spread in these parts and the lightning of the true guidance flashed in these regions and the fire-temples were destroyed and the Buddha's statues and idols were broken and the land was freed from those who were not (included) in the land of security, that is, those who had not entered the contract of a *Zimmis* and through him Islam was spread up to the farthest East, and reached up to where the Sun rises, and he carried the banners of the Islamic people as *Abu Nasr-al-Aini* says, to where never a banner had reached and no chapter, *surat,* or verse *(ayat)* was read of the Quran. Then he built mosques and places of worship and replaced music by prayer-call and silenced the mumblings of the Magians by the recitation of the Quran, and he directed the people of this faith (Islam) against the fortresses of the infidels. And he has appointed them with the help of God as the heirs of their property and their lands and the country which they had never trodden under foot: land after land was placed under the banner of this Sultan. On land his banners are like eagles and on sea the banners are like the crows of the running ships, so that no day passes without the sale of thousands of slaves for the lowest prices on account of the great number of captives and prisoners.

B. Sultan of Bedar

1. Rulers and subjects at Bedar, Athanasius Nikitin[27]

The rulers and the nobles in the land of India are all Khorassanians. The Hindoos walk all on foot and walk fast. They are all naked and barefooted, and carry a shield in one hand and a sword in the other. Some of the servants are armed with straight bows and arrows.

2. Nobility and condition of people, Athanasius Nikitin[28]

The land is overstocked with people; but those in the country are very miserable, whilst the nobles are extremely opulent and delight in luxury. They are wont to be carried on their silver beds, preceded by some twenty chargers caparisoned in gold, and followed by 300 men on horseback and 500 on foot, and by horn-men, ten torchbearers and ten musicians.

The sultan goes out hunting with his mother and his lady, and a train of 10,000 men on horseback, 50,000 on foot; 200 elephants adorned in gilded armour, and in front one hundred horn-men, 100 dancers, and 300 common horses in golden clothing, 100 monkeys, and 100 concubines, all foreign (haurikies).

The sultan's palace

The sultan's palace has seven gates, and in each gate are seated 100 guards and 100 Mahommedan scribes, who enter the names of all persons going in and out. Foreigners are not admitted into the town. This palace is very wonderful; everything in it is carved or gilded, and, even to the smallest stone, is cut and ornamented with gold most wonderfully. Several courts of justice are within the building.

3. Hindus at Bedar, Athanasius Nikitin[29]

I came to Bedar from Kulongher on the day of Philip (14th of November) …and made acquaintance with many Hindoos, told them what was my faith; that I was neither Mahommedan nor. . . (caaedronie, saiadenie?), but a Christian; that my name was *Ofonasey,* and my Mahommedan name *Khoza Issuf Khorossani.* After that they no more endeavoured to conceal anything from me, neither their meals, nor their commerce, nor their prayers, nor other things; nor did they try to hide their women. And I asked them all about their religion, and they said: 'We believe in Adam;' and they hold the *Budhs* to be Adam and his race. There are in all eighty-four creeds, and all believe in *Boot* (Buddha), and no man of one creed will drink, eat, or marry with those of another. Some of them feed on mutton, fowls, fish, and eggs, but none on beef.

4. Bedar-Vijayanagar conflict, Athanasius Nikitin[30]

The sultan (of Bedar) moved out with his army on the fifteenth day after the Ulu Bairam to join Melich-Tuchar at Kulburga. But their campaign was

not successful, for they only took one Indian town, and that at the loss of many people and treasures.

The Hindoo sultan Kadam is a very powerful prince. He possesses a numerous army, and resides on a mountain at Bichenegher (Bijanagar). This vast city is surrounded by three *forts,* and intersected by a river, bordering on one side on a dreadful *jungel,* on the other on a dale; a wonderful place, and to any purpose convenient. On one side it is quite inaccessible; a road goes right through the town, and as the mountain rises high with a ravine below, the town is impregnable.

The enemy besieged it for a month and lost many people, owing to the want of water and food. Plenty of water was in sight, but could not be got at.

This Indian stronghold was ultimately taken by Melikh Khan Khoda, who stormed it, having fought day and night to reduce it. The army that made the siege with heavy guns, had neither eaten nor drunk for twenty days. He lost five thousand of his best soldiers. On the capture of the town twenty thousand inhabitants, men and women, had their heads cut off; twenty thousand, young and old, were made prisoners, and sold afterwards at ten tenkas and also at five tenkas a head; the children at two tenkas each. The treasury, however, having been found empty, the town was abandoned.

C. The Sultan of Padua

Ming Chinese ambassador's account in 1415[31]

The dwelling of the King is all of bricks set in mortar, the flight of steps leading up to it is high and broad. The halls are flat-roofed and white-washed inside. The inner doors are of triple thickness and of nine panels. In the audience hall all the pillars are plated with brass ornamented with figures of flowers and animals, carved and polished. To the right and left are long verandahs on which were drawn up (on the occasion of our audience) over a thousand men in shining armour, and on horseback outside, filling the courtyard were long ranks of (our) Chinese (soldiers) in shining helmets and coats of mail, with spears, swords, bows and arrows, looking martial and lusty. To the right and the left of the King were hundreds of peacock feather umbrellas and before the hall were some hundreds of soldiers mounted on elephants. The king sat cross-legged in the

principal hall on a high throne inlaid with precious stones and a two-edged sword lay across his lap…

Two men bearing silver staffs and with turbaned heads came to usher (us) in. When (we) had taken five steps forward (we) made salutation. On reaching the middle (of the hall) they halted and two other men with gold staffs led us forward with some ceremony as previously. The King having returned our salutations, kowtowed before the Imperial Mandate, raised it to his head, then opened and read it. The imperial gifts were all spread out on carpets in the audience hall…(The Sultan) bestowed on the envoys gold basins, gold girdles, gold flagons, and gold bowls.

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45. Sastri, p., 214
46. Ibid., p., 199
47. Major, p., 17
48. Marco Polo, pp., 354-355
49. Zaki, pp., 44-45
50. Hirth and Rockhill, p., 97
51. Marco Polo, p., 345
52. Richard Eaton, pp., 47- 49
53. Sastri p., 304
54. S. Maqbul Ahmad, p., 34
55. Ibid., p., 36
56. Ibid., pp., 38-39
57. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. II, pp., 167-170
58. Sastri p., 299
59. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p., 38
60. Ibid., p., 40
61. Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp., 428-429

62. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p., 79
63. Ibid., p., 83
64. Hirth and Rockhill, pp., 97-98
65. Sastri, pp., 199, 204
66. Hirth and Rockhill, p., 88
67. Ibid., p., 96
68. Sastri, pp., 147-149
69. Ibid., p., 294
70. Ibn Battuta, pp., 231-234
71. Sastri, pp., 297-298
72. Ibn Battuta, p., 230-231
73. Major, p., 26
74. Hirth and Rockhill, p., 97
75. Rockhill, 1915, pp., 435-436
76. Ibid., pp., 442-443
77. Hirth and Rockhill, p., 92
78. Ibn Battuta, pp., 227-228
79. Major, p., 9
80. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 63-65
81. Filliozat, pp., 250- 251
82. Major, pp., 35-39
83. Alberuni, vol. II, pp., 167-171
84. Minorsky, p., 637
85. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, pp., 88-89
86. Sastri, p., 135

CHAPTER — 3

1. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 24
2. Alberuni, vol. I**,** pp., 18-19
3. Ibid., pp., 170-177
4. Lokesh Chandra, p., 37
5. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. III, p., 63
6. Major, p., 31
7. Ibid., p., 25
8. Rockhill, 1915, pp., 437; 440
9. Alberuni, vol. I, pp., 135-137
10. Ibid., pp., 125-134
11. Garratt, p., 36
12. Ibid., p., 367
13. Alberuni, vol. I, p., 152-159
14. Ibid., pp., 188-189
15. Ibid., pp., 213-219
16. Sastri, p., 30
17. Alberuni, vol. I, p., 239
18. Minorsky, pp., 628-629
19. Marco Polo, pp., 342-343
20. S. Maqbul Ahmad, p., 52
21. Maqbul Ahmad 1969, p., 123
22. Sastri, p., 143
23. Marco Polo, pp., 339-340

24. Ibid., pp., 341-342
25. Major, pp., 31-32
26. Sastri, p., 307

CHAPTER — 4

1. S. Maqbul Ahmad, pp., 3-4
2. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p., 36
3. Zaki, pp., 64-65
4. Ibid., p., 65
5. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p., 78
6. Ibid., p., 77
7. Subh-ul-A'sha, Zaki, pp., 63-64
8. Ibid., p., 65
9. Ibn Battuta, pp., 187-188.
10. Ibid., p., 188.
11. Ibid., p., 188
12. Ibid., p., 193
13. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 84-85
14. Marco Polo, p., 361
15. Ibn Battuta, pp., 228-229
16. Major, p., 20
17. Ibid., p., 19
18. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p. 85
19. Ibid., p., 85
20. Ibid., p., 85
21. Ibid., p., 97
22. Sastri, pp., 134-135
23. Ibid., p., 134
24. Major, p., XLVII-XLVIII
25. Hirth and Rockhill, p., 89
26. Marco Polo, p., 355
27. Ibn Battuta, p., 238
28. S. Maqbul Ahmad, p., 5
29. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 85-86
30. Ibid., p., 87
31. Ibid., p., 89
32. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. II, pp., 114-115
33. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 89-90
34. Ibid., p., 90
35. Ibid., p., 90
36. Ibn Battuta, p., 223
37. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 91-92
38. Ibid., p., 99
39. Hirth and Rockhill,
40. Marco Polo, pp., 360-361
41. Zaki, pp., 71-74
42. Marco Polo, pp., 348-349
43. Ibid., p., 354
44. Ibid**.,** pp., 358-359
45. Zaki, pp., 74-77

46. Ibid., pp., 77-80
47. Ibn Battuta, p., 240
48. Major, pp., 13-14
49. Ibid., p., 20
50. Sastri, p., 295
51. Ibid., p., 297
52. Ibid., p., 305
53. Ibid., p., 306
54. Ibn Battuta, pp., 263-264
55. Major, p., 7
56. Ibid., p., 12
57. Sastri, p., 21
58. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. III, pp., 66-67
59. Sastri, pp., 26-27
60. Ibid., p., 307
61. Marco Polo, pp., 335-337
62. Ibn Battuta, pp., 183-184.
63. Wink, vol. I, pp., 60-61
64. Zaki, p., 16
65. Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p., 447
66. Alberuni, vol. I, pp., 160-168
67. Zaki, pp., 87-91
68. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p., 35
69. Sastri, p., 139
70. Zaki, pp., 47-48
71. Ibid., pp., 87-91
72. Major, p., 30
73. Ibid., p., 26
74. Sastri, p., 308
75. Zaki, pp., 91-92
76. Ibid., p., 16
77. Ibid., p., 39
78. Ibid., pp., 91-92
79. Major, pp., 12-13

CHAPTER — 5

1. Hirth and Rockhill, p., 94
2. Sastri, pp., 319-320
3. Ibn Battuta, pp., 194-196
4. Elliot and Dowson, vol., II, p., 222
5. Elliot and Dowson, vol., III, p., 441
6. Ibid., pp., 447-448
7. Zaki, pp., 17-20
8. Major, pp., 23-24
9. Ibid., p., 24
10. Ibn Battuta, p., 224
11. Ibid., p., 227
12. Ibid., p., 226
13. Major, p., 20
14. Ibid., pp., 20-22

CHAPTER — 6

1. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 7
2. Alberuni, vol. I, pp., 19-20
3. Ibid., p., 21
4. Ibid., pp., 27-29
5. Ibid., pp., 40-44
6. Ibid., pp., 50-51
7. Ibid., pp., 56-57
8. Ibid., p., 85
9. Minorsky, pp., 629-630
10. Ibid., p., 631
11. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 76
12. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. III, p., 63
13. Major, p., 17
14. Alberuni, vol. I, pp., 111-112
15. Ibid., p., 123
16. Minorsky, p., 635
17. Ibid., p., 635
18. Ibid., p., 636
19. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 11
20. Zaki, pp., 33-34
21. Alberuni, vol. I, pp., 116-117
22. Ibid., p., 117
23. Ibid., p., 117
24. Alberuni, vol. II, pp., 102-106
25. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, pp., 97-99
26. Elliot and Dowson, vol., III, pp., 42-44
27. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. II, p., 138
28. Ibid., pp., 142-143
29. Major, pp., 27-28
30. Ravenstein, pp., 52-55
31. Alberuni, vol. II, pp., 144-145
32. Ibid., pp., 146-147
33. Ibid., p., 147
34. Ibid., p., 147
35. Ibid., pp., 147-148
36. Ibid., p., 148
37. Elliot and Dowson, vol., III, pp., 511-512
38. Minorsky, p., 634
39. Ibid., p., 636
40. Ibid., p., 636
41. Ibid., pp., 636-637
42. Ibid., p., 637
43. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. II, pp., 144-145
44. Sastri, p., 209
45. Ibn Battuta, p., 193
46. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. II, p., 116
47. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 88
48. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. III, p., 62
49. Marco Polo, p., 340

50. Ibid., p., 347
51. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. II, pp., 137-138
52. Sastri, p., 205
53. Major, pp., 19-20
54. Ibid., p., 5
55. S. Maqbul Ahmad, p., 53
56. Minorsky, pp., 634-635
57. Ibid., p., 637
58. Ibid., p., 638
59. Ibid., p., 638
60. Ibid., pp., 638-639
61. Ibid., pp., 639-640
62. Aziz Ahmad, p., 112
63. Bryant, pp., 42-43
64. Marco Polo, p., 351-352
65. Ibn Battuta, p., 225
66. Ibid., p., 226
67. Bongard-Levin, p., 18
68. Bagchi, pp., 86-92
69. Sastri, p., 133
70. Roerich, p., 64; 90-91
71. Karl Jahn, pp., LX-LXI
72. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. II, pp., 262-266
73. Bryant, pp., 50-51

CHAPTER — 7

1. S. Maqbul Ahmad, p., 53
2. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 6
3. Ibid., pp., 16-17
4. Alberuni, vol. I, pp., 100-104
5. Minorsky, pp., 627-628
6. Major, p., 17
7. Sastri p., 304
8. Ibid., p., 118
9. Bongard-Levin, pp., 18-20
10. Maqbul Ahmad, 1969, pp., 115-116
11. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 10
12. Ibid., p., 19
13. Alberuni, vol. II, pp., 130-135
14. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 76
15. Maqbul Ahmad, 1969, p., 115
16. Marco Polo, pp., 349-350
17. Major, p., 20
18. Ibid., p., 25
19. Major, pp., 25-26
20. Bryant, p., 36
21. Alberuni, vol. II, p., 136
22. Minorsky, p., 634
23. Alberuni, vol. II, p., 136
24. Elliot and Dowson, vol., II, pp., 167-168

25. Alberuni, vol. II, pp., 136-137
26. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 76
27. Sastri, p., 203
28. Alberuni, vol. II, p., 137
29. Ibid., pp., 137-138

CHAPTER — 8

1. Elliot and Dowson, vol., I, p., 11
2. Ravenstein, pp., 49-50
3. Alberuni, vol. I, pp., 107-108
4. Alberuni, vol. II, pp., 154-156
5. Sastri, pp., 143-144
6. Ibid., pp., 320- 321
7. Major, p., 29
8. Ibid., p., 20
9. Ibid., p., 5
10. Alberuni, vol. II, p., 155
11. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. II, pp., 138-140
12. Sastri, p., 203
13. Ibn Battuta, pp., 191-193.
14. Major, p., 6
15. Ibid., p., 24
16. Ibid., pp., 5-6
17. Hirth and Rockhill, p., 92
18. Marco Polo, pp., 344-345
19. Major, pp., 29-30

CHAPTER — 9

1. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p., 11
2. S. Maqbul Ahmad, p., 57
3. Sastri, p., 9
4. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 170-171
5. Ibid., pp., 171-172
6. Ibid., p., 172
7. Ibid., pp., 172-173
8. Ibid., p., 181
9. Ibid., p., 181
10. Ibid., pp., 181-182
11. Ibid., p., 209
12. Ibid., p., 210
13. Ibid., p., 210
14. Ibid., pp., 210-211
15. S. Maqbul Ahmad, pp., 42-43
16. Maqbul Ahmad, pp., 3-6
17. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p., 21
18. Ibid., pp., 24-25
19. Ibid., p., 27
20. S. Maqbul Ahmad, p., 43
21. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p., 4
22. S. Maqbul Ahmad, pp., 43-44

23. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, p., 5
24. Ibid., p., 25
25. Elliot and Dowson, vol. II, pp., 307-308
26. S. Maqbul Ahmad, pp., 44-45
27. Wink, vol. I, p., 260
28. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 4-5
29. Wink, vol. I, p., 242
30. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 5-6
31. Ibid., p., 25
32. Wink, vol. I, p., 290
33. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 21-23
34. Wink, vol. I, p., 288
35. Hirth and Rockhill, p., 96
36. Ibid., p., 96
37. Sastri, p., 320
38. Maqbul Ahmad, p., 45
39. Hirth and Rockhill, pp., 87
40. Marco Polo, p., 338
41. Ibid., p., 350
42. Ibid., pp., 338-339
43. Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp., 32-35
44. Sastri, p., 209
45. Ibid., pp., 212-213
46. Ibn Batutta, p., 234-235
47. Major, pp., 17-19
48. Ibid., pp., 22-23
49. Ibid., pp., 30-31
50. Ibid., p., 6
51. Ibid., pp., 30-31
52. Sastri, p., 304
53. Ibid., pp., 306-307
54. Ravenstein, pp., 56-63
55. Disney and Booth, pp., 49-50

CHAPTER — 10

1. Sastri, p., 203
2. Major, p., xlviii
3. Leifer, p., 12
4. Ibid., p., 22
5. Lach, p., 41
6. Major, pp., LXXXIII-LXXXIV
7. M. K. Kuriakose. p., 10
8. Ibid., p., 13
9. Ibid., p., 13
10. Marco Polo, pp., 345-346
11. Cathay And The Way Thither, vol. II, pp., 141-142
12. Major, p., 7

CHAPTER — 11

1. Elliot and Dowson, vol. I, pp., 115-119
2. Ibid., pp., 120-130

3. Elliot and Dowson, vol. II, pp., 18-22
4. Ibid., p., 22
5. Ibid., pp., 24-27
6. Alberuni, vol. II, pp., 10- 14
7. Elliot and Dowson, vol. II, p., 248
8. Ibid., pp., 33-34
9. Ibid., pp., 34-35
10. Ibid., pp., 40-41
11. Ibid., pp., 44-45
12. Ibid., p., 46
13. Alberuni, vol. I, p., 22
14. Elliot and Dowson, vol. II, pp., 269-270
15. Ibid., pp., 127-129
16. Ibid., pp., 123-124
17. Ibid., p., 294
18. Ibid., pp., 295-297
19. Ibid., pp., 214-216
20. Ibid., p., 216
21. Ibid., pp., 217-218
22. Ibid., pp., 222-223
23. Ibid., p., 223
24. Ibid., pp., 227-228
25. Ibid., pp., 228-230
26. Ibid., p., 231
27. Ibid., pp., 235-236
28. Ibid., p., 393
29. Ibid., pp., 305-314
30. Ibid., pp., 309-313
31. Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp., 394-397
32. Ibid., pp., 401-405
33. Ibid., pp., 415-416
34. Ibid., pp., 427-428
35. Ibid., pp., 435-437
36. Ibid., pp., 438-445
37. Ibid., pp., 445-447
38. Ibid., pp., 448-460
39. Bryant, p., 47

CHAPTER — 12

1. Elliot and Dowson, vol. II, pp., 300-301
2. Ibid., p., 328
3. Ibid., pp., 329-332
4. Ibid., p., 332
5. Ibid., pp., 345-359
6. Ibid., p., 360
7. Ibid., pp., 365-366
8. Ibid., p., 371
9. Ibid., pp., 381-383
10. Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp., 47-48
11. Ibid., p., 49

12. Ibid., pp., 49-50
13. Ibid., p., 50
14. Ibn Battuta, pp., 184-185
15. Ibid., pp., 197-198.
16. Ibid., pp., 198-199
17. Zaki, pp., 36-37
18. Ibn Battuta, pp., 201-203
19. Ibid., p., 184
20. Ibid., pp., 197; 203-204
21. Ibid., pp., 204-205.
22. Zaki, pp., 99-101
23. Ibid., pp., 22-23
24. Ibid., pp., 23-24
25. Ibid., pp., 8-10; 53
26. Ibid., pp., 37-38
27. Major, p., 12
28. Ibid., pp., 14-15
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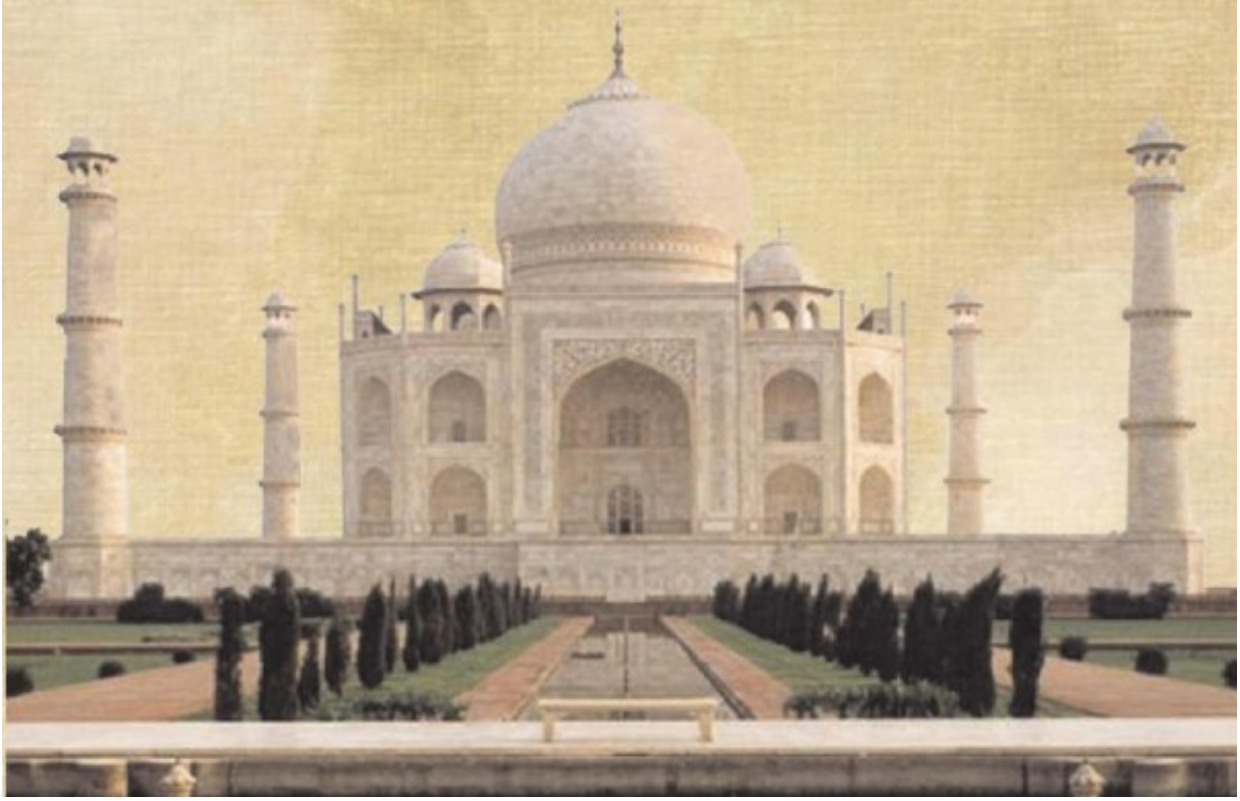
The India They Saw

Foreign Accounts : 16th-17th Centuries

Edited by

Meenakshi Jain



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(Vol-3)

Meenakshi Jain

PRABHAT BOOKS
A Division of Prabhat Prakashan
ISO 9001: 2015 Publishers

Publisher's Note

In the year 2004, on returning from South East Asia, Nobel Prize recipient, Sir Vidia Naipaul requested us to arrange a meeting with a group of Delhi based thinkers to share the impressions of his visit. He was simply overwhelmed with what he saw in South East Asian countries like Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia etc. We hurriedly, invited about twenty people to a get together with Sir Vidia. The meeting held on June 15, 2004 was attented by Sarva Shri Dinanath Mishra, Balbir Punj, Brij Kishore Sharma, Shankar Saran, Meenakshi Jain, Sandhya Jain, Ram Madhav, Devendra Swarup and some others. Sir Vidia described how he was astonished to see deep Indian cultural influence in the region not only in the past but even today. He felt sad that present day Indians appeared to have little recollection of the grandeur of their ancient civilization and its lasting contribution to the world civilization. He felt strongly that it would be a worth while endeavour to prepare a compendium of foreign perceptions of India down the ages.

During later discussions, it was decided that the project would cover the period from earliest times up to the mid-nineteenth century, the changed sensibility towards India thereafter consequent to the establishment of the British Colonial rule, being well known. The present volumes are the result of these deliberations.

We are thankful to Sandhya Jain and Meenakshi Jain for agreeing to take up the project despite their other professional commitments and completing it so meticulously. We are grateful to Prof. Devendra Swarup for having agreed to coordinate the project till its fruition. Sandhya Jain compiled and edited the material for the first volume, while Meenakshi Jain prepared the remaining three volumes. Both of them have recorded their experiences and impressions in detailed Introductions to their respective volumes separately.

We wish to place on record our heartfelt gratefulness to Sir Vidia for not only conceiving the project, but also for painstakingly going through volumes I and III and making many valuable suggestions which the editors have attempted to incorporate. We feel indebted to Prof. Lokesh Chandra and Dr. B.M. Pande for their valuable contribution in the preparation of the first volume. We are highly grateful to Prof. Devendra Swarup, without

whose continuous active guidance and involvement, this ambitious project would not have seen the light of the day.

We are conscious that many other compilations of foreign accounts on India are already available, but we do feel that this series of four volumes will add much to the present knowledge of our readers in this area and also pave the way for publication of many other volumes based on the first hand study of the original sources in foreign languages other than English as, it was painfully discovered during the preparation of these volumes that most of the material still lies untranslated into English, which is the only window available to most of the Indian Scholars. With this Note, we offer these volumes to our readers and cordially invite their comments and suggestions, which would help us to improve the quality of the later editions.

Introduction

The arrival of Vasco da Gama on the western coast of India, near Calicut, on 27 May 1498, heralded the restoration of Europe's links with the subcontinent after an interval of almost eight centuries. The links, which could be traced back to the days of Alexander the Great, and even earlier to Harappan times, had been ruptured in the medieval era with the establishment of Arab control over the land and sea routes to India. The Arab monopoly of routes prompted Europe to embark on a centuries-long quest to re-establish contact with India, which reached its fruition with Vasco da Gama's landing.

India's communication with the Western world in ancient times had been through both land and sea. The land routes traversed the Khyber and Kurrum passes in the north-west (known as the *Uttarapath*) and meandered along the Makran Coast in the south-west. The former route, passing through Persia and Central Asia, ended at Constantinople on the Baltic Sea, the latter via Mesopotamia terminated at Syria on the eastern Mediterranean coast.

Indian traders using the sea route through the Persian Gulf would unload their wares on the northern tip of the Gulf from where these would be carried through Syria to the ports of Tyre and Acre on the eastern Mediterranean coast. Goods transported through the Red Sea were offloaded on the eastern coast of Egypt and taken to the ports of Alexandria and Carthage on the southern Mediterranean coast. Alexandria and Carthage were, in fact, the principle transit points for trade between India and Europe.

Available evidence indicates that at the outset only Indian ships sailed the Indian Ocean, crossing the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. It was only after the discovery of the direction of the south-west summer monsoon by the Greek, Hippalus, on the eve of the Christian era, that Roman ships began visiting Indian shores.

Rome imported a variety of goods from India, including Kashmiri wool, musk, ivory and precious stones. Roman moralists expressed exasperation at the vast sums spent on procuring these items of luxury. But the items most in demand were silk and spices, the staples of the land and sea trade respectively. Pepper had become an essential in European cookery and was

also used in the preparation of medicines and drugs. Pliny remarked, “It is quite surprising that the use of pepper has come so much into fashion …”

Trade also promoted cultural exchange, which was particularly marked in the realms of philosophy, religion and language as testified by Greek and Roman writers. Modern scholarship noted with wonder the similarities between Greek, Latin and Sanskrit. A positive image of India was created in the European mind.

The advent of Islam and the attendant era of Arab expansion dramatically altered the world scenario. The Arabs conquered Baghdad in A.D. 634, Syria in A.D. 636, Persia between A.D. 636 and 650, Egypt in A.D. 642 and Carthage on the northern Africa coast in A.D. 698. In A.D. 711, they crossed the Gulf of Gibraltar and entered the Iberian Peninsula. By A.D. 827, they had entrenched themselves in Sicily and some years later even plundered Rome.

The seizure of the ports of Alexandria and Carthage, the Gulf of Gibraltar and the island of Sicily converted the Mediterranean into an Arab lake. The spree of conquests from Spain to India enabled the Arabs to link the two major economic units of the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and dominate all the important maritime and caravan routes.

European traders in cities like Venice, Genoa, Florence, Pisa and Milan suddenly found themselves at the mercy of Arab traders, who demanded exorbitant sums for Eastern goods. European consumers also began to feel the impact of the sharp escalation in prices, particularly of spices that could be obtained only from India and Indonesia. ‘Pepper,’ as a scholar observed, “may not mean much to us, but in that age it ranked with precious stones. Men risked the perils of the deep and fought and died for pepper.” The spice trade became the chief determinant in the politics of the Levant and was the single most powerful stimulant in European expansion in the fifteenth century. India was the destination that fired European mercantile ambitions in the Age of Discovery.

The conflict between Europe and the Arabs was, however, not confined to the field of commerce. It had a religious dimension as well. Islamic expansion posed a serious threat to Christianity, which, by the seventh century, had been able to extend its sway only over Southern and Western Europe, North Africa and West Asia. By the beginning of the eighth

century, the Arabs had dislodged it from North Africa and parts of West Asia, and additionally Islam had advanced up to the Iberian Peninsula in Western Europe. Arab conquests were accompanied by the wholesale conversion of the conquered people and the imposition of Islamic cultural forms. Resistance led to massacres or forced migrations as in the case of the Jews, the Syrian Christians and the Zoroastrians of Iran who fled their homeland and sought shelter in India.

The Christian world at the time of the first Mohammedan invasions was riven with fractiousness. Clergy wrangled with clergy on abstruse points of doctrine and sect persecuted sect with inexhaustible animosity. The two principle branches of the faith were the Orthodox or Eastern Church with its headquarters at Antioch in Syria and the Roman Catholic Church with its centre at Rome. The prolonged struggle for survival against Islam considerably transformed Christianity. Ironically it acquired several traits of its adversary – fanaticism, intolerance, ritualistic rigidity and the recourse to forced conversions.

Both the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches lost considerable territory to Islam, the former, Jerusalem, the birthplace of Jesus, the latter the Iberian Peninsula. To recompense their losses, they attempted to win new adherents in parts of Europe that still adhered to paganism. While the Orthodox Church registered success in Russia and the Slav regions generally, the Roman Catholic Church brought pagan Poland and the northern Germanic tribes into its fold. The new recruits in turn spread Christianity to the Scandinavian countries. In the twelfth century, the Germans and Scandinavians introduced Christianity in the regions around the Baltic Sea, namely Finland, Estonia and Livonia. By the close of the century, the Roman Catholic Church had extended its hold over the entire continent up to the borders of Russia and the Byzantine Empire. Only Lithuania retained its independence and ancient forms of worship.

In the race for expansion, the Roman Catholic Church far outstripped its Orthodox rival, which bore the brunt of Islamic conquests and conversions in West Asia. It was also demoralised by the loss of Jerusalem. The Catholic Pope, on the other hand, could draw on the protection of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charlemagne (768-814) and the monetary support of the wealthy traders of Venice, Genoa, Pisa and Florence. Thus politically and

financially empowered, the Pope emerged as the rallying point of the Christian world in its encounter with expansionist Islam.

The excommunication of the Patriarch of the Orthodox Church in A.D. 1054 further undermined the position of the Eastern Church vis-à-vis its Roman counterpart. The defeat of the Byzantine forces by the Muslims in A.D. 1071 compelled the Byzantine Emperor, Alexius Comnenus, in 1094, to propose to the Roman Catholic Pope, Urban II (1088-1099), a joint campaign against Islam.

In response, the Pope, at a Council at Clermont in southern France, gave a call for a holy crusade against Islam. The French, Germans, Englishmen and Normans heeded his call. Merchants from Genoa, Pisa, and elsewhere, hopeful of the reopening of direct trade with India and other Eastern countries, arrived in Constantinople to provide financial assistance. The Emperor promised to make all lands conquered by the knights fiefs of East Rome.

The first Crusade, launched in A.D. 1096, led to the liberation of Jerusalem in A.D. 1099. A Christian kingdom was founded as a fief of the Pope and the Norman, Godfrey of Bouillon, crowned its king. Though plagued by dissensions, it survived for almost a hundred years.

The conquest of the town of Edessa in Asia Minor by the Turks in 1144, which snapped communication lines between the kingdom of Jerusalem and the European countries, precipitated a second Crusade. It, however, ended in failure.

In A.D. 1187, Jerusalem was again lost to Muslim forces led by Sultan Saladin. The news shocked the Christian world, which responded with a fresh Crusade. In all, nine Crusades were waged between A.D. 1096 and 1291, the last one being called off following the death of Louis IX of France in Tunis. The Crusades resulted in neither the liberation of Jerusalem nor the opening of the routes to India.

Though they failed in their objective, the Crusades helped strengthen Papal grip on the Christian population. Besides actively intervening in the political struggles in European countries, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) asserted the authority of the Church in matters of belief. In A.D. 1209, he sent an army under a papal legate against the Albigenses, a popular group of so-called heretics in southern France who condemned the acquisition of

property and several customs regarded as the bedrock of the Church. Most of the sect was destroyed and the survivors dragged before an ecclesiastical tribunal and tortured into admitting their guilt.

The Inquisition, a tribunal entrusted with punishing those charged of heresy, used harshly by Innocent III, was in 1233, turned into a permanent institution by his successor, Pope Gregory IX. Confessions were forcibly extracted from those suspected of non-conformism and they were punished by confiscation of property, imprisonment, exile and even burning at the stake. New militant evangelical orders, such as the Franciscans, the Dominicans and the Carmelites became the principal agents of the Inquisition. The Knights Templars, the Hospitalers and other organisations, founded originally to protect the Holy Land, redirected their activities to the Baltic region to further the writ of Rome by Christianising the area. The Brethren of the Sword was created in 1202 to Christianise Livonia.

Several legends originated in Europe during the Crusades. In the twelfth century, the legend of Prester John gained currency. Prester John was believed to be a powerful Christian king, ruling in a region east of the Muslim world, presumably in India, who could aid the Crusaders in their fight against Islam. The Pope was believed to have received a letter from Prester John in A.D. 1165, promising full co-operation. Marco Polo's travels between A.D. 1271 and 1295 also began to be interpreted as an attempt to establish contact with Prester John. The story of the Apostle, St. Thomas, who was believed to have come to India in A.D. 52 and created a Christian community on the Kerala coast, also gained wide currency in Europe around this time.

Legends and myth-making notwithstanding, the Crusades failed to notch up any notable victories and the Muslims, in A.D. 1291, captured Acre on the Syrian coast, the last stronghold in the Holy Land. With this were shattered Europe's hopes of reaching India through an eastern route. Genoa and Florence were left with no option but to search for alternative routes to India. In desperation a Genoese navigator, Ugolino de Vivaldo, in 1291 attempted an expedition from Genoa via Gibraltar down the African coast. He was able to cross the Gulf of Gibraltar because of the changed situation in the Iberian Peninsula.

Portugal had emerged as an independent kingdom by A.D. 1179, the port of Lisbon and the Tagus valley had been won from the Muslims in A.D. 1147,

and the Spaniards, having taken Valencia on the Mediterranean Sea and Seville in the south, had reached the southern shores of the Iberian Peninsula. With the capture of the Balearic Island and the placement of an Aragon prince on the throne of Sicily in A.D. 1282, the groundwork for European maritime activity had been prepared.

Portugal, with its extensive coastline on the Atlantic, was in the forefront of maritime explorations. Portuguese kings, backed by Genoese and Florentine wealth and navigational expertise and the religious sanction of the Roman Catholic Church, provided energetic leadership. Prompted by religious fervour and the desire for commercial gain, King Diniz (1279-1325) founded the militant Order of Christ and in A.D. 1317, appointed a Genoese, Manoel Pessanha, admiral of the Portuguese navy. Pessanha, aided by other Genoese, laid the foundations of the Portuguese navy. Portugal thus emerged as the heir of the Genoese tradition of navigation and the vanguard of Christianity against Islam.

Prince Henry (1394-1460), whose contributions earned for him the title Navigator, built on these foundations to script the string of Portuguese successes. Fired by a spirit of militant Christian mysticism and an abhorrence of Islam, he believed he was divinely ordained to reach India. In 1415, at the age of 21, he had captured the port of Ceuta on the west coast of Africa, opposite Gibraltar, the very place from which Islam had entered Spain in A.D. 711.

Prince Henry planned to outflank Islam and take Christianity directly to the Indian Ocean. He gathered at his castle on the Cape of Sagres navigators, mathematicians, cartographers and astronomers and collected all available knowledge on the then known lands. His brother, Prince Pedro, travelled over Europe in search of information, even purchasing a copy of Marco Polo’s account of his travels, and maps of the known regions of the earth.

Prince Henry realised that to reach the East it was imperative that the African coast be explored. Thus, in 1420 Madeira was discovered, in 1431 the Azores and in 1434, after fourteen attempts, an expedition passed Cape Bajador. Subsequently his ships reached the coast of Guinea and crossed the Equator, a great achievement of Portuguese navigation that made possible the rounding of the Cape and the voyage to India.

With the coast of Africa up to Cape Verde under the control of Prince Henry, his biographer, Gomes de Azurara exulted, “Of a surety I doubt, if since the great power of Alexander and Caesar there hath even been any prince in the world that had set up the marks of his conquest so far from his land.” Barely three decades after Prince Henry, in A.D. 1487, Bartholomeu Dias discovered the Cape of Tempests, renamed the Cape of Good Hope, and reached the Indian Ocean. The sea route to India was at last open.

Portuguese preparations for their voyages were meticulously planned and cloaked in secrecy. The details of this story of exploration pursued by three generations of Portuguese kings are not germane to the present purpose. Pertinent are the factors that guided the quest for India – the desire to vanquish Muslim power; to acquire direct access to the spice and textile trade; to spread Christianity and to conquer and colonise the newly discovered areas.

As discussed earlier, the long centuries of confrontation with Islam had radically altered Christianity. Under the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church, which had emerged as the sole leader of Christendom, an aggressive and proselytising Christianity set forth from Europe. Portugal was the champion of this Christianity. In 1420, Prince Henry had acquired the office of apostolic administrator of the Order of Christ. In 1454, he received from Pope Nicholas V the right to all lands discovered up to India. The Papal Bull issued that year explicitly articulated the religious motive behind the venture,

“Our joy is immense to know that our dear son, Henry, Prince of Portugal, following the footsteps of his father of illustrious memory, King John, inspired with a zeal for souls like an intrepid soldier of Christ, has carried into the most distant and unknown countries the name of God and has brought into the Catholic fold the perfidious enemies of God and Christ, such as the Saracens and the Infidels.”

Further it stated “After having established Christian families in some of the unoccupied islands of the Ocean and having consecrated churches there for the celebration of Holy Mysteries the Prince, remembering that never within the memory of man had anyone been known to navigate the sea to the distant shores of the Orient, believed that he could give God the best evidence of his submission, if by his effort the Ocean can be made navigable as far as India, which, it is said, is already subject to Christ. If he

enters into relations with these people, he will induce them to come to the help of the Christians of the West against the enemies of the faith. At the same time, he will bring under submission, with the King's permission, the pagans of the countries not yet afflicted with the plaque of Islam and give them knowledge of the name of Christ."

The Bull excluded all others from entering the area marked out for Portugal on pain of excommunication. On 13 March 1456, Pope Calixtus III promulgated another Bull confirming the previous grant. It conceded the spiritual jurisdiction over the lands from Cape Nun to India to the Order of Christ. Two subsequent Bulls issued in A.D. 1493 and 1497 also allowed Portugal lands conquered from the unbelievers. Following the discovery of the sea route to India, the Holy See in 1502 honoured the king of Portugal with the title "patron of Catholic missions of the East".

Thus far Portugal had stood alone in the journey of exploration. But in 1469, as a consequence of the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile, the two kingdoms were joined and the modern state of Spain came into being. In 1492, Granada, the last Muslim possessions in Spain, was also vanquished. With a maritime coast now opening on the Atlantic Ocean, Spain joined the race to reach India. In 1492, another Genoese, Christopher Columbus, with Spanish patronage and support, sailed westwards and stumbled upon some unknown island, which he mistook for India. In June 1494, Spain and Portugal signed the Treaty of Trodesilhas whereby a line 370 leagues west of Cape Verde Islands was fixed as demarcating their respective spheres in the newly discovered regions, an agreement confirmed by Pope Alexander VI.

On 8 July 1497, four ships under Vasco da Gama sailed from the harbour of Belam at the mouth of the Tagus. With his landing, India became accessible to Portuguese conquistadors, traders, travellers, scholars and clergymen. The sixteenth century could, in a sense, be termed the Portuguese century, for no European power could challenge its mastery of the sea route to India.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by Holland and England, however, signaled the end of this monopoly and in 1595, the first Dutch fleet entered the Indian Ocean. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch, with their British camp followers, seriously undermined the Portuguese. The French also entered the Indian trade in the second half of this century.

While several Portuguese accounts of India in the sixteenth century are available, for the seventeenth century we also have the writings of travellers, scholars and missionaries from the latter three countries. Additionally, Jesuits of various nationalities wrote regular letters home, providing valuable information on facets of Indian life, albeit tempered by their religious bias.

This volume confines itself to European writings of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It does not claim to be exhaustive but presents glimpses of the Indian reality as recorded by contemporary European visitors. Only English translations have been used. A sizeable number of accounts in European languages still awaits translation.

Select List of Travellers and Writers

(in alphabetical order)

Baldaeus, Rev. Philippus, a Dutch clergyman, described his experiences in South India and Ceylon from 1656 to 1665 in his book, *Naan*

wkenrige beschryving van Malabar en Coromandal, published in Amsterdam in 1672. The third part of the book, translated "*A true and exact description of the most celebrated East Indian Coach of Malabar,"* is an account of Hinduism in South India. Baldaeus also published a brief grammar of Tamil.

Barbosa, Duarte accompanied his brother-in-law, Fernao de Magalhaes, in his voyage round the world. He arrived in India in 1501 with the fleet of Pedro Cabral and remained in the Indian Ocean region for sixteen years. As a royal factor he was in a position to closely study the commerce of the country. He knew the Malayalam language and has provided valuable information on the Malabar region. His *Book of Duarte Barbosa* was written around 1518. The manuscript was kept locked in Lisbon and published three centuries later.

Cabral, Pedro Alvares, a young navigator of noble lineage, he was a member of the second Portuguese voyage to India in 1550-1501. On the way to India, he 'discovered' Brazil.

Careri, Giovanni Francesco Gamelli, a lawyer by profession, arrived in Daman in 1695. He visited the Kanheri caves, which are not mentioned in the account of his countryman, Pietro Della Valle. Careri believed the he was the first European to write on the Caves, not knowing that Garcia da Orta had earlier penned a brief account of Mandapeshwar and Kanheri. Careri was, however, the first traveller to describe the Kanheri caves in minute details.

With the aid of Christian soldiers in the Mughal army, he managed to get an audience with the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb then encamped at Galgala and engaged in a contest which the Deccan powers. Careri's journal of his voyages was published in six volumes in 1699-1700, each volume dealing with one country.

Carre, Abbe wrote a detailed account of his travels from France to India via the Syrian Desert, Iraq and the Persian Gulf, during the years 1672-74. His visit to India coincided with the arrival of a French squadron in Indian waters to support French trade in the country and perhaps to drive the Dutch out of Ceylon. Abbe Carre appears to have reported on the activities of the French East India Company to Colbert, minister of Louis XIV. His observations on South India are particularly valuable, for most seventeenth century European travellers confined themselves to Western and Northern India. He seems to have been from a noble family and his brother held an important post at the French Court.

Castanheda, Fernao Lopes de set out for India in 1528 in the company of his father and spent the next ten years travelling in Asia. On his return home, he spent twenty years researching and published the first book of his *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portuquezes* in 1551.

Correia, Gasper was the author of *Lendas da India* (Legends of India).

Coryat, Thomas was the first Englishman, apart from the Jesuit, Thomas Stevens, to have set out for India with no thought of trade. He was prompted by the desire to see the country and write a book on his experiences. He started on his travels in October 1612, visiting several countries on the way. A remarkable feature of his journey was that he spent an average of around two pence a day. One factor that facilitated this inexpensive journey was the hospitality of the Eastern people to wandering pilgrims.

Coryat visited Ajmer in July 1615 and stayed there for almost fourteen months. Among the highlights of his visit was a dialogue with Jahangir in Persian. Coryat left for Agra in September 1616. He also visited Mandu. He died in Surat, at the age of forty, in December 1617.

Costa, Cristovao da arrived in Goa in 1568, with the Viceroy D. Luis de Ataide, as his personal physician. In 1569, he worked at the Royal Hospital of Cochin, where he treated the king of Cochin. He returned to Portugal in 1572. His famous book, *Treatise of drugs and medicines of East India,* was first published in 1578. A large part of it is the summary of Orta's *Coloquios.*

Couto, Diogo do was a leading Portuguese chronicler and author of the *Decada Quinta da Asia.*

Della Valle, Pietro was born in Rome in 1586, in an illustrious family that included two cardinals. In 1614, he embarked on a journey to Constantinople from where he went to Asia Minor and Egypt, Mount Sinai and Palestine, Jerusalem, Damascus and Baghdad. Thereafter he went to Persia, where he was granted an interview with King Shah Abbas and even took part in an expedition of the latter against the Turks. He visited the ruins of Persepolis and the city of Shiraz. He arrived in Surat in 1623 and thence went to Cambay, Ahmadabad, Goa, Ikkeri, Baricelor, Mangalur and Calicut. He left India in 1624. On his arrival in Rome he was well received by Pope Urban VIII and made honorary Chamberlain to the Pope.

Pietro Della Valle was a bold and observant traveller who knew Turkish, Persian and Arabic. He was the first foreigner to penetrate into the second pyramid and sent two mummies to Europe, now preserved at Dresden. He was also the first to draw attention to the rock inscriptions and cuneiform writings in Assyria. His travel narrative is divided into three parts, dealing with Turkey, Persia and India. The latter two sections were published after his death.

Federici, Cesare, a trader from Venice, accompanied two horse traders from Goa to the city of Vijayanagar. He arrived two years after the battle of Talikota and stayed there for seven months.

Finch, William's narrative is important for the topographical details he provided, based either on his journeys or derived by careful inquiry from others.

Fitch Ralph's account dates to the period before the establishment of the English East India Company, when English merchants were attempting to acquire a share in the eastern trade. An expedition, which included Ralph Fitch, was given a letter of introduction by Queen Elizabeth to Emperor Akbar (described as the King of Cambay). At Ormus, the group was arrested and sent to Goa where they remained in prison for over a month. The Dutchman, Linschoten, being with the Archbishop of Goa, was able to secure bail for the group in April 1584. On the pretext of an excursion, they crossed into the territory of the King of Bijapur from where they journeyed to Golconda.

Godinho, Fr. Manuel was born in Portugal in 1633. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1649 and in 1655 was sent to India to work on the Fishery Coast.

After the agreement to cede Bombay to England was announced in 1661, he was sent on a mission back home to persuade the Portuguese Court not to give effect to the transfer. His account of his journey from India to Portugal in 1663 throws light on society and politics in India at that time.

Hawkins, William was captain of the *Hector,* the first vessel to display the English flag on the coast of India. H was accorded a cordial reception by Emperor Jahangir, who discovering Hawkins' fluency in Turkish, held frequent discussions with him about European countries. So pleased was Jahangir with the Englishman that he permitted the English to trade at his ports. Hawkins was made captain of four hundred horse, married to an Armenian maiden, and granted a place among the grandees of the Mughal court. According to the Jesuits, he now began to dress like a Muhammadan nobleman. Hawkins appealed that a *farman* (order) be granted for the establishment of a factory at Surat, a request the Emperor conceded. Thereupon Hawkins left Agra in November 1011. The Governor of Surat, however, refused to allow the English to establish the factory in view of the Portuguese threat. Hawkins left in February 1612, and died en route to his home on the Irish shore.

Henriques, Fr. Henry, who worked on the Coromandal Coast for almost fifty years, was the first European to prepare a Tamil grammar, probably around 1567.The work was however discovered only four centuries later in the National Library in Lisbon. His *Flos Sanctorum*, on the lives of saints, in its reprint of 1967, is 669 pages long, in Tamil.

Kircher, Athanasius, the Jesuit, is regarded as among the founders of Egyptology. His monumental work, *China Illustrata (1667),* contains valuable information on China and India. He belonged to a group of ethnographers who studied paganism because they believed that the idea of God was present in all ancient religions. Kircher was interested in the origins of idolatry and studied the practice in China, Egypt and India. He paid considerable attention to the religious beliefs of the Brahmins. Father Heinrich Roth was among his principle informants on Hinduism. In *China Illustrata,* the Devanagari script appeared for the first time before a European audience.

Linschoten, Jan Huygen van, a native of Holland, reached Goa in 1584 where he remained till 1589 as Secretary to the Archbishop of Goa. His

travel diary, *Itinerario*, published in 1592, was probably the best account of Goa and the west coast to appear in print before 1800.

Lord, Reverend Henry, who arrived in Surat in 1624, wrote a highly rated treatise on Hindu beliefs and customs. The Orientalist, Sir William Jones, said of the work, "the inhabitants of this extensive tract are described by Mr. Lord with great exactness, and with a picturesque eloquence peculiar to our ancient language."

Manucci, Niccolao, a native of Venice arrived in India in 1656. His work, *Storia Do Mogor*, first published in four volumes in 1907-9, covers the last six years of Emperor Shah Jahan's reign and the entire reign of his successor, Aurangzeb. Manucci was employed as an artilleryman in the army of Prince Dara and after the latter's defeat in the war of succession, served (in disguise) in the army of Aurangzeb. He also briefly joined the services of Raja Jai Singh. He met the Maratha leader Shivaji in Aurangabad in 1665. He held various positions in the Mughal Court. After resigning from service, he stayed for a while in Goa. The Governor and Council of Madras granted him a house in the city where he died in 1717.

Nobili, Robert de, a Jesuit missionary, was sent to India in 1605. On arrival, he was amazed to discover that his predecessor in the Mission had not been able to convert a single native in fourteen years. Nobili was the first European to study Sanskrit.

Nuniz, Fernao, a Portuguese horse-trader, spent three years in Vijayanagar. He was greatly impressed by the city and kingdom, which he described in considerable detail.

Olafsson, **Jon (1618-1679)** an Icelander, completed his work around 1661.

Orta, Garcia da, physician to King John III, left for Goa in March 1534 with his friend Martim Afonso de Sousa (who had been appointed Captain-Major of the Indian Ocean). In India, he accompanied Martim Afonso de Sousa on several campaigns on the west coast between Kathiawar and Ceylon. He was present at the signing of the treaty between Nuno de Cunha and Bahadur Shah, ruler of Gujarat, on 23 December 1534, by which Bassein and Bombay were ceded to the Portuguese. Garcia da Orta settled in Goa as a medical practitioner. He died in 1568, five years after the publication of his famous book, *Coloquios dos simples e drogas da India.*

Paes, Domingo provided an invaluable account of Vijayanagar at the height of its glory. His account, together with that of Fernao Nuniz, is among the most important foreign sources on the kingdom.

Pelsaert, Francisco of Antwerp was appointed junior factor in the Dutch East India Company and posted to India in 1620. He remained in Agra until the end of 1627, rising to the position of senior factor. The *Remonstrantie,* written in 1626, sums up Pelsaert's experiences in Agra at an important moment for both the Dutch Company and Indian commerce. It is basically a commercial report, prepared for the Company, not for a popular audience.

Pires, Tome, the son of the apothecary of King John, ranks among the European pioneers, who studied the life of the Indian people and Indian medicine. He arrived at Cannanore in September 1511. His book *Suma Oriental,* written around 1512-1515, was discovered only in the 1930s and published for the first time in 1944. It provides a detailed account of India, including observations on elephantiasis, a disease unknown in Europe. Tome Pires left Cochin in February 1516.

Roger, Abraham was sent to the Coromandal Coast by the Amsterdam Classis in 1632. He preached and taught on Coromandal for 10 years in Tamil, Portuguese, and Dutch. Roger enlisted the help of a *Smarta* Brahmin, Padmanabha, to learn about Hindu customs and beliefs. Roger's book, "*De Opendeure tot het verborgen heydendom,"* published in 1651, two years after his death, is one of the most complete and objective accounts of Hinduism written by a foreigner. Roger was the first European to translate Bhartrahri.

Roth, Father Heinrich, a German, was attached to the Agra mission. He took back to Rome an illustrated account of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. This was included in Kircher's work, with a description of the cosmological myth on the origins of the four *varnas* from various parts of Brahma's body.

Sassetti, Filippo, a Florentine merchant, was the great-grandson of Francesco Sassetti, manager of the Medici enterprises in the fifteenth century. He arrived in India in 1583 and died in Goa in 1588. During his stay in India he sent no less than thirty-five letters to Florence on his observations on the country, on its trade, administration, religion, seasons, climate and natural history.

Stephens, Thomas, a Jesuit, was the first Englishman to reside in India. He arrived in Goa in October 1579 and stayed in India for forty years. He was particularly interested in learning the languages of this country. In 1616, his *Christapurana* was published in Marathi, and in 1622, after his death, his book on Christian doctrine written in Konkani.

Tavernier, Jean-Baptiste first arrived in India around 1640-1641 and altogether visited the country no less than five times. Among the important political personalities he met and did business with (he dealt in precious stones) were Mir Jumla, Chief Minister of Golconda, Shaista Khan, the Mughal governor in the Deccan and Emperor Aurangzeb.

On his return home, he was honoured by the French King, Louis XIV. When he was around 79 years old, Tavernier was approached by Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, who wished to appoint him his ambassador to India. Though the proposal did not fructify, Tavernier planned his seventh and last visit to the East when he was over 80 years old. He appears to have died somewhere near Moscow. Gibbon described him as "that wandering jeweller, who had read nothing, but had seen so much and so well."

Given his interest in business, he provides much valuable information on the state of commerce in medieval India. Since he visited India before Aurangzeb ordered the destruction of Hindu temples, he provides accounts of temples in Mathura and Banaras before they were levelled on Aurangzeb's orders.

Terry, Edward's account of India was based on the two and a half years he spent there as chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe. It also borrowed from the work of Thomas Coryat, Roe's companion for a considerable period. Terry joined Roe near Ujjain towards the end of February 1617.

Thevenot, Jean de arrived in India in 1666 and stayed for about a year, visiting important centres of commerce and industry. He was the first European to describe the rock cut temples at Ellora.

Valignano, Alessandro, a Jesuit, visited India between 1574 and 1606. He wrote of the natives, "These people, who are almost black and go half naked, are universally contemptible and held to be base by the Portuguese and other Europeans; and the truth is that compared to them they are of little substance and lack refinement" (Rubies2000:7).

Van Reede tot Drakenstein, Hendrik Adriaan (1636-91), the Dutch commander of Malabar, in the 1670s commissioned a gigantic work, *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus,* on the flora of the region. It was published in 12 folio volumes between 1678 and 1693. In the preface to volume III dedicated to the Raja of Cochin, Van Reede tot Drakenstein described the process of the construction of his herbal catalogue,

"By my orders, Brahmin and other physicians made lists of the best known and most frequently occurring plants in their languages. On this basis, others classified the plants according to the season in which they attracted notice for their leaves or flowers or fruit. This seasonal catalogue was then given to experts in plants, who were entrusted, in groups of three, with the collection of the plants with their leaves, flowers, and fruit, for which they even climbed the highest tops of trees. Three or four draftsmen, who stayed with me in a convenient place, would accurately depict the living plants as the collectors brought them. To these pictures a description was added, nearly always in my presence" (Raj 2006: 44).

Varthema, Ludevico di, a Venetian, travelled to the East by way of the Red Sea in 1502 and returned to Europe via the Cape in 1507. He was in Calicut some years after the arrival of the Portuguese and in Goa on the eve of its fall. He did not travel beyond Calicut. His book, *Itinerario* published in 1510, was highly successful and went through many editions in Europe.

Withington, Nicholas had come out as a fleet attendant and obtained service in the East India Company at Surat probably because of his knowledge of Arabic. In October 1613, he accompanied a Company official to Ahmadabad to purchase indigo. From there he visited Cambay and Sarkhej, writing interesting accounts of these places. In 1615 he was charged with defrauding the Company and left for England.

Chapter 1
Nature's Bounty

A. Flora

B. Wealth of India

C. Precious metals and stones

D. Fauna

A. Flora

Some scenic descriptions

1. Father Jerome Xavier, member of the third Jesuit mission, on the river Ravi near which the Jesuits were lodged in some royal houses by Emperor Akbar in 1596[1]

This river is called 'beautiful' and deserves its name; it has sweet water and is almost the same size as the Tagus.

2. The beauty of Kashmir first described to the Western world by Father Jerome Xavier who accompanied Emperor Akbar to the province[2]

…the Kingdom of Caxmir is one of the pleasantest and most beautiful countries to be found in the whole of India, we may even say in the East.

3. Kashmir "surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated," Francois Bernier[3]

The histories of the ancient Kings of *Kachemire* maintain the whole of this country was in former times one vast lake, and that an outlet for the waters was opened by a certain pire, or aged saint, named *Kacheb* [Persian form of Kasyapa, son of Marichi, son of Brahma, who according to Hindu tradition, formed the passage], who miraculously cut the mountain of *Baramoule*...

Kachemire, however, is no longer a lake, but a beautiful country, diversified with a great many low hills: about thirty leagues in length, and from ten to twelve in breadth. It is situated at the extremity of *Hindoustan,* to the north of *Lahor;* enclosed by the mountains at the foot of *Caucasus,* those of the Kings of *Great Tibet* [Ladakh] and *Little Tibet* [Baltistan], and of the *Raja Gamon* [Raja of Jummoo], who are its most immediate neighbours.

The first mountains which surround it, I mean those nearest to the plains, are of moderate height, of the freshest verdure, decked with trees and covered with pasture land, on which cows, sheep, goats, horses, and every kind of cattle is seen to graze. Game of various species is in great plenty – partridges, hares, antelopes, and those animals which yield musk. Bees are also in vast abundance; and what may be considered very extraordinary in the *Indies,* there are, with few or no exceptions, neither serpents, tigers,

bears, nor lions. These mountains may indeed be characterised not only as innocuous, but as flowing in rich exuberance with milk and honey.

Beyond the mountains just described arise others of very considerable altitude, whose summits, at all times covered with snow, soar above the clouds and ordinary mist, and, like *Mount Olympus,* are constantly bright and serene.

From the sides of all these mountains gush forth innumerable springs and streams of water, which are conducted by means of embanked earthen channels even to the top of the numerous hillocks [these table-lands, called *karewas*, are a prominent feature of the landscape] in the valley; thereby enabling the inhabitants to irrigate their fields of rice. These waters, after separating into a thousand rivulets and producing a thousand cascades through this charming country, at length collect and form a beautiful river [the Jhelum], navigable for vessels as large as are borne on our *Seine.* It winds gently around the kingdom, and passing through the capital, bends its peaceful course toward *Baramoule,* where it finds an outlet between two steep rocks, being then joined by several smaller rivers from the mountains, and dashing over precipices it flows in the direction of Atek [Attock, Bernier seems to have been misinformed; the Jhelum falls into the Chenab near Jhang; the general direction is correct], and joins the *Indus.*

The numberless streams which issue from the mountains maintain the valley and the hillocks in the most delightful verdure. The whole kingdom wears the appearance of a fertile and highly cultivated garden. Villages and hamlets are frequently seen through the luxuriant foliage. Meadows and vineyards, fields of rice, wheat, hemp, saffron, and many sorts of vegetables, among which are intermingled trenches filled with water, rivulets, canals, and several small lakes, vary the enchanting scene. The whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants, and covered with our *apple, pear, plum, apricot,* and *walnut trees,* all bearing fruit in great abundance. The private gardens are full of *melons, pateques* or *water melons, water parsnips, red beet, radishes,* most of our potherbs, and others with which we are unacquainted…

Capital of Kashmir

The capital of *Kachemire* bears the same name as the kingdom [Srinagar, the ancient name of the city, was disused during Muhammedan rule]. It is

without walls and is not less than three quarters of a league in length, and half a league in breadth. It is situated in a plain, distant about two leagues from the mountains, which seem to describe a semicircle, and is built on the banks of a freshwater lake [the Dal Lake], whose circumference is from four to five leagues. This lake is formed of live springs and of streams descending from the mountains, and communicates with the river, which runs through the town, by means of a canal sufficiently large to admit boats. In the town there are two wooden bridges thrown over the river; and the houses, although for the most part of wood, are well built and consist of two or three stories. There is, however, plenty of very fine freestone in the country; some old buildings, and a great number of ancient idol-temples in ruins, are of stone; but wood is preferred on account of its cheapness, and the facility with which it is brought from the mountains by means of so many small rivers. Most of the houses along the banks of the river have little gardens, which produce a very pretty effect, especially in the spring and summer, when many parties of pleasure take place on the water. Indeed most houses in the city have also their gardens; and many have a canal, on which the owner keeps a pleasure-boat, thus communicating with the lake.

Hari Parbat

At one end of the town appears an isolated hill, with handsome houses on its declivity, each having a garden. Toward the summit are a *Mosque* and *Hermitage,* both good buildings; and the hill is crowned with a large quantity of fine trees. It forms altogether an agreeable object, and from its trees and gardens it is called, in the of language of the country, *Haryperbet* [Hari Parbat] or the Verdant Mountain.

Buddhist temple built by Emperor Ashoka's son

Opposite to this hill is seen another, on which is also erected a small *Mosque* with a garden and an extremely ancient building, which bears evident marks of having been a temple for idols, although named *Tact-Souliman* [the Takht-i Suliman hill on top of which is a Buddhist temple built by Jaloka, son of Emperor Ashoka; part of it was converted into a mosque at the time of a Muslim invasion of Kashmir], the Throne of Solomon. The *Mahometans* pretend it was raised by that celebrated King when he visited *Kachemire;* but I doubt whether they could prove that this country was ever honoured with his presence.

The lake is full of islands, which are so many pleasure-grounds. They look beautiful and green in the midst of the water, being covered with fruit trees, and laid out with regular trellised walks. In general, they are surrounded by the large-leafed aspen, planted at intervals of two feet. The largest of these trees may be clasped in a man's arms, but they are as high as the mast of a ship, and have only a tuft of branches at the top, like the palm-trees.

The declivities of the mountains beyond the lake are crowded with houses and flower-gardens. The air is healthful, and the situation considered most desirable: they abound with springs and streams of water, and command a delightful view of the lake, the islands, and the town.

Shalimar

The most beautiful of all these gardens is one belonging to the King, called *Chah-limar* [Shalimar]. The entrance from the lake is through a spacious canal, bordered with green turf, and running between two rows of poplars. Its length is about five hundred paces, and it leads to a large summer-house placed in the middle of the garden. A second canal, still finer than the first, then conducts you to another summer-house, at the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large blocks of freestone, and its sloping sides are covered with the same. In the middle is a long row of fountains, fifteen paces asunder; besides which there are here and there large circular basins, or reservoirs, out of which arise other fountains, formed into a variety of shapes and figures.

The summer-houses are placed in the midst of the canal, consequently surrounded by water, and between the two rows of large poplars planted on either side. They are built in the form of a dome, and encircled by a gallery, into which four doors open; two looking up, or down, the canal, and two leading to bridges that connect the buildings with both banks. The houses consist of a large room in the centre, and of four smaller apartments, one at each corner. The whole of the interior is painted and gilt, and on the walls of all the chambers are inscribed certain sentences, written in large and beautiful *Persian* characters. The four doors are extremely valuable; being composed of large stones, and supported by two beautiful pillars. The doors and pillars were found in some of the idol temples demolished by *Chah-Jehan,* and it is impossible to estimate their value. I cannot describe the nature of the stone, but it is far superior to porphyry, or any species of

marble [the pillars are believed to be made of a black and grey fossiliferous marble].

Scenic beauty

You have no doubt discovered before this time that I am charmed with *Kachemire.* In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warm imagination had anticipated. It is probably unequalled by any country of the same extent, and should be, as in former ages, the seat of sovereign authority extending its dominion over all the circumjacent mountains even as far as *Tartary* and over the whole of *Hindoustan,* to the island of *Ceylon.* It is not indeed without reason that the *Mogols* call *Kachemire* the terrestrial paradise of the *Indies,* or that *Ekbar* [Akbar] was so unremitting in his efforts to wrest the sceptre from the hand of its native Princes. His son *Jehan-Guyre* [Jahangir] became so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose *Kachemire...*

4. Natural beauty of Bengal, Francois Bernier[4]

In describing the beauty of *Bengale,* it should be remarked that throughout a country extending nearly an hundred *leagues* in length, on both banks of the *Ganges,* from *Raje-Mehale* [Rajmahal] to the sea, is an endless number of channels, cut, in bygone ages, from that river with immense labour, for the conveyance of merchandise and of the water itself, which is reputed by the *Indians* to be superior to any in the world. These channels are lined on both sides with towns and villages, thickly peopled with *Gentiles* [Hindus]; and with extensive fields of *rice, sugar, corn,* three or four sorts of *vegetables, mustard, sesame* for oil, and small *mulberry-trees,* two or three feet in height, for the food of silk-worms. But the most striking and peculiar beauty of *Bengale* is the innumerable islands filling the vast space between the two banks of the *Ganges,* in some places six or seven days' journey asunder. These islands vary in size, but are all extremely fertile, surrounded with wood, and abounding in fruittrees, and pineapples, and covered with verdure; a thousand water-channels run through them, stretching beyond the sight, and resembling long walks arched with trees…

5. The biggest war-tree ever at Aurangabad, Jean de Thevenot[5]

An hour and an halfs march from *Aurangeabad,* we encamped under the biggest *War*-tree, that I have seen in the Indies: It is exceedingly high, hath some branches ten Fathom long, and the circumference of it, is above three hundred of my paces. The branches of it are so loaded with Pigeons, that it were an easie matter to fill a great many Pigeon-houses with them, if one durst take them; but that is forbidden, because they are preserved for the Prince's pleasure. There is a Pagoda under that Tree and many Tombs, and hard by a Garden planted with Citron-trees.

B. Wealth of India

1. Fernao Lopes de Castanheda on luxuriant Goa[6]

The greater part of this island is encircled with rocky cliffs and mires: the land itself is very beautiful and luxuriant with numerous and tall groves of palm trees that give much wine, oil, vinegar, and jaggery, that almost tastes like sugar. It also has areca palms that give areca with which betel is eaten…They have also many gardens in which they grow numerous and very singular fruits of the earth, and have many very healthful waters. They produce much rice and other vegetables which are different from ours and all good to eat. They have a large amount of sesame from which they make a very good oil which spares our own, and it is in such abundance that they make it in presses as we do ours. They produce much livestock, cows and oxen, many pigs and hens, and much good fish, as well as numerous other foods of land and sea.

2. The Deccan, from Belgaum to Bijapur, is 'excellent country' with "many fine streams, large towns, much livestock," the Jesuit, Gonsalves Rodrigues in 1561[7]

The land…is very black and fertile, and very flat. Seldom are stones found in the earth, and it seems to be the most fertile soil imaginable for grains, that is, if it were in the hands of our Portuguese farmers. As it is such excellent land, all foods grow abundantly with only the dews [for moisture].

3. Nature's munificence, Edward Terry[8]

The countrey is beautified with many woods and great varietie of faire goodly trees; but I never saw any there of those kinds which England affoords. Their trees in generall are sappie, which I ascribe to the fatnesse of the soyle. Some of them have leaves as broad as bucklers; others are parted small as ferne, as the tamarine trees, which beare a sowre fruit that growes somewhat like our beanes, most wholesome for to coole and cleanse the bloud. There is one tree amongst them of speciall observation, out of whose branches grow little sprigs downeward till they take root, and so at length prove strong supporters unto the armes that yeeld them; whence it comes to passe that these trees in time grow unto a great height and extend themselves to an incredible bredth [the banyan or Indian fig-tree]. All the trees in those southerne parts of India still keepe on their greene mantles.

For their flowres, they rather delight the eye then affect the sense; in colour admirable, but few of them, unlesse roses and one or two kinds more, that are any whit fragrant.

Ganges water weighs less than any other

This region is watered with many goodly rivers. The two principall are Indus and Ganges. Where this thing remarkable must not passe: that one pinte of the water of Ganges weigheth lesse by an ounce than any in the whole kingdome; and therefore the Mogol, wheresoever hee is, hath it brought to him that he may drinke it…

4. Variety of fruits, Edward Terry[9]

Their fruits are very answerable to the rest; the countrey full of musk-melons, water-melons, pomegranats, pome-citrons [lime], limons, oranges, dates, figs, grapes, plantans (a long round yellow fruit, in taste like to a Norwich peare), mangoes (in shape and colour like to our apricocks, but more luscious), and, to conclude with the best of all, the ananas or pine [pine-apple introduced into India from America by the Portuguese], which seemes to the taster to be a pleasing compound made of strawberries, claret-wine, rose-water, and sugar, well tempered together. In the northermost parts of this empire they have varietie of apples and peares; every where good roots, as carrets, potatoes [according to Sir George Watt, this is the first mention of the ordinary potato in India; it is, however, possible that Terry was referring to the sweet potato, which was common in India at that time], and others like them as pleasant.

5. At Surat, "plants so many, that to write fully of them would require express volumes," Pietro Della Valle[10]

The Commendator of the Dutch came one day to give me a visit, and after a competent conversation, carried me in his coach a little out of the City to see one of the fairest and famousest gardens of Surat. The plot was level, well contriv'd and divided with handsome streight Walks; on either side whereof were planted rowes of sundry Trees of this Climate, namely *Ambe* or, as others speak, *Manghe* [mango], before describ'd by me in my last Letters from *Persia,* in the maritime parts whereof I saw some Trees of this kind: *Foufel,* whose leaves are like these of the *Palm-tree,* but of a livelier, and fairer, green; *Narghil,* like the Palm in the leaves also, and is that which we call *Nux Indica* [coconut]: and others, different from what are found in

our parts. The plots between the several walks were full of herbs and flowers, partly such as we have, and partly not; amongst the rest they shew'd me a Flower, for bigness and form not unlike our Gilly flower, but of a whitish yellow, having a very sweet and vigorous scent, and they call it Ciampa [Champa]. In a convenient place there is a square place [*Baithakhana*, sitting room]; rais'd somewhat from the ground and cover'd with large sheds, to sit there in the shade, after the manner of the East: and here we entertain'd ourselves a while and had a collation; and other things in the garden worthy of remark I saw none.

As for the plants and strange simples of *India,* and the whole Torrid Zone, (in these things very different from ours) I shall say briefly once for all, that they are such and so many, that to write fully of them would require express volumes, and make them as big as those of *Dioscorides* and *Pliny*, all of things unknown to us.

6. Fruits of Goa, Peter Mundy[11]

(i) Jamboes

Jambo trees, which then blossomed, when (and) then I thincke few trees More beautifull to the Eye, the flower of a good bignesse; fine forme and of an excellent vermillion Dye, very thicke sett, growing on the stalkes and biggest bowes, not at the very end of the sprigges as trees Doe bear with us. This fruit is ordinarily now served att our table, in forme like an apple or peare, of a whitish coullour with a Dash of red as some of our apples. It smelles betweene a violett and a rose; of a Pleasaunt tast, though somwhat Flashy [insipid] or waterish.

(ii) Cajooraes: of a straunge propertye

Cajoora trees, whose blossome casteth a Most Fragrant smell into the ayre, the Fruit somwhatt harsh in tast and strong, although it hath this property, thatt I thincke none elce (hath) the like, *viz.* thatt wheras the seedes or Kernells of other fruittes grow within them, the Kernell of this growes quite withoutt it at the very end, resembling a French beane, though much bigger, and beeing roasted, eateth like a Chestnutt.

(iii) Jackes

Jacke trees, whose Fruitte groweth on the very body, stemme, or biggest braunches of the tree. There bee some thatt Wey Near 40 pound waight, and

in my opinion is the biggest Fruit thatt groweth on trees, as I thincke the Cocotree beares the biggest Nutte.

(iv) Coconutts: its wonderfull benefit and use

Cocotrees have onely stemme and No braunches or boughes att all, with a great bush att the very toppe. It is in many places much commended for the great benefitt itt affoards to Mans use, and not undese(r)ved, For to my Knowlidg it affoardes Meat, Drink and lodging, Oyle, Wyne, Milk, Sugar, etts., and good Cordage Made of the outtward rinde of the Nutte, which in Clusters grow outt att the toppe on a sprigge, as Doe allsoe the Papaes in a Manner, the tree Differing in leaves and height.

7. Mango, jack-fruit, and other produce, Niccolao Manucci[12]

As I have promised to speak of the fruits of India, chiefly of the mango and jack-fruit, I may mention that the best mangoes grow in the island of Goa. They have special names, which are as follows: mangoes of *Niculao Affonso, Malaiasses* [? of Malacca], *Carreira branca* [white Carreira], *Carreira vermehla* [red Carreira] of *Conde,* of *Joani Parreira, Babia* (large and round), of *Araup,* of *Porta,* of *Secreta,* of *Mainato,* of *Our Lady,* of *Agua de Lupe.* These are again divided into varieties, with special colour, scent, and flavour. I have eaten many that had the taste of the peaches, plums, pears, and apples of Europe. The mango is a little bit heating and laxative, and however many you eat of them, with or without bread, you still desire to eat more, and they do you no harm. While still unripe they are added to dishes, to pasties, *et cetera.* The juice of the ripe fruit mixed with milk is drunk, and is sustaining. They also make the fruit into preserves, which are exported to various places; various kinds of pickles are also made, which keep good for two years, and the stones are employed in medicine. The tree on which the mango is grown is the size of a walnut-tree; the fruit grows in clusters, like plums in Europe…

Jack-fruit

The jack-fruit I spoke of is of three kinds – *barca, papa,* and *pacheri* jack-fruit. These fruits are very large; some weigh eighty pounds or thereabouts. The tree is of the size of a walnut-tree. The fruit referred to grows on the trunk and on the larger branches; some grow from the roots, and these are discovered by the earth being pushed up, also by the smell which the spot emits. This fruit has a green rind an inch in thickness with projections in the

nature of thorns. It is known to be ripe by the smell it emits. Inside it is full of seeds, somewhat about the size of pears; these are very sweet and on opening them, a juice issues sweet as honey, and in the middle are stones like the chestnuts of Europe. In these jack-fruit the seeds are sometimes white and sometimes red; some are hard, some are soft, and each variety has its special flavour.

Of these seeds mixed with rice-flour they make a kind of fritters, which in India are called *paniara* [balls of rice-flour and sugar]. These, too, have their own flavour. When this fruit [the jack] is cut, a white liquid like bird-lime oozes from the rind, and sticking to the hand, it cannot be removed till it is anointed with oil…

Pineapple

I must mention another fruit found in India called *ananas* [the pineapple], which looks like a large pine-cone of Europe, and it has a corrugated rind. It is necessary to slice off this rind somewhat thickly to get rid of some natural depressions it has in it. The centre, when eaten, has a sweet, slightly acid, but very pleasant flavour. This fruit is heating, and if you leave a knife in it all night, the next day you will find it bitten into as if it had remained in aqua fortis. The distilled juice of this fruit is useful for dissolving stones in the kidneys and bladder, as I have found by experiment. The plant on which the fruit forms is a cubit in height; it grows up like an ear of corn, each plant yielding no more than one fruit. The leaves are a cubit in length and two fingers in breadth, with prickly edges. In no part of India have I seen them in such quantities as in Bengal, where they were large and fine. The reason for this is that it is a lowlying and humid country.

Mirobolanos quebulos

In the Mogul kingdom at different places, such as in the province of Gujarat, the mountains of Srinagar [? Garhwal], and of Butando [? Bhutan], grows a wild fruit exported from India to Europe. They are called *Mirobolanos quebulos* [Chebuli Myrobalan], and are used in medicine. Among them, though rarely, are found some of greater size than the others; these, if attached to the hand, are mildly purgative. They are valued for having this virtue, and great nobles give large sums to obtain them.

Chick-pea

In Hindustan they also sow a grain that in Italian is called *cheche* [? C*ece*] and in French *puee* [? *Pois*]. Of this grain I have seen large quantities used in Europe, chiefly on ship-board. Upon this plant when it is green there collects a dew which is very acid. The great nobles use this liquid instead of vinegar; and to gather it men go out before sunrise and run a sheet over the plants until it is thoroughly steeped. The liquid is then wrung out and kept in well-closed bottles. I state this because in Europe I have neither seen nor heard of such a thing….

Coco-tree

There can be no doubt that something curious can be written about a tree which generally grows in India near the sea. It is called palm-tree or coco-tree. This tree has many roots about the thickness of the little finger, and it grows to a great height but increases very slowly. When seven years have passed it begins to yield fruit; ordinarily it occupies a circumference of two cubits and three-quarters, there or thereabouts, and it lives for a hundred years. At that age it grows to as much as ten arms length; the stem is straight like the mast of a ship, with the branches or palm-leaves at the summit about two arms in length. The leaves are two cubits long, lying close to one another like organ-pipes, three inches in breadth. In the middle of the leaf is a rib, of which they make brooms, *et cetera,* They also make mats from the branches, and these serve as carpets to the native of the country. They thatch houses with the leaves, and they are also used as decorations at festivals. Every month a new branch appears in the middle of the palm-tree, and the oldest one falls off. Each tree has about thirty branches, and amidst them comes out the flower, enclosed by nature in a shield about a cubit long, nearly ten inches in circumference, and coming to a sharp point. When it has reached its proper size, the covering opens and the flower shows in the shape of brooms. On each branch of the flower you see its fruit stuck on like buttons, and these, swelling until they are like nuts, are then called *coquinhos* [little coconuts]; they are used for many infantile complaints, such as diarrhoea and mouth-sores. When grown to the size of twenty-eight up to thirty inches round, and as much in length, they are called *lanha.* The nut is then full of a sweet water, a drink of which is very refreshing. It is used in inflammation of the liver, the kidneys, and the bladder, and increases urination. It is also good for excessive heat of the

liver, pains in the bowels, or discharges of mucus or of blood; it also refreshes in the season of great heat.

When the nuts have become ripe, the rind hardens outside and the water inside changes into a pulp called *coco,* which lies inside a hard shell that is called *chereta* [*chiratta,* in Malayalam for the shell of the coconut]*,* and is like a nut. When the rind has been drawn off, they use it to make ropes and cables. The *coco,* when out of its husk, has sixteen to twenty thumbs *(pollegadas),* which European physicians call *Nos Indica* [Indian nut]. From the shells *(chereta* or *chiratta)* of these *cocos* are made dishes *(porzulanos),* vessels, spoons, handles, rings, rosaries, buckets to draw water, and many curiosities. The substance inside, which has about the thickness of an inch, is used for many dainties, being added to dishes in cooking. An oil is also made and usually applied by the women to their hair, which is their greatest delight. This oil is also employed for many medicinal purposes, such as in burns and ulcers, and an ointment is made with it. It serves for a purge to the lean and irascible, expels bile, and reduces adipose tissue.

Usually these trees yield four or five flowers, and in each flower are contained fifteen to twenty *cocos*. Every year it produces fruit three or four times, according to the strength of the soil; in Goa I have seen it yield four crops.

Toddy

Having finished talking of the palm-tree's fruit, I will now speak of its juice, called by the Indians *sura* [toddy]. When they want to draw the liquid, it is first necessary to open the flower, it being then in its rind; the end is cut, and then they begin to depress the whole flower in order to collect the juice, and fixing it, they attach to the end an earthen cup into which the substance drips. This is done twice a day, and each flower yields each time twenty ounces, more or less, of the distillation. When drunk fresh it is sweet and suave, but kept for twelve hours, it tastes like beer and goes to the head. It is used by the Indians in place of wine. From this liquid are manufactured *agua ardente,* vinegar, and sugar. The Indians ascend and descend these trees by clinging to the trunk and putting round it a rope of fibre, and into its ends they place their feet.

8. Bengal – a very nursing mother

(a) Cesare Federici in 1567 on Sondwip[13]

…the fertilest iland in all the world…[one could obtain there] a sacke of fine Rice for a thing of nothing.

(b) Cesare Federici on the entry of bullion into Bengal[14]

Silver and gold from Pegu [Burma] they carrie to Bengala, and no other kind of Merchandize.

(c) Ralph Fitch on Sonargaon[15]

Great store of Cotton doth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serve all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

(d) Francois Pyrard de Laval on Chittagong[16]

There is such a quantity of rice, that, besides supplying the whole country, it is exported to all parts of India, as well to Goa and Malabar, as to Sumatra, the Moluccas, and all the islands of Sunda, to all of which lands Bengal is a very nursing mother, who supplies them their entire subsistence and food. Thus, one sees arrive there [Chittagong] every day an infinite number of vessels from all parts of India for these provisions.

(e) Bengal more fertile than Egypt, Francois Bernier[17]

Egypt has been represented in every age as the finest and most fruitful country in the world, and even our modern writers deny that there is any other land so peculiarly favoured by nature: but the knowledge I have acquired of *Bengale,* during two visits paid to that kingdom, inclines me to believe that the preeminence ascribed to *Egypt* is rather due to *Bengale.* The latter country produces rice in such abundance that it supplies not only the neighbouring but remote states. It is carried up the *Ganges* as far as *Patna,* and exported by sea to *Maslipatam* and many other ports on the coast of *Koromandel.* It is also sent to foreign kingdoms, principally to the island of *Ceylon* and the *Maldives. Bengale* abounds likewise in sugar, with which it supplies the kingdoms of *Golkonda* and the *Karnatic,* where very little is grown, *Arabia* and *Mesopotamia,* through the towns of *Moka* and *Bassora,* and even *Persia,* by way of *Bender-Abbasi. Bengale* likewise is celebrated for its sweetmeats, especially in places inhabited by *Portuguese,* who are skilful in the art of preparing them, and with whom they are an article of considerable trade. Among other fruits, they preserve large *citrons,* such as we have in *Europe,* a certain delicate root about the length of *sarsaparilla,*

that common fruit of the *Indies* called *amba* [mango], another called *ananas* [pineapple], small *mirobolans* [myrobalans, dried fruits], which are excellent, *limes,* and *ginger.*

(f) Abundance of Bengal, Francois Bernier[18]

The three or four sorts of vegetables which, together with rice and butter [ghee], form the chief food of the common people, are purchased for the merest trifle, and for a single roupie twenty or more good fowls may be bought. Geese and ducks are proportionably cheap. There are also goats and sheep in abundance and pigs are obtained at so low a price that the *Portuguese*, settled in the country, live almost entirely upon pork. This meat is salted at a cheap rate by the *Dutch* and *English*, for the supply of their vessels. Fish of every species, whether fresh or salt, is in the same profusion. In a word, *Bengale* abounds with every necessary of life; and it is this abundance that has induced so many *Portuguese*, *Half-castes*, and other *Christians*, driven from their different settlements by the *Dutch*, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom.

(g) Produce of Bengal, Jean de Thevenot[19]

The Countrey is full of Castles and Towns; *Philipatan* [Pipli, near Balasore, Orissa?]*, Satigan* [Satgaon, Hooghly district]*, Patane* [Patna, chief city of Bihar]*, Casanbazar* [Kasimbazaar, Murshidabad district] and *Chatigan* [Chittagong]*,* are very rich; and *Patane* is a very large Town, lying on the West side of the *Ganges* in the Countrey of *Patan,* where the Dutch have a Factory. Corn, Rice, Sugar, Ginger, long Pepper, Cotton and Silk, with several other Commodities, are plentifully produced in that Country, as well as Fruits; and especially the *Ananas,* which in the out side is much like a Pine-Apple; they are as big as Melons, and some of them resemble them also; their colour at first is betwixt a Green and a Yellow, but when they are ripe, the Green is gone; they grow upon a Stalk not above a Foot and a half high; they are pleasant to the taste, and leaves the flavour of an Apricock in the mouth.

9. Produce of Kashmir, Francois Bernier[20]

The merchants who every year travel from mountain to mountain to collect the fine wool with which shawls are manufactured, all agree in saying that between all the mountains still dependent upon *Kachemire* there are many fine stretches of country. Among these tracts there is one whose annual

tribute is paid in leather and wool, and whose women are proverbial for beauty, chastity, and industry. Beyond this tract is another whose valleys are delightful and plains fertile, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricots, excellent melons, and even grapes, with which good wine is made. The tribute of this tract is likewise paid in wool and leather, and it sometimes happens that the inhabitants, trusting to the inaccessible nature of the country, refuse payment; but troops always contrive to penetrate, and reduce the people to submission.

10. Abundant Lahore, Jean de Thevenot[21]

Lahors is one of the largest and most abundant Provinces of the Indies; the Rivers that are in it render it extreamly fertile, it yields all that is necessary for life; Rice, as well as Corn and Fruits are plentiful there; there is pretty good Wine in it also, and the best Sugars of all *Indostan.* There are in the Towns Manufactures, not only of all sorts of painted Cloaths, but also of every thing else that is wrought in the *Indies*; and indeed, according to the account of my *Indian,* it brings in to the *Great Mogul* above thirty seven Millions a year, which is a great Argument [sign] of its fruitfulness.

11. Spices of South India, Ralph Fitch[22]

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin; and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour, and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The shrubbe is like unto our ivy tree; and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the sun, and it becommeth blacke. The ginger groweth like unto our garlike, and the root is the ginger. It is to be found in many parts of India.

12. Spices of several kinds, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[23]

Cardamom, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, mace, cloves, and cinnamon are the several kinds of spices which are known to us. I place cardamom and ginger first, because cardamom grows in the Kingdom of Bijapur and ginger in that of the Great Mogul, while the other kinds of spices are imported from abroad to Surat, where they constitute an important article of commerce.

Cardamom is the best kind of spice, but is very scarce, and as but a small quantity is grown in the place I have indicated, it is only used in Asia at the tables of the nobles. 500 livres of cardamom are sold at from 100 to 110 reals.

Ginger comes in large quantities from Ahmadabad, where it grows in greater abundance than in any other part of Asia, and it is difficult to realise the quantity which is exported in a candied condition to foreign countries.

Pepper is of two kinds, one of small size, and the other much larger; these are respectively known as small and long pepper. The long kind is chiefly from Malabar, Tuticorin, and Calicut being the towns where it is purchased. Some comes also from the Kingdom of Bijapur, and is sold at Rajapur [Ratnagiri district], a small town of that kingdom. The Dutch who purchase it from the Malabaris do not pay for it in cash, but exchange for it many kinds of merchandise, such as cotton, opium, vermilion, and quicksilver, and it is this long pepper which is exported to Europe. As for the small pepper which comes from Bantam, Achin, and other places eastwards, it is not exported from Asia, where much is consumed, especially by the Musalmans. For in a pound of small pepper there are double the number of seeds that there are in a pound of the long; and it is more used in the pulaos, into which it is thrown by the handful, besides which the large pepper is too hot for the mouth ...

There is one remarkable fact about the nutmeg, namely, that the tree is never planted. This has been confirmed to me by many persons who have dwelt for many years in the country. They have assured me that when the nuts are ripe certain birds which arrive from the islands to the south swallow them whole, and reject them afterwards without having digested them, and that these nuts, being covered by a viscous and sticky substance, fall to the ground, take root, and produce trees, which would not happen if they were planted-in the ordinary way…

13. Wealth of India, gold from every part of the world swallowed here, Francois Bernier[24]

It should not escape notice that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in *Hindoustan.* Of the quantity drawn from *America,* and dispersed among the different European states, a part finds its way, through various channels, to *Turkey,* for the payment of commodities imported from that country; and a part passes into *Persia,* by way of *Smyrna,* for the silks laden at that port. *Turkey* cannot dispense with the coffee which she receives from *Yemen,* or Arabia Felix; and the productions of the *Indies* are equally necessary to *Turkey, Yemen,* and *Persia.* Thus it happens that these

countries are under the necessity of sending a portion of their gold and silver to *Moka,* on the Red Sea, near *Babel-mandel;* to *Bassora,* at the top of the *Persian Gulf;* and to *Bander Abassi* or *Gomeron*, near *Ormus;* which gold and silver is exported to *Hindoustan* by the vessels that arrive every year, in the *mausem*, or the season of the winds, at those three celebrated ports, laden with goods from that country.

Let it also be borne in mind that all the *Indian* vessels, whether they belong to the *Indians* themselves, or to the *Dutch,* or *English,* or *Portuguese*, which every year carry cargoes of merchandise from *Hindoustan* to *Pegu, Tanasseri* [the southern division of the province of Lower Burma], *Siam*, *Ceylon*, *Achem*, [north of the island Sumatra], *Macassar*, the *Maldives*, to *Mosambic,* and other places, bring back to *Hindoustan* from those countries a large quantity of the precious metals, which share the fate of those brought from *Moka*, *Bassora,* and *Bander-Abassi*. And in regard to the gold and silver which the Dutch draw from *Japan*, where there are mines, a part is, sooner or later, introduced into *Hindoustan*; and whatever is brought directly by sea, either from *Portugal* or from *France*, seldom leaves the country, returns being made in merchandise…

Supplying itself with articles of foreign growth or manufacture, does not… prevent *Hindoustan* from absorbing a large portion of the gold and silver of the world, admitted through a variety of channels, while there is scarcely an opening for its return.

C. Precious metals and stones

The Rammalakota diamond mines, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[25]

…Rammalakota [in Telugu, "precious stone hill fort"], situated five days journey from Golkonda, and eight or nine from Bijapur... It is only about 200 years since this mine of Rammalakota was discovered, at least so far as I have been able to ascertain from the people of the country.

All round the place where the diamonds are found the soil is sandy, and full of rocks and jungle, somewhat comparable to the neighbourhood of Fontainebleau. There are in these rocks many veins, some of half a finger and some of a whole finger in width; and the miners have small irons, crocked at the ends, which they thrust into the veins to draw from them the sand or earth, which they place in vessels; it is in this earth that they afterwards find the diamonds. But as the veins do not always run straight, as some ascend, while others descend, they are obliged to break the rocks, always following the direction of the veins. After they have opened them out, and have removed the earth or sand which may be in them, they then commence to wash it two or three times, and search it for whatever diamonds it may contain. It is in this mine that the cleanest and whitest-watered diamonds are found; but the evil is that in order to extract the sand more easily from the rocks the miners strike such blows with a heavy iron crowbar that it fractures the diamonds, and gives rise to flaws. This is the reason why so many thin stones come from this mine, for when the miners see a stone in which there is a flaw of some size, they immediately cleave it, that is to say split it, at which they are much more accomplished than we are. These are the stones which we call thin *(foible),* which make a great show. If the stone is clean they do not do more than just touch it with the wheel above and below, and do not venture to give it any form, for fear of reducing the weight. But if it has a small flaw, or any spots, or small black or red grit, they cover the whole of the stone with facettes in order that its defects may not be seen, and if it has a very small flaw they conceal it by the edge of one of the facettes. But it should be remarked that the merchant prefers a black point in a stone to a red one. When there is a red one the stone is roasted and the point becomes black….

D. Fauna

1. Elephants

(a) Used in battles, Ludovico Di Varthema[26]

…It occurs to me here to touch upon a subject worthy of notice, viz. the discretion, the intelligence, and the strength of the elephant. We will first say in what manner he fights. When an elephant goes into battle he carries a saddle, in the same manner as they are borne by the mules of the kingdom of Naples, fastened underneath by two iron chains. On each side of the said saddle he carries a large and very strong wooden box, and in each box there go three men. On the neck of the elephant, between the boxes, they place a plank the size of half a span, and between the boxes and the plank a man sits astride who speaks to the elephant, for the said elephant possesses more intelligence than any other animal in the world; so that there are in all seven persons who go upon the said elephant; and they go armed with shirts of mail, and with bows and lances, swords and shields. And in like manner they arm the elephant with mail, especially the head and the trunk. They fasten to the trunk a sword two *braccia* long, as thick and as wide as the hand of a man. And in that way they fight. And he who sits upon his neck orders him: 'Go forward' or 'Turn back,' 'Strike this one,' 'Strike that one,' 'Do not strike any more,' and he understands as though he were a human being. But if any time they are put to flight it is impossible to restrain them; for this race of people are great masters of the art of making fireworks, and these animals have a great dread of fire, and through this means they sometimes take to flight. But in every way this animal is the most discreet in the world and the most powerful.

(b) Most docile creatures, Edward Terry[27]

They have many elephants; the King for his owne particular being master of fourteene thousand, and his nobles and all men of qualitie in the countrey have more or lesse of them, some to the number of one hundred. The elephants, though they bee the largest of all creatures the earth brings forth, yet are so tractable (unlesse at times when they are mad) that a little boy is able to rule the biggest of them. Some of them I have seene thirteene foot high; but there are among them (as I have beene often told) fifteene at the least. The colour of them all is black; their skins thick and smooth without haire. They take much delight to bathe themselves in water, and swim better

then any beast I know. They lye downe and arise againe at pleasure, as other beasts doe. Their pace is not swift, about three mile an houre; but of all beasts in the world are most sure of foot, for they never fall nor stumble to endanger their rider. They are most docile creatures and, of all those we account meerely sensible, come neerest unto reason. Lipsius [Justus Lipsius, Joest Lips, the Dutch humanist, 1547-1606] in his *Epistles* (1 *Cent. Epist.* 50) out of his observations from others writes more of them then I can confirme, or any (I perswade my selfe) beleeve; yet many things remarkable, which seeme indeed acts of reason rather then sence, I have observed in them. For instance, an elephant will doe any thing almost that his keeper commands him; as, if he would have him affright a man, he will make towards him as if hee would tread him in pieces, and when he is come at him, doe him no hurt; if he would have him to abuse or disgrace a man, he will take dirt or kennell water in his trunke and dash it in his face. Their trunks are long grisselly snouts hanging downe twixt their teeth, by some called their hand, which they make use of upon all occasions.

(c) Mode of hunting elephants, Niccolao Manucci[28]

The mode of hunting the elephant is in Cochin as follows: They make large pits on the paths over which the animal pass, as recognised by their footmarks. Then they put sticks, straw, and earth over these pits, so that the elephant cannot discover them. Passing from one place to another, they fall into the pit, and there they are left for some days, giving them very little food. On finding that from hunger the animal is more gentle, they begin little by little to fill up the pit to a height which enables a man to mount on the elephant. Its feet are bound by heavy iron chains; then, in company of domesticated elephants, it is removed somewhere else, after which it readily becomes submissive…

Intelligence of elephants

Usually there are some superstitions involved in these hunts. It happened in Cochin that an elephant fell into one of the pits described, but was able somehow to get out. To preserve himself and not fall in another time, he began to carry a stake in his trunk with which he probed the earth where he wanted to go. Thus these animals have great discernment, as I have seen and experienced.

2. Taming lions at Sidhpur [Chitpur], Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[29]

Sidhpur is a fairly good town, so named on account of the great trade which it does in those coloured cottons which are called chites, and at four or five hundred paces on the south side there flows a small river. When I arrived at Sidhpur, on one of my journeys, I was encamped under two or three trees at one of the ends of a great open space near the town. A short time afterwards four or five lions appeared which they brought to train, and they told me it generally took five or six months, and they do it in this way. They tie the lions, at twelve paces distance from each other, by their hind feet, to a cord attached to a large wooden post firmly planted in the ground, and they have another about the neck which the lion-master holds in his hand. These posts are planted in a straight line, and upon another parallel one, from fifteen to twenty paces distant, they stretch another cord of the length of the space which the lions occupy, when arranged as above. These two cords which hold the lion fastened by his two hind feet, permit him to rush up to this long cord, which serves as a limit to those outside it, beyond which they ought not to venture to pass when harassing and irritating the lions by throwing small stones or little bits of wood at them. A number of people come to this spectacle, and when the provoked lion jumps towards the cord, he has another round his neck, which the master holds in his hand, and with which he pulls him back. It is by this means that they accustom the lion by degrees to become tame with people, and on my arrival at Sidhpur I witnessed this spectacle without leaving my carriage.

□

Chapter 2
People

A. Description of people

B. Glimpses of society

C. Dwellings

D. Dress

E. Cleanliness

F. Food habits, mode of eating, fasts

G. Betel eating

H. Economic disparities

I. Funeral Rites

A. Description of people

1. Reverence for teachers among Nayars, Tome Pires[1]

They always make a deep reverence to the masters who teach them, so much so that if the best of the Nayars were to meet a Mukkuvan *(Macua)* [a caste name applied to fishermen of Malabar coast] who happened to have taught him something, he would make him a reverence and then go and wash himself. If a Nayar meets another older than himself on the road, he does him reverence and gives place to him. If there were two, three or four brothers, the oldest would have to be seated while the others remained standing.

2. People at Goa, letter dated 10 November 1579 by Thomas Stevens of the Society of Jesus to his father on landing[2]

The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips and noses, as the Moors and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation – or, at least, the most part – go naked, saving an apron of a span long and as much in breadth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them girded about with a string, and no more. And thus they think themselves as well as we with all our trimming.

3. Polished and refined, Francois Pyrad de Laval[3]

I have never seen men of wit so fine and polished as are these Indians: they have nothing barbarous or savage about them, as we are apt to suppose. They are unwilling indeed to adopt the manners and customs of the Portuguese; yet do they readily learn their manufactures and workmanship, being all very curious and desirous of learning. In fact the Portuguese take and learn more from them than they from the Portuguese…

4. Hindus talented and industrious, Edward Terry[4]

The Gentiles for the most part are very industrious. They till the ground or else spend their time otherwaies diligently in their vocations. There are amongst them most curious artificers, who are the best apes for imitation in the world; for they will make any new thing by patterne. The Mahometans are generally idle; who are all for to morrow (a word common in their mouthes). They live upon the labours of the Gentiles.

5. Loyal followers, Edward Terry[5]

I must needes commend the Mahumetans and Gentiles for their good and faithfull service; amongst whom a stranger may travell alone, with a great charge of money or goods, quite through the countrey and take them for his guard, yet never bee neglected or injured by them. They follow their masters on foote, carrying swords and bucklers or bowes and arrowes for their defence; and by reason of great plentie of provision in that kingdome, a man may hire them upon easie conditions, for they will not desire above five shillings the moone, paide the next day after the change (*Quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est; et panis fumusque domi)* ["Their coat, their shooes, their bread, their fire, And all besides, bought with this hire"], to provide themselves all necessaries, and for it doe most diligent service.

6. Hindu morality – adultery, slavery, sodomy frowned upon, Pietro Della Valle[6]

As for good works and sins, they all agree with the Doctrine of Morality and the universal consent of Mankind, that there are differences of Virtue and Vice in all the world. They hold not onely Adultery, but even simple Fornication, a great sin; nor do they account it lawful, as the Mahometans do, to have commerce with female slaves, or with others besides their own Wives. Yea, slaves of either sex they no-wise admit, but hold it a sin; making use of free persons for their service, and paying them wages, as we do in *Europe*. Which likewise was their ancient custom, as appears by *Strabo,* who cites *Megasthenes* and other Authors of those times for it. They detest Sodomy above measure, and abhor the Mahometans whom they observe addicted to it. They take but one Wife and never divorce her till death, except for the cause of Adultery. Indeed some, either by reason of the remoteness of their Wives, or out of a desire to have children in case the first Wife be barren, or because they are rich and potent, and are minded to do what none can forbid them, sometimes take more Wives; but 'tis not counted well done, unless they be Princes, who always in all Nations are privileged in many things. When the Wife dyes they marry another if they please; but if the Husband dye the Woman never marries more; were she so minded, nor could she find any of her own Race who would take her, because she would be accounted as bad as infamous in desiring a second Marriage. A very hard Law indeed…

7. Ethics and war rules, the Zomorin/Cochin conflict, Pietro Della Valle[7]

When two Kings happen to war together each Army takes great heed not to kill the opposing King, nor so much as to strike his Umbrella wherever it goes, which is amongst them the Ensign of Royalty, because, besides that it would be a great sin to have a hand in shedding Royal blood, the party, or side, which should kill, or wound, him would expose themselves to great and irreparable mischiefs, in regard of the obligation that the whole Kingdom of the wounded, or slain, King hath to revenge him with the greatest destruction of their enemies, even with the certain loss of their own lives if it be needful. By how much such Kings are of greater dignity among them so much longer this obligation of furious revenge endureth. So that if the *Samori* [Zamorin] should be killed, or wounded, by the Army of the King of *Cocin,* who is his enemy, but of greater dignity, the people of the *Samori* stand obliged to one day of revenge, (others say three days) during which everyone is obliged to act his utmost to the utter destruction of those of *Cocin,* even with the manifest hazard of his own life. But if the King of *Cocin,* who hath a greater repute, for honour at least, if not for power, should happen to be slain, or wounded, by the people of the *Samori,* the fury of revenge is to last in those of *Cocin* all the time of their lives (others say once a year), which would cause a great destruction of both sides. They call this term of time, or manner of revenge, *Amoco;* so that they say the *Amoco* of the *Samori* lasts one day; the *Amoco* of the King of *Cocin* lasts all the life, and so of others.

8. Devotion to priests, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[8]

When I was at Agra in the year 1642 a somewhat strange thing happened. An idolater called Voldas [Vithaldas?] who was the Dutch broker, and about seventy years old, received news that the Chief Priest of the pagoda of Mathura was dead. Immediately he went to see the Chief of the Dutch factory to ask him to examine his accounts and close them, because as he said, their Chief Priest being dead he also wished to die, to serve that holy man in the other world. As soon as his accounts had been examined he entered his carriage accompanied by some relatives who followed him, and as he had neither eaten nor drunk since he had received the news, he died on the road, refusing to take any food.

9. Salutations of the Hindus, Niccolao Manucci[9]

The first error of these Hindus is to believe that they are the only people in the world who have any polite manners; and the same is the case with

cleanliness and orderliness in business. They think all other nations, and above all Europeans, are barbarous, despicable, filthy, and devoid of order.

The civilities they pay to each other are as follows, divisible into five categories. In the first they raise the hands to the head and prostrate themselves on the ground; this is the form in which they adore God, and salute their spiritual leaders, the *Sannyasis,* who are their monks and they also employ it for kings, princes, and the great. Although this is practised by nearly every caste, it is not observed by the Brahmans; they prostrate themselves only before God, their teachers, who are always Brahmans, and their monks, also invariably of their own caste.

The second manner of salutation is to lift the hands to the head. It is in this fashion that they salute ordinary persons, governors, generals, and ministers of kings and princes. The third manner is to raise the hands only as high as the stomach; and this is the course adopted by equals and friends, followed by an embrace. The fourth manner is to display the two hands with the palms joined. This is done by the learned and by monks before princes and the great, when those persons make use to them of one of the three methods above described. Finally the fifth and last mode of salutation is to display the palm of the right hand raised on high; this is how superiors act to inferiors.

Brahmans salute kings in the second manner only; and to it the latter respond in the same form. But what is delightful is to see a Brahman on a visit to another man, for without the slightest salutation he seats himself, and in the conversation the host accords him the title of lordship or excellency, and often that of highness. When he takes his leave he goes off most solemnly without being any more polite on going away than on entering.

10. Hindu opinion of foreigners, Niccolao Manucci[10]

The Hindus call all the Europeans and Mahomedans in India by the name of *Farangis* [the inclusion of Mahomedans among Farangis is debatable], a designation so low, so disgraceful in their tongue, that there is nothing in ours which could reproduce it. As they hold the Farangis to be vile and abominable they have persuaded themselves that people have no polite manners, that they are ignorant, wanting in ordered life, and very dirty. For these things they would sooner die unaided than drink a cup of water from

the hand of a *Farangi;* nor would they eat anything that he has prepared. They believe such an act to be an irremediable disgrace, and a sin for which there is no remission.

11. Description of Indians, Giovanni Careri[11]

The *Indians* are well shap'd, it being rare to find any of them crooked, and for Stature like the *Europeans*. They have black Hair but not Curl'd, and their Skin is of an Olive Colour; and they do not love White, saying it is the Colour of Leprousie. They wash often, anointing themselves after it with rich Oyls and Oyntments.

12. Indian ingenuity, J. Ovington[12]

The *Indians* are in many things of matchless Ingenuity in their several Imployments, and admirable Mimicks of whatever they affect to copy after. The *Bannian*, by the Strength of his Brain only, will sum up his Accounts with equal exactness, and quicker Dispatch, than the readiest Arithmetician can with his Pen. The Weavers of Silk will exactly imitate the nicest and most beautiful Patterns that are brought from *Europe*. And the very Ship-Carpenters at *Suratt* will take the Model of any *English* Vessel, in all Curiosity of its Building, and the most artificial Instances of Workmanship about it, whether they are proper for the Convenience of Burthen, or of quick Sailing, as exactly as if they had been the first Contrivers.

13. Holy ballads sung all day, J. Ovington[13]

The Pagans, who are bred to labour and Manual Occupations, consecrate each Day of the Week, and everything they take in Hand thus far; that they fill their Mouths with a pious Song at the first dawning of the Morning, as soon as ever they ingage in their several Employments and Manual Occupations, and never cease their Secular Vocation without concluding with the mixture of a Holy Rhime. When a Company of Labourers are employ'd together about the same Work, this sacred Ballad is repeated by them sometimes alternately, sometimes by single persons, the rest answering in Chorus, all the Day long, without the intermission of one quarter of an Hour.

B. Glimpses of society

1. Hindus at Goa, Tome Pires[14]

There are a great many heathens in this kingdom of Goa, more than in the kingdom of the Deccan. Some of them are very honoured men with large fortunes; and almost the whole kingdom lies in their hands, because they are natives and possess the land and they pay the taxes. Some of them are noblemen with many followers and lands of their own, and are persons of great repute, and wealthy, and they live on their estates, which are very gay and fresh. The heathens of the kingdom of Goa surpass those of Cambay. They have beautiful temples of their own in this kingdom; they have priests or Brahmans of many kinds. There are some very honoured stock among these Brahmans. Some of them will not eat anything which has contained blood or anything prepared by the hand of another. These Brahmans are greatly revered throughout the country, particularly among the heathen… They are clever, prudent, learned in their religion. A Brahman would not become a Mohammedan [even] if he were made a king.

2. Hindu society in Malabar, Camoes in the *Lusiads,* 1572[15]

The Law that holds the people, high and low,
is fraught with false phantastick tales long past:
they go unclothed, but a wrap they throw
for decent purpose round the loins and waist:
Two modes of men are known; the nobles know
the name of Nayrs, who call the lower caste
Poleas, whom their haughty laws contain
from intermingling with the higher strain:
For men who aye had office in one guise
with mates of other office ne'er may wive;
nor may the son the calling exercise
save sire's and foresires' long as he shall live.
These Nayrs as sin and shame, forsooth, despise

the touch of outcasts, and they fain believe
that, peradventure, if the touch occur,
a thousand rites must wash their bodies pure.
In sim'ilar form the Judaean folk of old
touch'd not the peoples of Samaria-reign:
But strangenesses far stranger than I've told
of varied usages shall meet your eyne.
None save the Nayrs affront the manifold
chances of war, who like stone-wall sustain
their King from enemies, arms aye in hand,
in left the target, and in right the brand.
Entitled Brahmins are their ghostly race,
time-honour'd title of high eminence:
His far-famed precepts, eke, they still embrace
who first to Science lent a modest sense:
A living thing to kill they hold as base,
such be from ev'ery flesh their abstinence:
Only in joys venereal their delight
hath more of licence and laxer rite.
Common the women are, although confine'd
to those belonging to their husbands' blood:
Happy condition ! happy humankind,
who over jealous wrongs may never brood !
These and more customs various shall ye find
among the Mal'abar men still holding good:
Great is the country, rich in ev'ery style
of goods from China sent by sea to Nyle.

3. The Deccanis, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[16]

The Canaras and *Decanyns* are of the Country of *Decam,* commonly called *Ballagate,* lying behind Goa: many of them dwell in *Goa.* Their apparel is like the *Gusurates* and *Benianes,* except their Shooes which they weare like Antiques with cut toes, and fastned above upon their naked feet which they call *Alparcas.* They weare their Beards and haire long, as it groweth without cutting, but onely turne it vp, and dresse it as the *Benianes* and *Bramenes* vse to doe, and are like them for colour, forme, and making. They eate all things except Kine, Hogges, and Buffles, Flesh and Fish. They account the Oxe, Kow or Buffle to bee Holie, which they have commonly in the house with them, and they besmeere, stroke, and handle them with all the friendship in the world, and feed them with the same meat they vse to eate themselues. In the night time they sleepe with them in their Houses, and to conclude, use them as if they were reasonable Creatures, whereby they thinke to doe God great service. In their Eating; sitting in the House, Washing, making Cleane and other Ceremonies and Superstitions they are altogether like the *Bramenes, Gusurates,* and *Benianes.*

4. The Canarijns and Corumbijns, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[17]

The *Canarijns* and *Corumbijns* are the Countrimen, and such as deale with Tilling the Land, Fishing and such like labours. These are the most contemptible, and the miserablest people of all *India,* and live very poorly, maintaining themselves with little meat. They eate all kind of things, except Kine, Oxen, Buffles, Hogges, and Hens flesh; their Religion is like the *Decanijns* and *Canaras,* for they are all of one Countrey and Custome, little differing: they goe naked, their middle onely covered with a cloth. The Women goe with a cloth bound about their middle beneath their nauels, and hanging downe to the middle of their thighes, and the other end thereof they cast ouer their shoulders, whereby half their brests are covered. They are in a manner blacke, or of a darke browne colour, many of them are *Christians,* because their chiefs habitation and dwelling places are on the Sea-side, in the Countries bordering upon *Goa,* for that the Palme trees doe grow vpon the Sea coasts, or upon the banks by Riuer sides. The Rice is sowed vpon low ground, which in Winter time is covered with water, wherewith those *Canarijns* doe maintaine themselves: these bring Hennes, Fruit, Milke, Egges, and other such like wares into the Towne to sell. They dwell in little straw Houses, the doores whereof are so low, that men must creepe in and out, their houshold-stuffe is a Mat upon the ground to sleepe vpon, and a Pit

or hole in the ground to beat their Rice in, with a Pot or two to seeth it in, and so they live and gaine so much as it is a wonder. For commonly their Houses are full of small Children, which crall and creepe about all naked, vntill they are seven or eight yeares old, and then they cover their middle. When the women are readie to trauell with Child, they are commonly delivered when they are all alone, and their Husbands in the fields.

5. Customs in Telengana, Jean de Thevenot[18]

No where are the Gentiles more Superstitious than here; they have a great many Pagods with Figures of Monsters, that can excite nothing but Horror instead of Devotion, unless in those who are deluded with the Religion. These Idolaters use frequent Washings; Men, Women and Children go to the River as soon as they are out of Bed; and the rich have Water brought them to wash in. When Women lose their Husbands, they are conducted thither by their Friends, who comfort them; and they who are brought to Bed, use the same custom, almost as soon as they are delivered of their Children, and indeed, there is no Countrey where Women are so easily brought to Bed; when they come out of the Water, a *Bramen* dawbs their Fore-head with a Composition made of Saffron, and the Powder of white Sawnders [sandalwood] dissolved in Water, then they return home, where they eat a slight Breakfast; and seeing they must never eat unless they be washed, some return to the *Tanquie* or River, about noon; and others perform their Ablutions at home, before they go to Dinner.

As they have a special care not to eat any thing but what is dressed by a Gentile of their Caste, so they seldom eat any where but at home, and commonly they dress their Victuals themselves, buying their Flower, Rice, and such other Provisions in the Shops of the *Banians*, for they'll not buy any where else.

These *Banians* (as well as the *Bramens* and *Courmis*) feed on Butter, Pulse, Herbs, Sugar and Fruit; they eat neither Fish nor Flesh, and drink nothing but Water, wherein they put Coffee and Tea; they use no dishes, for fear some body of another Religion or Tribe, may have made use of the Dish, out of which they might eat; and to supply that, they put their Victuals into large Leaves of Trees, which they throw away when they are empty, nay, there are some of them who eat alone, and will not suffer neither their Wives nor Children at Table with them...

Professions followed by Hindus

6. Gujaratis excel as seamen, Tome Pires[19]

The Gujaratees were better seamen and did more navigating than the other people of these parts and so they have larger ships and more men to man them. They have great pilots and do a great deal of navigation. The heathen of Cambay – and in older times the Gujaratees – held that they must never kill anyone, nor must they have an armed man in their company. If they were captured and [their captors] wanted to kill them all, they did not resist. This is the Gujarat law among the heathen. Now they have many men-at-arms to defend their ships.

7. Leading merchants, jewellers, workmen, brokers, Francisco Pelsaert[20]

The Hindus…have three ordinary sources of livelihood. First there are the leading merchants and jewellers, and they are most able and expert in their business. Next there are the workmen, for practically all work as is done by Hindus, the Moslems practising scarcely any crafts but dyeing and weaving, which are followed by Hindus in some places, but by Moslems everywhere.

Thirdly there are the clerks and brokers: all the business of the lords' palaces and of the Moslem merchants is done by Hindus book-keeping, buying, and selling. They are particularly clever brokers, and are consequently generally employed as such throughout all these countries, except for the sale of horses, oxen, camels, elephants, or any living creatures, which they will not handle as the Moslems do.

C. Dwellings

1. Houses of the rich, use of local materials makes them pleasant, Francisco Pelsaert[21]

…I shall now speak of the houses which are built here. They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper story except a flat roof, on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house; and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water, drawn by oxen from wells. The water is drawn, or sometimes raised by a wheel, in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a fountain; in this climate water and plants are a refreshment and recreation unknown in our cold country. These houses last for a few years only, because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar, but the white plaster of the walls is very noteworthy, and far superior to anything in our country. They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard, and shines like alabaster, or can even be used as a looking-glass.

2. Abode of common people, Niccolao Manucci[22]

Their dwellings also are very small. Excluding the temples of their false gods, some of which cost great sums, and the palaces of a few kings, princes, *et cetera,* which are built of brick and mortar, and even then have no architectural style, all other houses are constructed of earth and pieces of wood bound together with ropes, without much regard to appearances. These wooden posts serve as supporting pillars, and the roof is of thatch. In this way they build a house without using a single nail. The floors of the houses are not stone-paved, nor covered with the sort of cement they make in this country of lime, eggs, and other ingredients mixed together. The floors are of pounded earth only, spread over with a wash of cow's dung. This is the bed of the great majority of humble people in this country, who have no other mattress to lie on. However, rich people have a mat or a quilt on which they sleep; and those that possess this much believe themselves in possession of one of the greatest luxuries in the world.

3. Dwellings in Bengal, Fray Sebastian Manrique[23]

This people usually live in huts of mud and clay, low and thatched with straw or olas, which is the leaf of a palm. They keep their dwellings very clean, usually scouring them over constantly with the excrement of cattle dung mixed with mud…

D. Dress

1. Dress of heathens at Vijayanagar, Duarte Barbosa[24]

The natives of this land are Heathen like himself [the king]; they are tawny men, nearly white. Their hair is long, straight and black. The men are of good height with 'physnomies' like our own: the women go very trimly clad; their men wear certain clothes as a girdle below, would very tightly in many folds, and short white shirts of cotton or silk or coarse brocade, which are gathered between the thighs but open in front: on their heads they carry small turbans, and some wear silk or brocade caps, they wear their rough shoes on their feet (without stockings). They wear also other large garments thrown over their shoulders like capes, and are accompanied by pages walking behind them with their swords in their hands. The substances with which they are always anointed are these: white sanders-wood [sandal-wood], aloes, camphor, musk, and saffron, all ground fine and kneaded with rosewater. With these they anoint themselves after bathing, and so they are always very highly scented. They wear many rings set with precious stones and many earrings set with fine pearls in their ears. As well as the page armed with a sword, whom, as I have said, they take with them, they take also another who holds an umbrella (lit. a shade-hat with a handle) to shade them and to keep off the rain, and of these some are made of finely worked silk with many golden tassels, and many precious stones and seed-pearls. They are so made as to open and shut, and many cost three of four hundred cruzados.

2. Women's dress at Vijayanagar, Duarte Barbosa[25]

The women wear white garments of very thin cotton, or silk of bright colours, five yards long: one part of which is girt round them below, and the other part they throw over one shoulder and across their breasts in such a way that one arm and shoulder remains uncovered, as with a scarf (*reguacho*). They wear leather shoes well embroidered in silk; their heads are uncovered and the hair is tightly gathered into a becoming knot on the top of the head, and in their hair they put many scented flowers. In the side of one of the nostrils they make a small hole, through which they put a fine gold wire with a pearl, sapphire or ruby pendant. They have their ears bored as well, and in them they wear earrings set with many jewels; on their necks they wear necklaces of gold and jewels and very fine coral beads, and

bracelets of gold and precious stones and many good coral beads are fitted to their arms. Thus the more part of this people is very wealthy.

3. Rich apparel in Vijayanagar, Cesare Federici[26]

The apparell that they use in Bezeneger is Velvet, Satten, Damask, Scarlet, or white Bumbast cloth, according to the estate of the person, with long Hats on their heads, called Colae, made of Velvet, Satten, Damask, or Scarlet, girding themselves in stead of girdles with some fine white Bumbast cloth: they have breeches after the order of the Turkes: they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them Aspergh, and at their eares they have hanging great plentie of gold.

4. Bindi and sindoor, Ralph Fitch[27]

Their women have their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of silver, copper, tinne, and with round hoopes made of ivorie, adorned with amber stones and with many agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads and a stroke of red up to the crowne, and so it runneth three maner of wayes.

5. Apparel of Baniyas at Goa, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[28]

Their Apparell is a thinne white Gowne vpon their naked bodies, from the head to the feet, and made fast on the side vnder their armes, their Shooes of red leather, sharpe at the toes, and turning vp like hookes, their Beards shauen like the *Turkes,* sauing onely their Moustachios, they weare on their Heads a white cloth three or foure times wrapped about like the *Bramenes,* and vnder their haire a Starre vpon their fore-heads, which they rub euery morning with a little white Sanders tempered with water, and three or foure graines of Rice among it, which the *Bramenes* also doe as superstitious Ceremonie of their Law. Their Bodies are commonly anoynted with Sanders and other sweet Woods, which they doe verie mach vse, as also all the *lndians.*

Their Women are apparelled like the *Bramenes* wiues; they eate like the *Mahometans,* and all other *Indian* vpon the ground. In their Houses or Assemblies they sit on the ground vpon Mats or Carpets, and always leaue their Shooes without the doore, so that they are alwayes bare-foot in their Houses: wherefore commonly the heeles of their shooes are neuer pulled vp, to saue labour of vntying or vndoing them, they haue a thousand other Heathenish superstitions which are not worth the rehearsall.

6. Dress in Bengal, Fray Sebastian Manrique[29]

The common people, both men and women, wear cotton cloth, unshaped and unsewn. The men dress in cloth of six to seven handbreadths, worn from the waist downwards; above they are naked, and they also wear no shoes. They wear on the head a turban of from twelve to fourteen spans long and two wide, costing in most places a quarter of a rupee. This is how the common people go about. Those who are better off and of higher station carry, thrown round the shoulders and upper part of the body, a piece of cloth of the same length as that mentioned above.

The women wear the same kind of cloth but in greater quantity, usually from eighteen to twenty spans, with which they completely cover the body. In some districts this ordinary cloth is so cheap that a woman can dress herself for four reals [one rupee]. The women usually have their arms covered with armlets and bracelets, which latter differ in size and pattern from the armlets. These rings are worn on the upper, central, and lower arm, so that the armlets may strike the eye better: they also wear large rings in the ears and other similar ornaments. In the walls of the nostrils, especially in the left wall, they carry a tiny ring of gold or silver; a few, who can afford it, adding one or two valuable pearls to it. They wear necklaces as well, which are usually made of bell-metal, a metallic substance superior to what we call Morisco latten.

7. White linen in common use, dress clean and easy, Pietro Della Valle[30]

…amongst the Indian Men, both Mahometans and Pagans, agreably to what *Strabo* testifies, they did of old wear onely white linnen, more or less fine according to the quality of the persons and the convenience they have of spending; which linnen is altogether of Bumbast [old word for cotton] or Cotton, (there being no Flax in *India)* and for the most part very fine in comparison of these of our Countries. The Garment which they wear next to the skin serves both for coat and shirt, from the girdle upwards being adorn'd upon the breast and hanging down in many folds to the middle of the Leg. Under this Cassack, from the girdle downwards, they wear a pair of long Drawers of the same Cloth, which cover not only their Thighs, but legs also to the Feet and 'tis a piece of gallantry to have it wrinkled in many folds upon the Legs. The naked Feet are no otherwise confin'd but to a slipper, and that easie to be pull'd off without the help of the Hand; this

mode being convenient, in regard of the heat of the Country and the frequent use of standing and walking upon Tapistry in their Chambers. Lastly, the Head with all the hair, which the Gentiles (as of old they did also, by the report of *Strabo)* keep long, contrary to the Mahometans who shave it, is bound up in a small and very neat Turbant, of almost a quadrangular form, a little long, and flat on the top. They who go most gallant, use to wear their Turbant only strip'd with silk of several colours upon the white, and sometimes with Gold; and like wise, their girdles wrought in Silk and Gold, instead of plain white. I was so taken with this Indian dress, in regard of its cleanliness and easiness, and for the goodly show me thought it had on horse-back, with the Scemiter girt on and the buckler hanging at a shoulder belt, besides a broad and short dagger of a very strange shape, ty'd with tassell'd strings to the girdle, that I caus'd one to be made for myself, complete in every point, and to carry with me to shew it in *Italy.*

8. Preference for white coloured clothes common also in Egypt, Pietro Della Valle[31]

…of white too they are so enamour'd that all Men are generally clothed with it; a custom per-adventure deriv'd to them from *Ægypt* where it was in use, as *Herodotus* writes, and whence perhaps *Pythagoras* himself learnt it, who went cloth'd in white, as we find noted by *Aelian* and others. And I observe that in many particulars the manners of the present *Indians* much resemble those of the ancient *Ægyptians;* but since the *Ægyptians,* who descended from *Cham* the son of *Noah,* were a very ancient people, I rather believe that the *Indians* learnt from the *Ægyptians* than the *Ægyptians* from the *Indians;* and 'tis known, that from *Ægypt* there was always Navigation and Commerce into *India* by the Southern Ocean.

9. Dress of Gentile women, red favourite colour, Pietro Della Valle[32]

…the Indian Gentile Women commonly use no other colour but red, or certain linnen stamp'd with works of sundry colours, (which they call Cit) but all upon red, or wherein red is more conspicuous then the rest, whence their attire seems onely red at a distance. And for the most part they use no garment, but wear onely a close Wastecoat, the sleeves of which reach not beyond the middle of the Arm, the rest whereof to the Hand is cover'd with bracelets of Gold or Silver or Ivory, or such other things according to the

ability of the persons. From the waste downwards they wear a long coat down to the Foot, as I have formerly writ that the Women do in the Province of *Moghostan* in *Persia,* near *Ormuz.* When they go abroad, they cover themselves with a cloak of the ordinary shape, like a sheet, which is also us'd by the Mahometans, and generally by all Women in the East; yet it is of a red colour, or else of *Cit* upon a red ground, that is of linnen stamp'd with small works of sundry colour upon red. Those that have them adorn themselves with many gold-works, and jewels, especially their ears with pendants sufficiently enormous, wearing a circle of Gold or Silver at their ears, the diametre whereof is oftentimes above half a span and 'tis made of a plate two fingers broad, and engraven with sundry works, which is a very disproportionate thing.

10. Red also colour of swamis, Pietro Della Valle[33]

The red colour amongst these *Indians* is, besides by the Women, worn also by the *Sami* [Swami], who are a kind of religious persons; with red the *Gioghi* [Jogis], who live like Hermits and go about begging, sometimes paint their bodies in many parts, and also with red blended with yellow, that is with some parcel of Sanders or Saffron, almost all the Indian Gentiles dye their fore-heads, and sometimes their garments; accordingly as *Strabo* reports, from the testimony of *Onesicritus* [who accompanied Alexander to India], they did likewise in the time of *Alexander* the Great. Lastly, they wear red Turbans upon their Heads, and their Girdles are oftner wrought with red then any other colour.

11. Dress in Calicut, hair worn long, Pietro Della Valle[34]

…as for clothing they need little, both Men and Women going quite naked, saving that they have a piece either of Cotton, or Silk, hanging down from the girdle to the knees and covering their shame; the better sort are either wont to wear it all blew, or white strip'd with Azure, or Azure and some other colour; a dark blew being most esteem'd amongst them. Moreover both Men and Women wear their hair long and ty'd about the head; the Women with a lock hanging on one side under the Ear becomingly enough as almost all Indian Women do; the dressing of whose heads is, in my opinion, the gallantest that I have seen in any other nation. The Men have a lock hanging down from the crown of the head, sometimes a little inclin'd on one side; some of them use a small colour'd head-band, but the Women use none at all. Both sexes have their Arms adorned with bracelets, their

ears with pendants, and their necks with Jewels; the Men commonly go with their naked Swords and Bucklers, or other Arms, in their hands, as I said of those of *Balagate* [Balaghat] .

12. Dress of Nair kings, Pietro Della Valle[35]

The King and all others, as I have said, commonly go naked; onely they have a cloth wherewith they are girded, reaching to the mid-leg. Yet, when upon any occasion the King is minded to appear much in Majesty, he puts on onely a white vestment of very fine cotton, never using either Cloth of Gold, or Silk. Others also when they please may wear the like garment, but not in the King's presence, in which 'tis not lawful for anyone to appear otherwise than naked, saving the cloth above-mentioned. The Arms which everyone wears must not be laid aside at any time, especially not before the King; and, as I have elsewhere noted, everyone keeps to one sort of Arms which he first takes to, without ever changing.

13. Dress of Hindu nobility, Niccolao Manucci[36]

With respect to their fashions of dress, I may say that the great nobles wear nothing more than the following: They bind their hair with a scarf of very fine gold stuff that they call *roma1s (rumali).* Then they tie round their waist a piece of white cloth (as is the usual practice in India); it is about four cubits in length and has a red border. It comes down to their knees. Above this they wear a white wrapper; but it is to be noted that the manner of putting this on varies in each caste. Some among them wear gold or silver rings on the toes. The children of these last carry from birth to seven years of age little bells on their legs, either of gold or silver, and a little chain of the same metal round the waist. As for the rest, they are no more covered than when they were brought into the world.

Some great lords wear a sort of turban on their heads, and put on a gown of white cloth that they call a *cabaye (qaba),* and underneath it very tight drawers; on their feet they have shoes of velvet or of red leather.

Remove shoes on entering house

These they remove when they enter a house or speak to a person of quality, for it is a great piece of bad manners in this country to speak to such a person with your shoes on and your head uncovered.

14. Dress of ordinary people, daytime garment serves as night time sheet, Niccolao Manucci[37]

The above is the apparel of the princes and the richest nobility. As for the soldiers, labourers, and other ordinary people, they have no more than a cloth bound round their head, and a little string round their middle, attached to which is a morsel of cloth, a span wide and a cubit in length, about the size of one of our ordinary napkins. With this cloth they cover the parts of the body that natural modesty requires to be concealed. Lastly, they have another cloth, somewhat of the same size, bound round the body, which serves in the day-time as a garment and at night as a bed, their mattress being identical with the damp earth. A stone or a piece of wood serves as bolster. Thus what would be looked on in Europe as a severe penance is in this country the ordinary habit. There are some so badly provided that they content themselves with the piece of cloth spoken of above as used to cover the private parts. In this equipment they hold themselves fully dressed and fit to talk to anyone, wherever it might be.

15. Ear piercing common, sari worn after girl turns ten, Niccolao Manucci[38]

From the age of twelve and upwards almost all of them [girls] allow their hair to grow long; up to that age they wear only a small tail of hair on the top of the head, like that of the little boys. They do not bind anything on, nor do they make the hair into tresses, but make it into a roll on one side of the head. All have their ears pierced, but not in the European way, for the holes are so large that the ears droop almost to the shoulders. In these holes they wear their ornaments, each according to her degree or her wealth. The custom of having the ears pierced is in this country common to men and women.

Women, when they are not widows, also wear ornaments on the neck, according to the diversity of their castes or of their wealth. Up to the age of nine or ten years they have no more clothing than, as I described above, is worn by boys up to the same age. After that time they wear a piece of white or red cotton cloth that they bind on like a petticoat. Sometimes the *pane (punjam),* – for so they call this cloth – is striped in two colours. One half of the said *pane (punjam)* is thrown over the shoulders or the head when speaking to a person of any position; but when they go to the well or a spring to fetch water, and when at work in their houses, they keep the whole

pane (punjum) bound round the waist, and thence upwards are naked. They wear nothing on the feet, not even princesses and queens; but the latter wear on their legs jewels of great value, and any other women who are able to afford it do the same.

16. Dress of royal ladies at Tanjore, Jon Olafsson[39]

They anoint themselves daily, and are adorned with the most costly finery: around their waists they have gold cloth sewn and adorned with precious stones, gold rings set with precious stones on their fingers and toes, also gold on their foreheads and in their ears and nostrils: bracelets about their wrists and ankles, and further, brocaded silk studded with precious stones round their heads; and on their breast a kerchief worth much money, adorned with pearls and gold jewels. All this finery they wear every day.

17. Wear hair long as did their ancestors, Jean de Thevenot[40]

The Indians wear their Hair for Ornament, contrary to the Mahometans who shave their Heads; and in that, as in many other things, the Indians imitate their Ancestours.

18. Difference between dress of Gentiles and Moors, J. Ovington[41]

For a distinction between the *Moors* and *Bannians,* the *Moors* tie their Caba's always on the Right side, and the *Bannians* on the left…

E. Cleanliness

1. Importance of bathing

(a) King of Cochin insists on daily bath even when ill, Cristovao da Costa[42]

In the year 1569 (when I was residing in Santa Cruz de Cochim, as the physician of the Royal Hospital) the King of Cochin (Brahmin and brother-in-arms of the Christian King of Portugal) fell ill with a serious disease of continuous fever which overtook him when he was weak and wasted of venereal use, and wishing to be treated by me alone, without the presence of his physicians. When I first called on him, he told me that he had to take bath daily even if it cost him his life.

(b) Emphasis on frequent washing, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[43]

They use to drinke out of a Copper kanne with a spout, whereby they let the water fall downe into their mouthes and neuer touch the Pot with their lippes. Their Houses are commonly strawed with Kow-dung, which they say killeth Fleas. They are verie cleane on their Bodies, for euerie day they wash themselves all their bodie ouer. They wash themselves with the left hand, because they eate with the right hand, and use no Spoones.

(c) Bathing no matter how cold, travel 5-600 kos for dip in Ganges, Francisco Pelsaert[44]

The Hindus are more punctilious and much stricter than the Moslems in their ceremonies. No one, man or woman, will omit to wash the body in the morning, however cold it may be. The common people go to a river or running water, while the rich bathe at home; and they will not touch food till they have washed. They sit down to eat, naked and with bare head, inside a well-marked enclosure, which no one enters while they are eating; if they are disturbed, they will give up that meal. They will not omit to go and bathe in the Ganges once a year; those who can manage it will travel 500 or 600 kos for the purpose. They bathe in October, and they are convinced that by doing so they are purified of all their sins. They bring back a little of the water of the Ganges and keep it in their house, which, so they think, will protect them from sorcery or witchcraft. The water certainly has one remarkable quality, in that it never stinks, and no worms appear in

it, even if it is kept for 100 years, and consequently they regard the river as sacred. The bathing-place lies about 40 kos from Agra.

2. Use of cow dung for purification, Pietro Della Valle[45]

[Cow dung]…besides cleanliness, is to them a Ceremonial Rite, which they think hath the virtue to purifie. But having observ'd it too in the houses of Christians, I find that indeed it cleanses exquisitely, and makes the floores and pavements of houses handsome, smooth and bright.

F. Food Habits

1. Baniyas of Gujarat eat no food of red colour, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[46]

They eate no Radishes, Onions, Garlick, nor any kind of Herbe that hath any colour of Red in it, nor Egges, for they thinke there is blood in them. They drinke not any Wine, nor vse any Vineger, but onely water.

2. Baniyas would starve to death than accept food from non-countrymen, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[47]

They are so dangerous of eating and drinking with other men which are not their Countrimen, that they would rather starue to death then once to do it. It happenneth oftentimes that they sayle in the *Portugals* ships from *Goa* to *Cochin,* to sell their Wares, and to traffique with the *Portugals,* and then they make their prouisions for so long time as they thinke to stay vpon the way, which they take aboord with them, and thereupon they feed. And if the time falleth out longer, then they made account of, their water and prouision being all spent, as it happened, when I sailed from Goa to *Cochin,* they had rather die for hunger and thirst then once to touch the *Christians* meat. They wash themselues before they eate, as the *Bramenes* doe.

3. Diet of Bengal, Fray Sebastian Manrique[48]

Their daily meal consists of rice with which, if they have nothing else to add, they take salt and are satisfied. They also use a kind of herb which is usually called Xaga [shaka, edible vegetables]; those better off use milk, *ghi*, and other lacteous preparations: fish is little eaten, especially by those who live inland.

4. Live on herbs, milk and butter, Edward Terry[49]

Some of which poore seduced infidels will eate of nothing that hath life; and these live upon herbs and milke and butter and cheese and sweet-meates, of which they make divers kindes, whereof the most wholsome is greene ginger, as well preserved there as in any part of the world. Others will eate fish, and no living thing else. The Rashbootes eate swines-flesh, most hatefull to the Mahometans. Some will eate of one kinde of flesh, some of another; but all the Gentiles abstaine from beefe, out of the excellent esteeme they have of kine; and therefore give of the King yeerly

(beside his other exactions) great summes of money as a ransome for those creatures; whence among other good provision we meete there but with little beefe.

5. Water preferred drink, Edward Terry[50]

This ancient drinke of the world (water) is the common drinke of India… Many of the people who are strict in their religion drinke no wine at all. They use a liquor more healthfull then pleasant, they call Cohha (coffee: Arabic *kahwa*): a blacke seed boyled in water, which doth little alter the taste of the water.

6. Drinking water without touching cup, Pietro Della Valle[51]

From this averseness to communicate one with another, particularly in the use of eating and drinking vessels, concerning which they are most strict, is sprung a strange Custom, which I was delighted not only to see, but also sometimes out of gallantry to imitate in conversation. It happens very often during hot weather, both in Travelling and in Towns, that people have need of refreshing themselves and drinking of a little water; but because every one hath not a drinking-vessel of his own ready, to avoid defiling or being defil'd by his companion's cup, there's a way found out whereby any person may drink in that, or any other whatever, without scruple or danger of any either active or passive contamination. This is done by drinking in such manner that the vessel touches not the lips or mouth of him who drinks; for it is held up on high with the hand over the mouth, and he that lifts it up highest, and holds it furthest from his mouth, shows himself most mannerly; and thus pouring the liquor out of the cup into the mouth, they drink round while there is any left, or so long as they please.

7. Fear of pollution, Pietro Della Valle[52]

And herein they are so scruplous that even amongst the Indians themselves one of more noble Race not only neither eats, nor makes use of the same Clothes or Vessels, nor communicates in anything with one less noble, but also endures not to be touch'd by him; which if it fall out by chance that he be, he must purifie himself from the defilement by washings and other arrogant Ceremonies. And hence 'tis a pretty sight to behold the great respect which upon this account the ignoble bear to the more noble then themselves, and how upon meeting in the street the ignoble not onely give place, but dance wildly up and down for fear of rushing against the noble,

and polluting them in any measure; which, if they should not do, the Noble, and especially the Souldiers, would make them do it to the Musick of blows.

8. Some in laborious professions eat meat, Brahmins rarely, Pietro Della Valle[53]

Wherein the *Ragiaputi* Souldiers, with the wonted military licentiousness, take most liberty without thinking themselves prejudic'd as to the degree of nobility. Next to them, the meanest and most laborious Professions are more licentious in eating then others, because they need more sustenance; some of which drink Wine too, from which the others more strict abstain to avoid ebriety and so from all other beverage that inebriates.

But those of other Races, whose employments admit more rest and a better life, are also more sparing and rigorous in the use of meats, especially the Brachmans, as I said, dedicated wholly to Learning and the Service of Temples, as the most noble of all. In testimony whereof they alone have the priviledge to wear a certain Ensign of Nobility in their Sect, whereby they are distinguisht from others; 'tis a fillet of three braids….

9. Cow's meat taboo, Niccolao Manucci[54]

Since neither Brahmans, ascetics, monks, nor the learned eat any meat or fish in this country (eggs, being here included under the head of meat, are also avoided), I think it as well here to state the food and manner of eating of the other castes. None of those I have hitherto spoken of ever eat cow's flesh. To do so is a very low thing, a defilement, and sinful beyond all imagination. But they eat all the other meats consumed in Europe, and, in addition thereto, rats and lizards. As for shell-fish, these also are classed among the most impure of thing, and are not used except by the pariahs. However, almost all the castes eat of the other kinds of meat, and judge it to be most delicious fare.

The food of these people is usually placed on a little cooked rice, and it consists generally of a portion of dry and salted fish. For goats, sheep, chicken, rats, and lizards, are only for the nobility, and if other men eat of these, it is solely at their festivals and at marriages. Their plate is a leaf, as described above, or a small plate of copper, out of which the whole family eats one after the other.

10. Mode of eating, Niccolao Manucci[55]

The ordinary dwelling of these Hindus being as poverty-stricken as I have described it, their mode of life is no better. For in this land there are no tables or chairs; everybody sits upon the ground. They do not use table-napkins, table-cloths, knives, spoons, or forks, salt-cellars, dishes, or plates; they eat no bread, they drink no wine, and all eat seated upon the ground.

Princes and kings

Princes and kings eat in the following manner: They are seated on the ground on a piece of fine cloth. Then the house or the room in which they are to eat is rubbed over with a solution of cowdung. As the palaces of kings have floors made of a cement which looks like fine marble, there they do nothing more than throw down some cowdung mixed in water, and then wipe the floor with a piece of cloth. The floor then looks like a looking-glass. Without all this ceremonial of cleansing with the dung of this animal, as above described, no person of quality sits down to eat. These preparations finished, they bring a great platter of enamelled gold, which is placed on the ground in front of the diners, but without allowing it to touch the cloth on which they are seated. After this some small gold dishes are placed around, and the food is brought from the kitchen in bowls or vessels of silver, fashioned in the shape of cooking-pots. First of all, from these bowls they place rice cooked without salt or other condiment in the large dish, and on this they put some stew. If the whole cannot be contained in the large dish, they put the remainder in the small dishes round about it.

Then the rajah takes whatever pleases him, throwing it with his hand into a plate of rice, where he mixes it and rolls it into balls, which he throws into his mouth with the right hand. The left hand is not allowed to touch any food. All is swallowed without mastication. This fashion they consider very cleanly, and that there is no better way of satisfying oneself; and they say that Europeans eat rice like pigs.

Then, before finishing the meal, they send as much as they think sufficient to their wives. For in this country these never eat with their husbands, even though those waiting on the king be eunuchs, children, or women.

Eating habits of ascetics and Brahmins

The way of eating among the other castes who are not kings is as follows: Monks, ascetics, Brahmans, and the learned before eating wash their hands and bodies. Then they put upon their foreheads, stomach, shoulders, knees

and sides a little ashes mixed in water. This ash is either of a white earth they call *naman (namam)*, or of sandal, according to their caste or the faith they follow. Next they enter the house, finding its floors all rubbed over with cowdung, in the way I have spoken of. They bind round their body a piece of cloth, and sit down with their legs crossed, or upon a small mat of about one cubit in length. Before them is placed the large leaf of certain trees, or smaller leaves of other trees stitched together, not with needle and thread, but with rushes. Upon this leaf is put first of all a pinch of salt and two drops of butter, with which they anoint or rub the leaf. This ceremony completed, they deposit on this platter some rice cooked in water without salt, followed by a little vegetables and some green stuff. When this is eaten, they throw upon the rice left on the said leaf a little sour curds or some whey. When all this food has been swallowed, they rise from the place and move to a courtyard or garden, if there is one in the house where they live. If there is not, they go into the street, and there bathe their hands, mouth, and feet. They do not return to their dwellings till the leaves they have eaten from have been removed, and the ground has been rubbed over afresh in the way already mentioned. For they say that if they did so their bodies would be as polluted as the house.

11. Fast frequently, Jean de Thevenot[56]

The Gentiles generally are great Fasters, and none of them let a fortnight pass over without mortifying themselves by Abstinence, and then they fast four and twenty hours; but that is but the ordinary Fast, for there are a great many Gentiles (and especially Women) who will fast six or seven days; and they say, there are some that will Fast a whole month, without eating any more than a handful of Rice a day, and others that will eat nothing at all, only drink Water, in which they boyl a Root, called *Criata*, which grows towards *Cambaye*, and is good against many distempers; it makes the Water bitter, and strengthens the Stomach.

12. The way Baniyas prepare their food, Jean de Thevenot[57]

Most part of the Gentiles, Heads of Families in *Viziapour,* dress their own Victuals themselves; he that do’s it having swept the place where he is to dress any thing, draws a Circle, and confines himself within it, with all that he is to make use of; if he stand in need of any thing else, it is given him at a distance, because no body is to enter within that Circle, and if any chanced to enter it, all would be prophaned, and the Cook would throw

away what he had dressed, and be obliged to begin again. When the Victuals are ready, they are divided into three parts, The first part is for the Poor, the second for the Cow of the House, and the third portion for the Familie, and of this third they make as many Commons [shares] as there are Persons; and seeing they think it not civil to give their leavings to the poor, they give them likewise to the Cow.

13. Gentiles will not eat with others, Giovanni Careri[58]

All the Sects of *Gentils* on this side *Ganges,* are very scrupulous as to Eating with Christians, and *Mahometans,* or making use of the same Utensils. But those beyond *Malaca* make no Difficulty of it.

14. Tea drinking common

(a) Cleanses system, John Albert de Mandelslo[59]

At our ordinary meetings every day we took only *The*, which is commonly used all over India, not only among those of the Country, but also among the Dutch and English, who take it as a Drug that cleanses the Stomach, and digest the superfluous humours, by a temperate heat particular thereto.

(b) Baniyas also tea drinkers, J. Ovington[60]

The *Bannians* are not restain'd from the liberal Draughts of Tea and Coffee, to revive their wasted Spirits any part of the Day…

15. Curd, J. Ovington[61]

Dye [dahi] is a particular innocent kind of Diet, fed upon by the *Indians* for the most part about Noon. It is sweet Milk turn'd thick, mix'd with boil'd Rice and Sugar, and is very effectual against the Rage of Fevers and of Fluxes, the prevailing Distempers of India.

G. Betel Eating

1. Beneficent qualities, Sir Thomas Roe[62]

…it bytts in the mouth, avoydes rume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their phisicke…

2. For health's sake and delight, Pietro Della Valle[63]

These leaves [*Pan*] the Indians use to champ or chaw all day long, either for health's sake or for entertainment and delight (as some other Nations for the same reasons, or rather through evil custome, continually take Tobacco). And therewith they mix a little ashes of sea-shels and some small pieces of an Indian nut sufficiently common, which here they call *Foufel*, and in other places *Areca;* a very dry fruit, seeming within like perfect wood; and being of an astringent nature they hold it good to strengthen the Teeth. Which mixture, besides its comforting the stomack, hath also a certain biting taste, wherewith they are delighted; and as they chaw it, it strangely dyes their lips and mouths red, which also they account gallant; but I do not, because it appears not to be natural.

3. Betel offered by way of politeness, Niccolao Manucci[64]

Betel, or *pan,* is a leaf similar to the ivy-leaf, but the betel leaf is longer; it is very medicinal, and eaten by everybody in India. They chew it along with 'arrecas' *(areca),* which physicians call *Avelans lndicas* (Indian filberts), and a little *catto (kath* or *katha),* which is the dried juice of a certain plant that grows in India. Smearing the *betel* leaf with a little of the *kath,* they chew them together, which makes the lips scarlet and gives a pleasant scent. It happens with the eaters of *betel,* as to those accustomed to take tobacco, that they are unable to refrain from taking it many times a day. Thus the women of India, whose principal business it is to tell stories and eat *betel,* are unable to remain many minutes without having it in their mouths.

It is an exceedingly common practice in India to offer betel leaf by way of politeness, chiefly among the great men, who, when anyone pays them a visit, offer *betel* at the time of leaving as a mark of goodwill, and of the estimation in which they hold the person who is visiting them. It would be a great piece of rudeness to refuse it.

H. Economic disparities

1. High level of endurance of common people, Francisco Pelsaert[65]

…the utter subjection and poverty of the common people – poverty so great and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the home of stark want and the dwelling-place of bitter woe. Nevertheless, the people endure patiently, professing that they do not deserve anything better; and scarcely anyone will make an effort, for a ladder by which to climb higher is hard to find, because a workman's children can follow no occupation other than that of their father, nor can they intermarry with any other caste.

Condition of artisans, servants and shopkeepers

There are three classes of the people who are indeed nominally free, but whose status differs very little from voluntary slavery – workmen, peons or servants, and shopkeepers.

Workmen – low wages, oppression by the powerful

For the workman there are two scourges, the first of which is low wages. Goldsmiths, painters [those who made 'painted' cloth, or chintz], embroiderers, carpet-makers, cotton or silk-weavers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, tailors, masons, builders, stone-cutters, a hundred crafts in all, for a job which one man would do in Holland here passes through four men's hands before it is finished, – any of these by working from morning to night can earn only 5 or 6 *tackas* [tankas], that is, 4 or 5 stivers in wages. The second [scourge] is [the oppression of] the Governor, the nobles, the Diwan, the Kotwal, the Bakhshi, and other royal officers. If any of these wants a workman, the man is not asked if he is willing to come, but is seized in the house or in the street, well beaten if he should dare to raise any objection, and in the evening paid half his wages, or nothing at all.

Khichri normal diet

From these facts the nature of their food can be easily inferred. They know little of the taste of meat. For their monotonous daily food they have nothing but a little *khichri,* made of green pulse mixed with rice, which is cooked with water over a little fire until the moisture has evaporated, and

eaten hot with butter in the evening; in the day time they munch a little parched pulse or other grain, which they say suffices for their lean stomachs…

Profusion of servants in houses of lords, paid a pittance

Peons or servants are exceedingly numerous in this country, for everyone – be he mounted soldier, merchant, or king's official – keeps as many as his position and circumstances permit. Outside the house, they serve for display, running continually before their master's horse; inside, they do the work of the house, each knowing his own duties. The *tziurewardar*[?] attends only to his horse, the *bailwan,* or carter, to his cart and oxen; the *farrash,* or tent-pitcher, attends to his tent on the way, spreads carpets, both on the march and in the house, and looks after the *diwan-khana* or sitting room; the *masalchi,* or torch-bearer, looks to his torch, and lights lamps and candles in the evening; the *sarwan,* or camel-driver, looks to his camel; and there are two or three *mahawats* or attendants to each elephant according to its size. The *tsantel,* or messenger, a plume on his head and two bells at his belt, runs at a steady pace, ringing the bells; they carry their master's letters a long distance in a short time, covering 25 to 30 kos in a day; but they eat much *postibangh* or opium regularly, so that they do not feel the continuous work or fatigue. They run on with dizzy head; they will not as a rule answer anyone who asks where they come from or where they are going, but hurry straight on. These messengers may bring their masters, who hold official positions as governors, into great credit, or disgrace, with the King, because letters on important official business are sometimes delayed, and if the news they contain should reach the King first from some other place, whether nearer or more distant, the officer will be blamed for negligence, and dismissed from his post. There are many more servants in the crowd, whom it would take too long to enumerate; in the houses of the great lords each servant confines himself strictly to his own duties, and it is like life on the Portuguese ships, where the chief boatswain, if he saw the foremast fall overboard, would not disgrace himself by going forward or on to the forecastle, though he could save the mast by doing so.

For this slack and lazy service the wages are paid by the Moguls only after large deductions, for most of the great lords reckon 40 days to the month, and pay from 3 to 4 rupees for that period; while wages are often left several months in arrears, and then paid in worn-out clothes or other things.

If, however, the master holds office or power, the servants are arrogant, oppressing the innocent, and sinning on the strength of their master's greatness…

Shopkeepers forced to sell below cost

Whatever he may deal in – spices, drugs, fruit, cotton goods, cloth, or anything else – the shopkeeper is held in greater respect than the workman, and some of them are even well-to-do; but they must not let the fact be seen, or they will be the victims of a trumped-up charge, and whatever they have will be confiscated in legal form, because informers swarm like flies round the governors, and make no difference between friends and enemies, perjuring themselves when necessary in order to remain in favour. Further, they are subject to a rule that if the King's nobles, or governors, should require any of their goods, they must sell for very little – less than half price; for to begin with, they must give great weight for small coins, the difference being 20 per cent; then 9 per cent is deducted for *dasturi* [commission]; then clerks, overseers, cashiers, and others all know very well how to get their share; so that in such circumstances the unfortunate shopkeeper may be robbed in a single hour of the profits of a whole month, although they bear the general cost.

This is a short sketch of the life of these poor wretches, who, in their submissive bondage, may be compared to poor, contemptible earthworms, or to little fishes, which, however closely they may conceal themselves, are swallowed up by the great monsters of a wild sea.

Rich live off the sweat of poor

…the pen which has described bitter poverty, clothed with the woeful garment of sighs, the foe of love, friendship and happiness, but the friend of loneliness wet with the daily dew of tears, – that pen must entirely change its style, and tell that in the palaces of these lords dwells all the wealth there is, wealth which glitters indeed, but is borrowed, wrung from the sweat of the poor. Consequently their position is as unstable as the wind, resting on no firm foundation, but rather on pillars of glass, resplendent in the eyes of the world, but collapsing under the stress of even a slight storm.

2. Oppression of the peasantry

(a) Father Jerome Xavier on conditions in Kashmir in 1597[66]

…it is very much uncultivated and even depopulated from the time this King [Akbar] took it and governs it through his captains, who tyrannise over it…and bleed the people by their extortions…And they say that before this King they were sufficiently provided with food…Now everything is wanting for there are no cultivators on account of the violence done them.

(b) Father Jerome Xavier's letter from Agra in 1609[67]

…the poor labourers desert them [the lands] and run away which is the reason why they are poorly peopled.

(c) Father Jerome Xavier on Gujarat in 1615[68]

The lands are much spoiled which at an earlier period were taken by the Mongores: for they destroy everything with their oppressions.

(d) Wives and children of defaulting cultivators sold, Francisco Pelsaert[69]

The land would give a plentiful or even an extraordinary yield, if the peasants were not so cruelly and pitilessly oppressed; for villages which, owing to some small shortage of produce, are unable to pay the full amount of the revenue-farm, are made prize, so to speak, by their masters or governors, and wives and children sold, on the pretext of a charge of rebellion. Some peasants abscond to escape their tyranny, and take refuge with rajas who are in rebellion, and consequently the fields lie empty and unsown, and grow into wilderness. Such oppression is exceedingly prevalent in this country.

(e) Dutch factor, Wollebrand de Jongh Geleynssen on Gujarat in 1629[70]

…the peasants are more oppressed than formerly [and] frequently abscond.

3. Inability of peasants to pay high revenue demand, Fray Sebastian Manrique[71]

[The peasants have] no possessions or assets from which to pay…[and are] beaten unmercifully and maltreated…They are carried off, attached to heavy iron chains, to various markets and fairs[to be sold], with their poor, unhappy wives behind them carrying their small children in their arms, all crying and lamenting their evil plight.

4. Armed resistance by peasants

(a) In present-day Kanpur district in 1632, Peter Mundy[72]

…labourers with their guns, swords, and bucklers lyeing by them whilest they ploughed the ground, being att varience with towne ½ a mile out of the way…

(b) In the Mathura region, Niccolao Manucci[73]

The women stood behind their husbands with spears and arrows. When the husband had shot off his matchlock, his wife handed him the lance, while she reloaded the matchlock.

5. Bijapur, state of coolies, Abbe Carre[74]

I had been astonished, since I left Bicholim [eight miles north of Goa], to find the roads crowded with troops of people, carrying such heavy burdens on their heads that I could not look on them without deep compassion. I asked my servants why these poor folk carried such heavy weights over the difficult mountain roads, which we, even without loads, could scarcely surmount. I was told that these people were of the same cooly caste as the carriers of my palanquin and my baggage; that they had no other occupation but that of carrying heavy burdens; and that they dwelt on the coast near Goa, and gained their living by taking dried fish, coconuts, arrack, and other comestibles, to sell in Bijapur. They were paid 2½ ecus a load, however great the weight. I marvelled how these poor creatures could earn enough to live on, and stand such heavy fatigue for the twenty-five to thirty days that each trip lasted. I might certainly have been told that it was scarcely enough for their food and upkeep in so long a journey and might well have believed it, had not my daily experience led me to know otherwise. These people did not spend their small wages, but kept them for their families on their return. I had eight of these coolies, six for my palanquin and two for my luggage. I gave each three rupees, which is 1½ ecus, to take me to Bijapur, without being obliged to give them any food. I found that they provided themselves, before starting, with a little rice and dried fish, which cost them hardly anything in their own country. This lasted all the journey, with what they find in the villages, where they are given fruit and milk, and some millet, from which they make flour. This is soaked in cold water and made into flat cakes, which are baked over a fire on iron plates supported by three stones. In certain places they find caste-fellows, who kindly cook them some herbs in oil or butter, which they eat with these pancakes. Their greatest support, however, is tobacco, which they are always smoking, so that they devoured more smoke than anything

else. Besides water, they drink toddy, conjee [kanji], and arrack. Toddy is a kind of wine, which they extract from palm-trees. It is the colour of milk, has a pleasant taste, rather like white wine, and is very refreshing. Conjee is only boiled water with a little rice in it, which is given them on arrival in any village. There is always a house which keeps this drink ready on the fire for passers-by who, in the heat and sweat they are in, would probably die if they drank cold water. Arrack is a spirit made out of toddy, which they distil, as we do brandy. They mix with it a red root called canja [ganja, the hemp plant]; the infusion intoxicates them so much that they become like lunatics and out of their senses, when they drink it to excess, though it gives them strength and vigour, if taken in moderation and only as a refreshment.

6. Peasants flee land on account of oppression in Mughal India, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[75]

I should say en passant that the peasants have for their sole garment a scrap of cloth to cover those parts which natural modesty requires should be concealed; and that they are reduced to great poverty, because if the Governors become aware that they possess any property they seize it straightway by right or by force. You may see in India whole provinces like deserts from whence the peasants have fled on account of the oppression of the Governors. Under cover of the fact that they are themselves Musalmans, they persecute these poor idolaters to the utmost…

I. Funeral Rites

1. Brahmins attend to dying, Fernao Nuniz[76]

When a Brahman is sick, before he dies, they send to call the learned Brahmans who are his priests, so that they should come to pray, and console the sick man; and they talk to him of the affairs of his soul, and what he must do to save it, bidding him spend money in alms. After this ceremony is over they make the Brahman priests shave the sick man's head, and after the shaving they bid them wash it, and after the washing it is their custom to bring into their houses a cow with a calf – there are very few Brahmans, however poor they be, who do not have one to live in their house, – which cow, when they have finished washing the man's head, they take a turban and tie it to its neck and put the end of the turban into the hand of the sick man, and he gives it and the calf in alms for his soul to those priests who perform these ceremonies. On that day he gives alms according to his position, and gives to eat to some Brahmans who are invited and who come there for the purpose. They believe that when these ceremonies are made for the sick man, if he is to live he is soon cured of his infirmity, and if not that he soon dies.

Body prepared for cremation

After the death of the sick man they have the ground washed upon which he lay, and after the washing they take cow-dung and spread it over the ground, and place the body on the top of this dung. They hold that a sick man who dies on a cot, or on anything soever except only on the ground, commits a mortal sin. As soon as the body is laid on the ground they make for it a bier covered with boughs of the fig tree, and before they place the body on the bier they wash it well with pure water, and anoint it with sandal-wood [paste or oil]; and they place by the body branches of sweet basil and cover it with a new cloth, and so place it in the bier.

Bier lifted by four people

Then one of his relatives takes the bier on one side, and they call three other Brahmans whosoever they may be to aid them to lift it; and so they carry it to the place where they are to burn it, accompanied by many Brahmans who go singing in front of the corpse. In front of all goes his son, if he had one, or next younger brother or nearest relative, with fire in the hand for the

burning. As soon as they arrive at the place where they have to burn the body, they scatter money according to their ability, and then put the fire to it; and they wait there till the whole body is consumed, and then all go and wash their bodies in a tank and afterwards return each one to his house.

Relation who lights the pyre sleeps nine nights on the ground where man died

The son or brother or relation who put the fire is obliged to sleep on the ground where the man died for nine nights, and after the lapse of nine days from the death come the priests and learned men and they command to shave the head of this man. During these nine days, they feed the poor and they give them the dead man's clothes, and they give the cot with its bed in alm to the priests, with some money in addition; if he is a rich man they give gardens and other things in alms to many Brahmans.

Tenth day ceremonies

When ten days are finished, and the son has been shaved, he goes to the place where they burned his father or his brother, and they perform many ceremonies over the ashes and bones that remain unburned; then they put them in a small vessel and make a pit in the ground and bury them in it, and keep them thus guarded and buried in order (afterwards) to send the bones to be thrown into a sacred river, which is distant from Goa over one thousand leagues [Ganga in Banaras]. There is a very large temple there, the object of many pilgrimages, and they hold that every pilgrim who dies there is saved, and goes to Paradise, and also every dead man whose bones are thrown into that river. In spite of this they in reality take very few people there.

Brahmins fed

The heir or the father or son of the dead man is obliged, from the day of the date, for eleven days to give food to twenty-seven Brahmans, and until twenty-one days to three others; until twelve days again he feeds seven Brahmans, and until twenty-seven days give to eat to the three; on the last day of the month he gives food to three others, and thenceforward, until one year is finished, he gives meals once a month to three Brahmans. They do this in honour of the Trinity for the soul of the deceased. When this year is over he gives no more alms, except that each year, on the day on which the death happened [shraddha ceremony], he feeds six Brahmans – namely,

three in honour of the Trinity and three for the persons of his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather; who thus seemingly eat together. Thus he obtains favour with God, and for these expenses they beg alms of the Brahmans if they are poor. These give him all help for it. Before they dine they wash the feet of all six, and during the meal some ceremonies are performed by Brahman priests who come there for that purpose.

2. Funeral ceremonies common among all Hindus, Niccolao Manucci[77]

Now I come to funeral ceremonies for the dead; and as all have the same practice – namely, that the wife removes her *tali* on the death of her husband – I shall say little, and that only briefly, about the ceremonies with which they cremate a dead body and carry out the details connected therewith. It is after these are completed that the woman must cut off her *tali,* and therein consists her act of widowhood; and it is for this reason that in their language the name given to a widow means "the woman who has cut off the *tali'*.

All Hindus burn their dead, except the infamous sect of the Lingam. These bury the bodies, not in their temples – for that, in this country, would be the most abominable sacrilege that could be committed – but in a field distant from their dwellings. As to all other castes, they also burn them in a field distant from the town or village, which each locality has set apart expressly for this purpose.

The mode of burning the body is as follows: First of all, no Brahman, however rich he may be, is allowed to die within his house, for in their belief all within it would be thereby defiled. This is the reason that before he expires they carry him into a courtyard, and there place him under a sort of gallery, which every house has for the purpose. Should it happen that the Brahman dies a sudden death within the house, they carry the body at once, with all imaginable haste, and place it under the gallery alluded to. Then, breaking all the earthen vessels in the house, all the inmates quit it, and do not reenter it until it has been well rubbed over with cowdung, and until, as one may say, the interdict has been removed by a number of ceremonies used by them for this purpose.

When a Brahman dies, all his female relations and female friends stand in a circle, and with their stomachs bared beat themselves severely with their

two hands, weeping for the dead; and, moving round, they sing a song learnt for the purpose. It is extremely well suited to the conditions of the time and place in which they find themselves. After they have been round three times in this fashion, they bathe the body, dress it in new clothes, put some ground sandal-wood on the forehead, and then deposit it in a sort of coffin which is quite open. It may be interjected here that this coffin is made just as our hand-barrows for manure, constructed like them from pieces of wood tied together with straw. Then four Brahmans carry the body to the burning-ground. They are preceded by a sort of shrine, highly ornamented and covered with flowers. Having arrived at the cemetery, they perform for him all the usual ceremonial, and burn him with all the solemnities that I have remarked upon in regard to their marriages.

After the body has been burnt, the Brahmans bathe their bodies, and wash the pieces of cloth which they used for clothing themselves. All dripping as they are, they put these on again and return home. Thence they proceed to the house of the deceased, where a feast is given. On that day it is served under some palm-trees, which they say represent the deceased. There for the space of ten days all the friends and relations weep for the deceased; each of the nearest relations gives a sort of petticoat they call a *panes (punjam)* to the deceased's widow, and his brothers subscribe and give her a half-moon of silver.

On the tenth day, after loud lamentation, the deceased's widow flings her arms round the neck of another widow, weeping and displaying all imaginable signs of grief. Meanwhile, all the other widows present cut off the piece of gold attached to her neck, which they call a *tali.* It should be noted that no married women may take part in this act, which constitutes the woman a widow.

Every year upon the anniversary of her husband's death, a young widow performs a holocaust, feeds four or five Brahmans, and if she is rich she also gives them clothes. She does the same every month at the new moon, but with less expense and formality. Whatever is essential in funerals of the Brahman caste is also common to the other castes. This is the reason that I shall not say anything special about them…

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Chapter 3
Festivals and Fairs

A. Festivals

B. Fairs

C. Games

A. Festivals

1. Dussehra at Vijayanagar, Domingo Paes[1]

You should know that among these heathen there are days when they celebrate their feasts as with us; and they have their days of fasting, when all day they eat nothing, and eat only at midnight. When the time of the principal festival arrives the king comes from the new city to this city of Bisnaga, since it is the capital of the kingdom, and it is the custom there to make their feasts and to assemble. For these feasts are summoned all the dancing-women of the kingdom, in order that they should be present; and also the captains and kings and great lords with all their retinues – except only those whom the king may have sent to make war, or those who are in other parts, or at the far end of the kingdom on the side where (an attack) is feared…These feasts begin on the 12th of September and they last nine days, and take place at the king's palace.

The palace is on this fashion: it has a gate opening on to the open space of which I have spoken, and over this gate is a tower of some height, made like the others with its verandahs; outside these gates begins the wall which I said encircled the palace. At the gate are many doorkeepers with leather scourges [whips] in their hands, and sticks, and they let no one enter but the captains and chief people, and those about whom they receive orders from the Chief of the Guard. Passing this gate you have an [vast] open space, and then you have another gate like the first, also with its doorkeepers and guards; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space, and on one side and the other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one storeyed building (*terrea*); all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone; around it, underneath, is a terrace (*corredor*) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast. This house is called the House of Victory, as it was made when the king came back from the war against Orya [Orissa] ... On the right side of the open space were some narrow scaffoldings, made of wood and so lofty that they could be seen over the top of the wall; they were covered at the top with crimson and green velvet and other handsome cloths, and adorned from top to

bottom. Let no one fancy that these cloths were of wool, because there are none such in the country, but they are of very fine cotton. These scaffoldings are not always kept at the place, but they are specially made for these feasts; there are eleven of them. Against the gates there were two circles in which were the dancing-women richly arrayed with many jewels of gold and diamonds and many pearls. Opposite the gate which is on the east side of the front of the open space, and in the middle of it, there are two buildings of the same sort as the House of Victory of which I have spoken; these buildings are served by a kind of staircase of stone beautifully wrought – one is in the middle and the other at the end. This building was all hung which rich cloths, both the walls and the ceiling, as well as the supports, and the cloths of the walls were adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery; these buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculptured, with their sides well made and worked, to which platforms the sons of the king's favourites come for the feasts, and sometimes his eunuchs. On the upper platform, close to the king, was Christovao de Figueiredo, with all of us who came with him, for the king commanded that he should be put in such a place as best to see the feasts and magnificence. That I may not forget to tell of the streets that are in the palace I here mention them. You must know that inside the palace that I have spoken of is the dwelling of the king and of his wives and of the other women who serve them, as I have already said, who are twelve thousand in number; and they have an entrance to these rows of houses so that they can go inside. Between this palace and the House of Victory is a gate which serves as passage to it. Inside there are thirty-four streets.

Returning to the feasts, you must know that in this House of Victory the king has a room (casa) made of cloth, with its door closed, where the idol has a shrine: and in the other in the middle (of the building), is placed a dais opposite the stair-case in the middle; on which dais stands a throne of state made thus – it is four-sided, and flat, with a round top, and a hollow in the middle for the seat. As regards the woodwork of it, you must know that it is all covered with silk cloths (*? soajes*) [probably silk cushions], and has lions all of gold, and in the spaces between the cloths *(soajes)* with many rubies and seed-pearls, and pearls underneath; and round the sides it is all full of golden images of personages, and upon these is much work in gold, with many precious stones. In this chair is placed an idol, also of gold, embowered in roses and flowers. On one side of this chair, on the dais

below, stands a head-dress; this also is made in the same manner; it is upright and as high as a span, the top is rounded, it is all full of pearls and rubies and all other precious stones, and on the top of it is a pearl as large as a nut, which is not quite round. On the other side is an anklet [virakadaga or virapende; an anklet as a sign of heroism worn by the kings and warriors] for the foot made in the same fashion; it is another state jewel, and is full of large pearls and of many rubies, emeralds, and diamonds, and other stones of value; it will be of the thickness of a man's arm. In front of all this, at the edge of the dais resting on a support were some cushions where the king was seated during all these feasts. The feasts commence thus:

You must know that when it is morning the king comes to this House of Victory, and betakes himself to that room where the idol is with its Brahmans, and he performs his prayers and ceremonies. Outside the house are some of his favourites, and on the square are many dancing-girls dancing. In their verandahs round the square are many captains and chief people who come there in order to see; and on the ground, near the platform of the house, are eleven horses with handsome and well-arranged trappings, and behind them are four beautiful elephants with many adornments. After the king has entered inside he comes out, and with him a Brahman who takes in his hand a basket full of white roses and approaches the king on the platform and the king taking three handfuls of these roses, throws them to the horses and after he has thrown them he takes a basket of perfumes and acts towards them as though he would cense [smell them, this gesture is a part of the ritual in South India] them; and when he has finished doing this he reaches towards the elephants and does the same to them. And when the king has finished this, the Brahman takes the basket and descends to the platform, and from thence puts those roses and other flowers on the heads of all the horses, and this done, returns to the king. Then the king goes again to where the idol is, and as soon as he is inside they lift the curtains of the room, which are made like the purdahs of a tent, *(Paredes, probably 'purdahs' curtains or screens.)* and the king seats himself there where these are, and they lift them all. Thence he witnesses the slaughter of twenty-four buffaloes and a hundred and fifty sheep, with which a sacrifice is made to that idol; you must know that they cut off the heads of these buffaloes and sheep at one blow with certain large sickles which are wielded by a man who has charge of this slaughter; they are so sure of hand that no blow misses. When they have finished the slaughter of these cattle the king goes

out and goes to the other large buildings, on the platforms of which is a crowd of Brahmans, and as soon as the king ascends to where they stand they throw to the king ten or twelve roses – those (that is) who are nearest to him. Then he passes all along the top of the buildings and as soon as he is at the end he takes the cap from his head, and after placing it on the ground turns back (to the place) where the idol is; here he lies extended on the ground [the Sirasastanganamaskara, prostrating with eight limbs of the body to God]. When he has arisen he betakes himself to the interior of the building and enters a garden (*or walled enclosure-quyntal*) here they say that a little fire has been made, and he throws into the fire a powder made up of many things, namely rubies and pearls and all other kinds of precious stones and aloes and other sweet-scented things. This done, he returns to the pagoda and goes inside and stays a little, at which time enter by the other door some of his favourites who are in the building, and they make their salaam. Then he goes back to the place whence he threw the flowers to the horses, and as soon as he is here all the captains and chief people come and make their salaam to him, and some, if they so desire, present some gifts to him; then as they came so they retire, and each one betakes himself to his own dwelling. And the king withdraws to the interior of his palace by that gate which I have already mentioned – that which stands between the two buildings that are in the area (*terreyro*) the courtesans [unmarried girls] and bayaderes [courtesans in the service of the king] remain dancing in front of the temple and idol for a long time. This is what is done during the morning of each day of these nine days, with the ceremonies I have mentioned, and each day more splendid (than the last).

Wrestling, dancing,

Now, returning to the feasts. At three O'clock in the afternoon every one comes to the palace. They do not admit every one at once (they allowed us to go into the open part that is between the gates), but there go inside only the wrestlers and dancing women, and the elephants, which go with their trappings and decorations, those that sit on them being armed with shields and javelins, and wearing quilted tunics. As soon as these are inside they range themselves round the arena, each one in his place, and the wrestlers go close to the staircase which is in the middle of that building, where has been prepared a large space of ground for the dancing-women to wrestle. Many other people are then at the entrance-gate opposite to the building,

namely Brahmans, and the sons of the king's favourites, and their relations; all these are noble youths who serve before the king. The officers of the household go about keeping order amongst all the people, and keep each one in his own place. The different pavilions are separated by doors, so that no one may enter unless he is invited.

Salvatinica (*Saluva Timma, the minister*) who is the principal person that enters the building, supervises the whole, for he brought up the king and made him king, and so the king looks on him like a father [and addresses him 'Appaji']. Whenever the king calls to him he addresses him as 'Lord *(senhor)* Salvatinica,' and all the captains and nobles of the realm make salaam to him. This Salvatinica stands inside the arena where the festivals go on, near one of the doors, and from there gives the word for the admission of all the things necessary for the festival.

After all this is done and arranged, the king goes forth and seats himself on the dais I have mentioned, where is the throne and the other things, and all those that are inside make their salaam to him. As soon as they have done this the wrestlers seat themselves on the ground, for these are allowed to remain seated, but no other, howsoever great a lord he be, except the king so commands, and these also eat betel though none else may eat it in his presence except the dancing-women, who may always eat it before him. As soon as the king is seated in his place he bids to sit with him three or four men who belong to his race, and who are themselves kings and the fathers of his wives; the principal of these is the king of Syrimgapatao [Srirangapattana] and of all the territory bordering on Malabar, and this king is called Cumarvirya (*Kumara Virayya),* and he seats himself as far in front as the king on the other side of the dais, the rest are behind.

There the king sits, dressed in white clothes all covered with embroidery [probably, a kind of 'Kamataki Kasuti or Kasida' work] of golden roses and wearing his jewels – he wears a quantity of these white garments, and I always saw him so dressed – and around him stand his pages with his betel, and his sword, and the other things which are his insignia of state. Many Brahmans stand round the throne on which rests the idol, fanning it with horsetail plumes ['cowri' or fly-whisk specially made of the yaktail], coloured the handles of which are all overlaid with gold; these plumes are tokens of the highest dignity; they also fan the king with them.

But returning to the feasts, as soon as the king is seated, the captains who waited without make their entrance, each one by himself, attended by his chief people, and so on, all in order; they approach and make their salaams to the king, and then take their places in the pavilions *(veramdas)* which I have previously described. As soon as these nobles have finished entering, the captains of the troops approach with shields and spears, and afterwards the captains of the archers; these officers are all stationed on the ground around the arena in front of the elephants, and they constitute the king's guard, for into such a place no man may enter bearing arms, nor near to where the king is. As soon as these soldiers have all taken their places the women begin to dance, while some of them place themselves in the circular galleries that I have said were (erected) at their gate of entrance. We can fitly describe to you the great riches these women carry on their persons – collars [a kind of necklace or a band of cloth richly adorned with pearls and precious stones worn around the neck] of gold with so many diamonds and rubies and pearls, bracelets also on their arms and on their upper arms, girdles below, and of necessity anklets on the feet. The marvel should be otherwise, namely that women of such a profession should obtain such wealth; but there are women of such a profession among them who have lands that have been given to them, and litters, and so many maid-servants that one cannot number all their things. There is a woman in this city who is said to have a hundred thousand *pardaos* and I believe this from what I have seen of them.

Then the wrestlers begin their play. Their wrestling does not seem like ours, but there are blows (given), so severe as to break teeth, and put out eyes, and disfigure faces, so much so that here and there men are carried off speechless by their friends; they give one another fine falls too. They have their captains and judges, who are there to put each one on an equal footing in the field, and also to adjust the honours to him who wins.

Fireworks

In all this portion of the day nothing more is done than this wrestling and the dancing of the women, but as soon as ever the sun is down many torches are lit and some great flambeaux made of cloth; and these are placed about the arena in such a way that the whole is as light as day, and even along the top of the walls, for on all the battlements, are lighted lamps, and the place where the king sits is all full of torches. As soon as these are

lit up there are introduced many very graceful plays and contrivances, but these do not stop long; they only approach where the king is and then go out. Then there enter others in other fashion, with battles of people on horseback; these horses are like the hobby-horse made in Portugal for the feast of the Corpo de Dios; others come with casting-nets, fishing and capturing the men that are in the arena. When these amusements are ended, they begin to throw up many rockets and many different sorts of fires, also castles that burn and fling out from themselves many bombs (tiros) and rockets.

Chariot and horse show

When these fireworks are finished, there enter many triumphant cars (chariots) which belong to the captains, some of them sent by those captains who are waging war in foreign parts; and they enter thus. The first belongs to Salvatinica, and they come in one after the other. Some of the cars appear covered with many rich cloths, having on them many devices of dancing-girls and other human figures; there are other cars having tiers one on top of another, and others all of one kind; and so in their order they pass to where the king is. When the cars (chariots) have gone out they are immediately followed by many horses covered with trapping an cloths of very fine stuff of the king's colours, and with many roses and flowers on their heads an necks, and with their bridles all gilded; and in front of these horses goes a horse with two state-umbrellas of the king, and with grander decorations than the others, and one of the lesser equerries leads it by the bridle. In front of this horse goes another caracoling and pracing, as do all horses here, being trained in that art. You must know that this horse that is conducted with all the state is a horse that the king keeps, on which they are sworn and received as kings, and on it must be sworn all those that shall come after them; and in case such a horse dies they put another in its place. If any king does not wish to be sworn on horseback, they swear him on an elephant, which they keep and treat with equal dignity.

These horses, then going in the way I have stated, pass twice round the arena and place themselves in the middle of the arena in five or six lines, one before the other, and the king's horse in front of them, all facing the king; they stand in such a way that between them and the men there is an open space all round. As soon as they are arranged in this way and are all quiet there goes out from the inside of the palace a Brahman, the highest in

rank of those about the king, and two others with him, and this chief Brahman, carries in his hands a bowl with coconut and some rice and flowers, while others carry a pot of water; and they pass round by the back of the horses, which all stand facing the king; and after performing his ceremonies there, he returns to the palace.

Women richly clad

After this is over you will see issuing from inside twenty-five or thirty female doorkeepers, with canes in their hands and whips on their shoulders; and then close to these come many eunuchs, and after these eunuchs come many women playing many trumpets and drums and pipes (but not like ours) and viols and many other kinds of music, and behind these women will come some twenty women-porters, with canes in their hands all covered with silver, and close to them come women clothed in the following manner. They have very rich and fine silk clothes; on the head they wear high caps which they call *collaes* [kulaya in Kannada, made of thick cloth and covered with fine embroidery and set with precious stones and pearls] and on these caps they wear flowers made of large pearls; collars on the neck with jewels of gold very richly set with many emeralds and diamonds and rubies and pearls; and besides this many strings of pearls and others for shoulder-belts; on the lower part of the arms many bracelets, with half of the upper arm all bare, having armlets in the same way all of precious stones; on the waist many girdles of gold and of precious stones, which girdles hang in order one below the other, almost as far down as half the thigh; besides these belts they have other jewels, and many strings of pearls [paijana or pende, an anklet of round beads in silver] round the ankles, for they wear very rich anklets even of greater value than the rest. They carry in their hands vessels of gold each as large as a small cask of water; inside these are some loops made of pearls fastened with wax, and inside all this a lighted lamp. They come in regular order one before the other, in all perhaps sixty women fair and young, from sixteen to twenty years of age. Who is he that could tell of the costliness and the value of what each of these women carries on her person? So great is the weight of the bracelets and gold and jewels carried by them that many of them cannot support them, and women accompany them assisting them by supporting their arms. In this manner and in this array they proceed three times round the horses, and at the end retire into the palace. These women are maids of

honour to the queens, and so are the others that go with them on each day of these nine days of the feast one of the queens sends, each on her own day, her ladies with the others. The officials, in honour of the feast, have the days divided between them in accordance with their custom as already arranged by the king; and these women come every day most richly attired, taking pleasure in showing themselves in such things, and in making a display each one of what she possesses.

When these women retire the horses also go, and then come the elephants, and after making their salaam they too retire. As soon as they are gone the king retires by a small door which is at the end of the building. Then the Brahmans go and take an idol, and carry it to the House of Victory, where is the room of cloth that I have spoken of, and the king at once comes from within, and goes to where the idol is, and offers his prayers and performs his ceremonies. Then, they bring there more buffaloes and sheep, and kill them in the same way as before, and then come the professional women to dance. As soon as the slaughter of the buffaloes and sheep is over the king retires, and goes to his supper; for he fasts all these nine days, and (each day) they eat nothing until all is finished, and their hour for food is midnight. The bayaderes remain dancing before the idol a long time after all this is done. In this way are celebrated these festivals of nine days; on the last day there are slaughtered two hundred and fifty buffaloes and four thousand five hundred sheep.

Armed forces parade

When these days of festival are past, the king holds a review of all his forces, and the review is thus arranged. The king commands to pitch his tent of Mecca velvet a full league from the city, at a place already fixed for that purpose; and in this tent they place the idol in honour of which all these festivals are celebrated.

From this tent to the king's palace the captains range themselves with their troops and array, each one in his place according to his rank in the king's household. Thus the soldiers stand in line; but it does not appear to you to be only one line but in some places two or three, one behind the other. Where there was a lake it was surrounded with troops, and where the road was narrow they were drawn up on the plain; and so on the slope of the hills and eminences, in such a way that you could see neither plain nor hill that was not entirely covered with troops. Those on foot stood in front of those

on horses, and the elephants behind the horses; in this array was each captain with his troops. The captains who had their stations inside the city, since the soldiers could not be drawn up on the flat roofs of the houses, put up scaffoldings across the mouths of the streets to hold the troops, in such a way that all were full, both outside and in.

Now I should like to describe to you how they were armed, and their decorations. The cavalry were mounted on horses fully caparisoned, and on their foreheads plates, some of sliver but most of them gilded, with fringes of twisted silk of all colours, and reins of the same [The reins were not of leather, but of silk twisted into ropes]; others had trapping of Mecca velvet, which is velvet of many colours with fringes and ornaments; others had them of other silks, such as satins and damask, and others of brocade from China and Persia. Some of the men with the gilded plates had them set with many large precious stones, and on the borders lace-work of small stones. Some of these horses had on their foreheads heads of serpents and of other large animals of various kinds, made in such a strange manner that they were a sight to see for the perfection of their make. The horsemen were dressed in quilted tunics [as can be seen on the sculptures of warriors mounted on horses and legendary animals carved on the pillars in the SE mandapa of the Vithala temple at Hampi], also of brocade and velvet and every kind of silk. These tunics are made of layers of very strong raw leather, and furnished with other iron (plates) that make them strong; some have these plates gilded both inside and out, and some are made of silver. Their headpieces are in the manner of helmets with borders covering the neck, and each has its piece to protect the face; they are of the same fashion as the tunics. They wear on the neck gorgets (*cofos*) all gilded, others made of silk with plates of gold and silver, others of steel as bright as a mirror. At the waists they have swords and small battle-axes, and in their hands javelins with the shafts covered with gold and silver. All have their umbrellas of state made of embroidered velvet and damask, with many coloured silks on the horses. They wave many (standards with) white and coloured tails and hold them in much esteem – which tails are horses' tails. The elephants in the same way are covered with caparison of velvet and gold with fringes, and rich cloths of many colours, and with bells so that the earth resounds; and on their heads are painted faces of giants and other kinds of great beasts. On the back of each one of them are three or four

men, dressed in their quilted tunic and armed with shields and javelins, and they are arrayed as if for a foray.

Then, turning to the troops on foot, there are so many that they surround all the valleys and hills in a way with which nothing in the world can compare. You will see amongst them dresses of such rich cloths that I do not know where they came from, nor could any one tell how many colours they have; shield-men with their shields, with many flowers of gold and silver on them, others with figures of tigers and other great beasts, others all covered with silver leaf work beautifully wrought, others with painted colours, others black and (*so polished that*) you can see into them as into a mirror, and their swords so richly ornamented that they could not possibly be more so. Of the archers, I must tell you that they have bows plated with gold and silver, and others have them polished, and their arrows very neat, and so feathered that they could not be better; daggers at their waists and battle-axes, with the shafts and ends of gold and silver; then you see musqueteers with their musquets and blunderbusses and their thick tunics, all in their order with their [rank] in all their bravery; it was indeed a thing to see. Then the Moors – one must not forget them – for they were there also in the review with their shields, javelins and Turkish bows, with many bombs and spears and fire-missiles; and I was much astonished to find amongst them men who knew so well how to work these weapons.

Astounding wealth

The king leaves his palace riding on the horse of which I have already told you, clothed in the many rich white cloths I have mentioned, with two umbrellas of state all gilded and covered with crimson velvet, and with the jewels and adornments which they keep for the purpose of wearing at such times: he who ever wears such jewels can understand the sort of things so great a lord would wear. Then to see the grandeur of the nobles and men of rank, I cannot possibly describe it all, nor should I be believed if I tried to do so; then to see the horses and the armour that they wear, you would see them so covered with metal plates that I have no words to express what I saw, and some hid from me the sight of others; and to try and tell of all I saw is hopeless, for I went along with my head so often turned from one side to the other that I was almost falling backwards off my horse with my senses lost. The cost of it all is not so much to be wondered at as there is so much money in the land, and the chiefs are so wealthy.

There went in front of the king many elephants with their coverings and ornaments, as I have said; the king had before him some twenty horses fully caparisoned and saddled, with embroideries of gold and precious stones, that showed off well the grandeur and state of their lord. Close to the king went a cage [a kind of small mandapa used for carrying gods in procession] such as is seen at Lisbon on the day of the Corpo de Dios festival, and it was gilded and very large; it seemed to me to be made of copper or silver; it was carried by sixteen men, eight on each side, besides others who took their turns, and in it is carried the idol of which I have already spoken. Thus accompanied the king passed along gazing at his soldiers, who gave great shouts and cries and struck their shields; the horses neighed, the elephants screamed, so that it seemed as if the city would be overturned, the hills and valleys and all the ground trembled with the discharges of arms and musquets; and to see the bombs and fire-missiles over the plains, this was indeed wonderful. Truly it seemed as if the whole world collected there.

In this way it went on till the king arrived at the place where the tent was that I have already mentioned, and he entered this and performed his usual ceremonies and prayers. You must not think that when the king passed the troops moved from their positions, on the contrary they stood motionless in their places till the king returned. As soon as the king had finished his ceremonies he again took horse and returned to the city in the same way as he had come, the troops never wearying of their shouting; as soon as he passed by them they began to march. Then to see those who were on the hills and slopes, and the descent of them with their shouts and beating of shields and shaking of arrows and bows that were without count. Truly, I was so carried out with myself that it seemed as if what I saw was a vision, and that I was in a dream. Then the troops began to march to their tents and pavilions in the plains which were in great number; and all the captains accompanied the king as far as the palace, and thence departed to rest themselves from their labour.

2. Navaratra festivities at Vijayanagar, nine castles erected, Fernao Nuniz[2]

This takes place in the month of September when for nine days they make great feasts. Some say that they do this in honour of the nine months during which Our Lady bore her Son in the womb; others say that it is only done

because at this time the captains come to pay their rents to the King. Which feasts are conducted in the following manner.

The first day they put nine castles in a piece of ground which is in front of the palace, which castles are made by the nine principal captains in the kingdom. They are very lofty and are hung with rich cloths, and in them are many dancing girls and also many kinds of contrivances. Besides these nine every captain is obliged to make each one his castle, and they come to show these to the King. Each one has his separate device, and they all come like this during the nine days of the feast. The officers of the city are bound to come with their devices each day at night, just as in our festivals, and in these nine days they slaughter animals and make sacrifice. The first day they kill nine male buffaloes and nine sheep and nine goats, and thenceforward they kill each day more, always doubling the number, and when they have finished slaying these beasts, there come nine horses and nine elephants of the King, and these come before the King covered with flowers – roses – and with rich trappings. Before them goes the chief Master of the Horse with many attendants, and they make salaam to the King. And when these have finished making their salaam there come from within priests, and they bring rice and other cooked edibles, and water, and fire [flames of camphor and alike flames during rituals], and many kinds of scents, and they offer prayers and throw the water over the horses and elephants, just (as our priests do with) holy water, and they put chaplets of roses on them. This is done in the presence of the King, who remains seated on a throne of gold and precious stones; he never sits on this except only this once in the year. And this King that now reigns does not sit on it, for they say that whoever sits on it must be a very truthful man, one who speaks the whole truth, and this king never does so. Whilst this is going on there pass by the King fully a thousand women, dancing and posturing before him. After all the devices that have been prepared have been witnessed all the horses of the King pass by, covered with their silken trappings, and with much adornment of gold and precious stones on their heads, and then all the elephants and yokes of oxen in the middle of the arena in front of the palace. After these have been seen there come thirty-six of the most beautiful of the King's wives covered with gold and pearls, and much work of seed-pearls, and in the hands of each a vessel of gold with a lamp of oil burning in it; and with these women come all the female servants and the other wives of the King, with canes in their hands tipped

with gold and with torches burning; and these then retire inside with the King. These women are so richly bedecked with gold and precious stones that they are hardly able to move.

3. Deepavali celebrations at Vijayanagar, Domingo Paes[3]

You must know that when these feasts of which I have spoken are ended, at the beginning of the month of October, when eleven of its days are past, they make great feasts, during which everyone puts on new, and rich, and handsome cloths, each one according to his liking, and all the captains give their men handsome cloths of many colours, each one having his own colour and device. On the same day they give great gifts of money to the king, it is even said that they give on that day to the king in money a million and five hundred thousands gold *pardaos*, and each *pardao* is worth three hundred and sixty *reis* and from this you will be able to know how many *reis* there will be. I wish you to know that on this day begins their year, it is their New Year's day, and for this they make the feast and give the gifts; and it is not to be wondered at, for we also do the same on New year's Day. They begin the year in this month with the new moon, and they count the months always from moon to moon.

4. Holi at Surat, Pietro Della Valle[4]

March the fifteenth was the first day of the Feast of the *Indian-Gentiles,* which they celebrate very solemnly at the entrance of the Spring, with dancings through the street, and casting orange water and red colours in jest one upon another, with other festivities of Songs and Mummeries, as I have formerly seen the same in *Spahan,* where also reside constantly a great number of *Banians* and *Indian Gentiles*. Yet the solemnity and concourse of people was greater than in *Persia,* as being in their own Country and a City inhabited in a great part by *Gentiles* and wealthier persons.

5. Holi in Kabul, Jean de Thevenot[5]

Caboulistan is full of small Towns, Burroughs and Villages; most of the Inhabitants are heathen: and therefore there are a great many Pagods there. They reckon their months by Moons, and with great Devotion celebrate their Feast, called *Houly,* which lasts two days. At that time their Temples are filled with People, who came to Pray and make their Oblations there; the rest of the Celebration consists in Dancing by companies in the Streets,

to the sound of Trumpets. At this Feast, they are cloathed in a dark Red, and many go to visit their Friends in Masquarade.

B. Fairs

1. At Athni [Belgaum District], Abbe Carre[6]

Tuesday, 10 January. I stopped at Etny [Athni], a large town in the middle of a dry plain, where water is obtained only from a little stream and some wells. There was a fair in progress, which had attracted all the traders from surrounding villages and towns with rich merchandise. I found Anobat [Anoba], the Hindu broker of our Company at Raybag, who had come to buy and sell goods. Without his help I should have had great trouble in finding shelter, the town being so full of people that it was difficult to pass through the streets and the bazars. There was no lack of the ordinary attractions of such gatherings. Every free corner was full of fakirs, conjurors, mountebanks, sorcerers, magicians, and the like – each surrounded by a circle of people. They were crowding one another so much that those at the back, not being able to see anything, snatched the turbans off the heads of the spectators in front and threw them far behind: this obliged their owners to run after them, whereupon the vacant front places were immediately filled by those at the back. They could then comfortably watch the dangerous jumps, grotesque postures, miracles, cunning, and skill of these people, who never failed to bring some money into their boxes. This they demanded before showing to the crowd some special trick, 'the like of which had never been seen before.'

I did not fail to visit all these entertainments, but as soon as it was known that there was a Frank in the town, they all ran to look at me, and insisted on showing me their rarest and most clever tricks. Some exhibited terrible and astonishing magic turns, at which they are very skilful in this country. Others were raised in the air on two pikes with their stomach at the end of a cross beam. From this height they threw themselves on to a bed of swords, daggers, knives, and similar weapons, with the points and edges upward without hurting themselves. Others twisted their bodies into so many postures, that it seemed as if their bones were made of wax. Others showed me certain stones of every shape and colour, which they assured me, with much talk, were efficacious against poison, snake-bites, illness, and pains, and were in short a sovereign remedy for all kinds of bodily infirmities [medicinal stones like the bezoar stone, the Goa stone and the snake stone were common antidotes]. Then there arrived troops of dancing-girls, who

are the chief attraction of such assemblies. They often make more by their dancing than the best merchants in the fair do by trade. I was obliged to let them show me (as all the others had done) what they could do, and that they were not less clever and well trained in their art. It was most amusing to see these entertainers, as soon as I dismissed them, run to every side of the fair, to give notice to other new troops that I had not yet seen.

C. Entertainment and Games

1. Love music, Edward Terry[7]

The people in generall live about our ages; but they have more old men. They delight much in musicke, and have many stringed and wind instruments, which never seemed in my eare to bee any thing but discord. They write many wittie poems, and compose stories or annals of their owne countrey; and professe themselves to have good skill in astrologie. And in men of that profession the King puts so much confidence that hee will not undertake a journey, nor yet doe any thing of the least consequence, unlese his wizards tell him tis a good and prosperous houre.

2. Play chess, Edward Terry[8]

In their houses they play much that most ingenious game we call chesse, or else at tables. They have cardes, but quite different from ours.

3. Extraordinary feats of agility at Nander [Daulatabad], Jean de Thevenot[9]

Five Leagues from the Town of *Nander,* near a Village called *Patoda*, we had the Diversion of seeing Feats of Agility of Body: There was a great concourse of People, and we had a place given us, on an Eminence, under the shade of a great Tree, from whence we might easily see all the Plays. The Tumblers did all that the Rope-dancers of *Europe* do, and much more: These People are as supple as an Eel, they'll turn their whole body into a Bowl, and then others rowl [roll] them with the hand. The finest tricks were performed by a Girl of thirteen or fourteen years of Age, who Played for the space of two hours and more. This amongst other Feats of Agility which she did, appeared to me extreamly difficult: She sat down upon the Ground, holding cross-ways in her Mouth a long cutting Sword; with the right Hand she took hold of her left Foot, brought it up to her Breast, then to her left side, and without letting go that Foot, she put her Head underneath her right Arm, and at the same time, brought her Foot down along the small of her Back: Then she made it pass under her sitting, and over the right Leg four or five times without resting, being always in danger of cutting her Arm or Leg with the edge of the Sword: And she did the same thing with the left Hand and right Foot.

Whilst she was shewing of that trick, they dug a hole in the Ground two foot deep, which they filled with Water. So soon as the Girl had rested a little, they threw into the hole a little Hook made like a Clasp, for her to fetch out with her Nose, without touching it with her Hands. She put her two Feet on the sides of the Pit and turned her self backwards, upon her two Hands, which she placed on the sides of the hole where her Feet had stood. Then she dived headlong into the Water, to search after the Hook with her Nose: The first time she missed it, but the pit being filled full of Water again, she plunged backwards into it a second time, and upholding her self only with the left hand, she gave a sign with the right hand, that she had found what she sought for, and she raised her self again with the Clasp at her Nose.

Then a Man took this Girl, and setting her upon his Head, ran at full speed through the place, she in the mean time not tottering in the least: Setting her down, he took a large Earthen pot, like to those round Pitchers that the Indian Maids make use to draw Water in; and put it upon his Head with the mouth upwards. The Girl got on the top of it, and he carried her about the place with the same security, as he had done without the Pot; Which he did twice more, having put the Pot with the mouth downwards once, and then with the mouth side-ways. The same trick he shewed in a Bason wherein he turned the Pot three different ways: Then he took the Bason and turned its bottom up upon his Head, with the Pitcher over it. The Girl shewed the same tricks upon it. And at length, having put into the Bason upon his Head, a little wooden Truncheon a foot high, and as big as ones Arm, he caused the Girl to be set upright upon that Stake, and carried her about as before; sometimes she only stood upon one Foot, taking the other in her Hand; and sometimes she hurled down upon her Heels, nay and sat down, though the carrier in the mean time, went on as formerly. Then the Man took the Bason from under the Stake, and put it on the top of it, where the Girl likewise appeared: Then changeing the Play, he put into the Bason four Pins, or little Stakes of Wood, four Inches high, set square-ways with a Board upon each of them, two Fingers breadth, and upon these Boards four other Pins or little Stakes, with as many Boards more, making in all two Stories over the Bason, supported with the great Stake or Pillar: And that Girl getting upon the upper Story, he ran with her through the place with the same swiftness as at other times, she not appearing in the least, afraid of falling, though the Wind was high. These People shew'd a hundred other

tricks of Agility, which I shall not describe, that I may not be tedious; only I must say, that the finest I saw Acted were performed by Girls. We gave them at parting three *Roupies,* for which they gave us a thousand Blessings: We sent for them at Night to our Camp where they diverted us again, and gained two *Roupies* more.

4. All kinds of entertainers, Friar Domingo Navarrete [only Spanish account of seventeenth century India][10]

In every Town we found Women that play'd on Musick and danced. There are certain Women there, who alone can follow this Trade, for which they pay a duty to the King. When any Guests of note come, they presently repair to their House, make their Obeisance, and immediately some begin to dance, and others to play. They were well dressed, and had Gold and Silver enough about them, spent two or three hours in this Exercise, were well paid, and went their ways. I was seldom present at these Entertainments but indeed they were worth seeing and hearing.

□

Chapter 4
Economic Life

A. Textiles

B. Some famous arts and crafts of India

C. Indigo, saltpetre and gum lac

D. Some drugs prepared in India

E. Diamond industry

F. Towns and Bazaars

G. Ports and Trade

A. Textiles

1. Bales of silk brought from Murshidabad to Gujarat and woven into fabrics, gold and silk carpets, satins, patolas, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[1]

Kasimbazar [Murshidabad District, Bengal], a village in the Kingdom of Bengal, can furnish about 22,000 bales of silk annually, each bale weighing 100 livres. The 22,000 bales weigh 2,200.000 livres at 16 onces to the livre. The Dutch generally took, either for Japan or for Holland, 6,000 to 7,000 bales of it, and they would have liked to get more, but the merchants of Tartary and of the whole Mogul Empire opposed their doing so, for these merchants took as much as the Dutch, and the balance remained with the people of the country for the manufacture of their own stuffs. All these silks are brought to the Kingdom of Gujarat and the greater part come to Ahmadabad and Surat, where they are woven into fabrics.

Firstly, carpets of silk and gold, others of silk, gold, and silver, and others altogether of silk, are made in Surat. As for the woollen carpets, they are made at Fatehpur [Fatehpur Sikri], 12 coss from Agra.

In the second place, satins with bands of gold and silver, some with bands of different colours, and some all uniform are made there, and it is the same with the taffetas.

Thirdly, patoles, which are stuffs of silk, very soft, decorated all over with flowers of different colours, are manufactured at Ahmadabad. They vary in price from 8 to 40 rupees the piece. This is one of the profitable investments of the Dutch, who do not permit any member of their Company to engage in this private trade. They are exported to the Philippines, Borneo, Java, Sumatra, and other neighbouring countries.

2. Painted cotton cloths [chites] from Masulipatam, Lahore, Sironj, Burhanpur; baftas, dyed at Agra and Ahmadabad, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[2]

The chites [chintzes] or painted cotton cloths which are called cal-mendar [qalamdar], that is to say, painted with a brush, are made in the Kingdom of Golkonda, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam; but the quantity turned out is so small that when one makes requisition on all the workers who manufacture these cotton cloths it is with difficulty that he can

obtain as much as three bales. The chites made in the Empire of the Great Mogul are printed, and are of different degrees of beauty, according to the printing and the fineness of the cotton cloth. Those made at Lahore are the coarsest of all, and consequently the cheapest. They are sold by corges, a corge consisting of 20 pieces, and costing from 16 to 30 rupees. The chites made at Sironj are sold at from 20 to 60 rupees the corge or thereabouts. All the chites I am about to speak of are printed cotton cloths, of which bedcovers are made, and also sufras or tablecloths, according to the custom of the country, pillowcases, pocket-handkerchiefs, and especially waistcoats for the use of both men and women, principally in Persia. The chites of bright colours are manufactured at Burhanpur. They are made into handkerchiefs, which are at present much used by those who take snuff, and a sort of veil called ormis [orhnis], which the women throughout Asia use to put on their heads and wrap about their necks.

The baftas or cotton cloths required to be dyed red, blue, or black, are taken uncoloured to Agra and Ahmadabad, because these two towns are near the places where indigo is made, which is used in dyeing. They cost from 2 rupees the piece up to 30 or 40 rupees, according to the fineness and the amount of gold at the ends, and in some also at the sides. The Indians know how to pass some of these cloths through a certain water which causes them to appear like a waved camlet, and these pieces are the dearest.

3. White cotton cloth taken to Baroda and Broach for bleaching, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[3]

White cotton cloths come partly from Agra and the vicinity of Lahore, partly from Bengal, and some from Baroda, Broach, Renonsari [Navasari, Baroda], and other places. They come in a crude condition to Renonsari and Broach, where they have the means of bleaching them in large fields, on account of the quantity of lemons growing in the neighbourhood, for cotton cloths can never be well bleached if they are not steeped in lemon juice.

The cotton cloths brought from Agra, Lahore and Bengal are sold by corges, and cost from 16 up to 300 or 400 rupees and even more, according as the merchant directs them to be made. The cotton cloths from Renonsari and Broach are 21 cubits long when crude, but only 20 cubits when bleached. Those from Baroda are 20 cubits when crude, and 19 when bleached. The cotton cloths or baftas from these three towns are of two kinds; for there are both broad and narrow kinds; it is the narrow of which I

have just spoken, and they are sold at from 2 to 6 mahmudis each. The broad baftas are 1 cubit wide, and the piece is 20 cubits long. They are commonly sold at from 5 to 12 mahmudis, but the merchant on the spot can have them made much wider and finer, up to the value of 500 mahmudis the piece. In my time I have seen two pieces of them sold, for each of which 1,000 mahmudis were paid. The English bought one and the Dutch the other, and both were 28 cubits long. Muhammad Ali Beg, when returning to Persia from his embassy to India, presented Cha Sefi II (Shah Safi) with a coconut of the size of an ostrich's egg, enriched with precious stones; and when it was opened a turban was drawn from it 60 cubits in length, of a muslin so fine that you would scarcely know what it was that you held in your hand. When returning from one of my voyages, I had the curiosity to take with me an ounce of thread, of which a livre's weight cost 600 mahmudis, and the late Queen-Dowager, with many of the ladies of the Court, was surprised at seeing a thread so delicate, which almost escaped the view.

4. Spun and unspun cotton from Burhanpur, Gujarat, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[4]

Both spun and unspun cotton come from the Provinces of Burhanpur and Gujarat. The unspun cottons are not sent to Europe, being too bulky and of too small value; they are exported only to the Red Sea, Hormuz, Bassora, and sometimes to the islands of Sonde (Sunda archipelago in the Sunda straits) and to the Philippines. As for the spun cottons, the English and Dutch Companies export large quantities to Europe, but they are not of the finest qualities; of the kinds exported the maund weight is worth from 15 to 50 mahmudis. These are the kinds which are used to make the wicks of candles, and stockings, and to mix with the web of silken stuffs. As for the finest qualities, they are of no use in Europe.

5. Bengal store house of cotton and silk, Francois Bernier[5]

In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found. Besides the sugar I have spoken of, and which may be placed in the list of valuable commodities, there is in *Bengale* such a quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common storehouse for those two kinds of merchandise not of *Hindoustan* or the Empire of the *Great Mogol* only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of *Europe.* I have been

sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths, of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the *Hollanders* alone export to different places, especially to *Japan* and *Europe.* The *English,* the *Portuguese,* and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from *Bengale* for the supply of the whole of the *Mogol Empire,* as far as *Lahor* and *Cabol,* and generally of all those foreign nations to which the cotton cloths are sent. The silks are not certainly so fine as those of *Persia, Syria, Sayd* [close to the ancient site of Sidon], and *Barut* [Beirut], but they are of a much lower price; and I know from indisputable authority that, if they were well selected and wrought with care, they might be manufactured into most beautiful stuffs. The *Dutch* have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at *Kassem-Bazar,* where, in like manner, the *English* and other merchants employ a proportionate number.

6. White cloth mingled with gold and silver at Burhanpur, Jean de Thevenot[6]

The great Trade of the Province is in Cotton-cloath, and there is as much Traffick at *Brampour* [Burhanpur], as in any place of the *Indies.* Painted Cloaths are sold there, as every where else; but the white are particularly esteemed, because of the lovely mixture of Gold and Silver that is in them, whereof the rich make Veils, Scarfs, Handkerchiefs and Coverings, but the white Cloaths so Adorned, are dear. In short, I do not think that any Countrey of *Indostan* abounds so much in Cotton as this do's which bears also plenty of Rice and Indigo. The same Trade is driven at *Orixa, Berar,* and other Towns of this Province.

B. Some famous arts and crafts of India

1. Boats of Malabar, Tome Pires[7]

There are in Malabar *tones catures*, which are long rowing boats, covered over on top, leaving just room for a man to worm his way in. Each one of these takes from ten to twenty oars. They are light, and there are a great many of them, and archers go in them. They belong to Mukkuvan *Arees* [chief of the fishermen], who have many people and wealth, and there are many along this coast, and if they find a ship that has been becalmed, by rowing they take it wherever they like, against the will of the ship's crew, because they are great archers.

2. Crafts of Kashmir, shawls of unrivalled excellence, Francois Bernier[8]

The workmanship and beauty of their *palekys,* bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons, and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the *Indies.* They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to *Kachemire,* and the staple commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children. These shawls are about an ell and a half long, and an ell broad, ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery, made in the loom, a foot in width. The *Mogols* and *Indians,* women as well as men, wear them in winter round their heads, passing them over the left shoulder as a mantle. There are two sorts manufactured: one kind with the wool of the country, finer and more delicate than that of *Spain;* the other kind with the wool, or rather hair (called *touz*) found on the breast of a species of wild goat which inhabits *Great Tibet.* The *touz* shawls are much more esteemed than those made with the native wool. I have seen some, made purposely for the *Omrahs,* which cost one hundred and fifty *roupies;* but I cannot learn that the others have ever sold for more than fifty. They are very apt, however, to be worm-eaten, unless frequently unfolded and aired. The fur of the beaver is not so soft and fine as the hair from these goats.

3. Multitude of craftsmen, Jon Olafsson[9]

There is a great multitude of craftsmen in India…they work in masonry, wood, clay and iron, after all kinds of patterns. They also make statuary and work surpassingly well in copper, in elephant-bone and tusks and other such things; also they do masterly work in gold set with precious stones and pearls, and in silver and brass. Moreover they are skilful in every kind of weaving and in painting and dyeing their cotton cloth with every kind of colour, for which purpose they have long houses without walls, within which are tables as long as the houses, and on them they have their pots of all colours and their brushes or pens, with which they mark and draw on all the cotton cloth and silk which they intend to dye…

Iron work is much practiced, both of large and small objects. Tinkers go daily about the streets of the town past the houses, calling out that if any person needs aught their craft, that it should be brought out and declared. These men carry bellows and anvil, hammer and tongs with them, and their boy trails after them with a sack of coals.

4. Fine palanquins and chariots, Jean de Thevenot[10]

…The finest *Palanquins* that are in all *Indostan,* are made at *Tatta,* and there is nothing neater, than the Chariots with two Wheels, which are made there for Travelling. It is true, they have but few Coaches, because few *Europeans* go thither, and hardly any of the *Indians* make use of Coaches but they; but these Chariots are convenient enough for Travelling, and are not harder than Coaches. They are flat and even, having a border four fingers broad, with Pillars all round, more or fewer, according to the fancy of him for whom it is made; but commonly there are but eight, of which there are four at the four corners of the Engine, the other four at the sides, and thongs of Leather are interwoven from Pillar to Pillar, to keep one from falling out. Some, (I confess,) have the Chariot surrounded with Ballisters of Ivory, but few are willing to be at the charges of that, and the Custom of making use of that Net-work of Leather, makes that most part cares not for Ballisters, but go so about the Town, sitting after the Levantine manner, upon a neat Carpet that covers the bottom of the Chariot. Some cover it above with a slight Imperial, but that commonly is only when they go into the Country, to defend them from the Sun-beams.

This Machine hath no more but two Wheels put under the side of the Chariot, and not advancing outwards, they are of the height of the fore Wheels of our Coaches; have eight square spoaks, are four or five fingers thick, and many times are not shod. Hackny-coaches to Travel in, with two Oxen, are hired for five and twenty pence, or half a Crown a day; but whatever ease the *Indians* may find in them, our Coaches are much better, because they are hung.

The Wheels of Waggons or Carts, for carrying of Goods, have no Spoaks; they are made of one whole piece of solid Timber, in form of a Mill-stone, and the bottom of the Cart, is always a thick frame of Wood. These Carts are drawn by eight or ten Oxen, according to the heaviness of the Loads. When a Merchant conveys any thing of consequence, he ought to have four Soldiers, or four Pions [peons], by the sides of the Waggon; to hold the ends of the Rope that are tyed to it, to keep it from overturning, if it come to heeld in bad way; and that way is used in all Caravans, though commonly they consist of above two hundred Waggons.

Indians that are Wealthy, Travel neither in Chariots nor Coaches: They make use of an Engine which they call *Palanquin*, and is made more neatly at *Tatta,* than any where else. It is a kind of Couch with four feet, having on each side ballisters four or five Inches high, and at the head a feet a back-stay like a Childs Cradle, which sometimes is open like Ballisters, and sometimes close and Solid. This Machine hangs by a long Pole, which they call *Pambou* [bamboo], by means of two frames nailed to the feet of the Couch, which are almost like to those that are put to the top of moving Doors, to fasten Hangings by; and these two frames which are the one at the head, and the other at the opposite end, have Rings through which great Ropes are put, that fasten and hang the Couch to the *Pambou.*

5. Goldsmiths at Agra, Jean de Thevenot[11]

They have a way in this Town of working in Gold upon Agat, Chrystal and other brittle matters, which our Goldsmiths and Lapidaries have not. When the Indians would beautifie Vessels, Cups, or Coffers; besides the Circles of Gold they put about them, they engrave Flowers and other Figures, and also enchase Stones upon them. They cut leaves of Gold to fill up the void spaces of the Figures, lay several pieces one upon another, and enchase them so artificially [skilfully] in the hollow places, with an Iron Instrument like a Graver, that when the void spaces are filled up, it looks like Massie

[solid] Gold. They do the same with Stones, they encompass them also with such pieces of Leaf-Gold, and press them in so close that the Stones hold very well.

They make Rings about Vessels, either about the middle or brims, of a kind of Gold made into little round Rods, which they beat upon an Anvil, till they be reduced into flat thin Plates; then they take the measure of the part of the Vessel which they would incircle and having most exactly bent the Ring, they Soulder the two ends of it together, and put it upon the part of the Vessel they intend it for; so that it holds very well, provided one have the skill to adjust it true to the place marked: If Handles be necessary to the Vessels, or Locks for the Coffers of Agat or Crystal, they soulder them to the Ring with the same Art that they souldered the two ends of it; but they do it after another way than our Goldsmiths do. For that end they make use of little red Beans which are black at the end, and are the fruit of a *Convolvulus,* called in Indian *Gomtchi,* and in the *Telenghi* (Telugu) Language, *Gourghindel* [ghungchi]. They peel off the Skin which is dry and hard, and taking the inside of the Bean that is yellowish, they grind it upon an Iron-Plate with a little Water till it be dissolved into a Liquid Solution; then they pound a little bit of Borax, mix it with that Solution, and with this mixture dawb the ends which they intend to soulder, and having heated them with a Coal, joyn them together; so that the two sides close fast and hold extraordinarily well.

This work is performed by poor People, and sometimes by little Boys, who do it very skilfully and quickly, for a matter of two Crowns for each tole of Gold; and something is also given to him that beats and flattens the Rods of Gold: However none of these People know how to Enammel Gold.

C. Indigo, saltpetre, gum lac, wax, long pepper

1. Centres of indigo production, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[12]

Indigo comes from different localities of the Empire of the Great Mogul, and in these different localities it is of various qualities, which increase or diminish its price.

In the first place some comes from the territory of Biana [Bayana, Bharatpur State], from Indoua [Hindaun, Jaipur State], and from Corsa [Khurja, United Provinces], one or two days' march from Agra; this is considered to be the best of all. It is also made at eight days' march from Surat, and at two leagues from Ahmadabad, in a village called Sarkhej. It is from thence indigo cake comes, and some of the same kind and nearly of the same price also comes from the country of the King of Golkonda...

…Indigo is also produced at 36 leagues from Burhanpur on the road to Surat at a large village called Raout [Aravad, Chopra sub-division, East Khandest district], and other small villages in its neighbourhood; and the people there generally sell more than 100,000 rupees worth of it every year.

There is lastly the indigo of Bengal, which the Dutch Company conveys to Masulipatam; but this indigo and that of Burhanpur and Ahmadabad can be bought cheaper by 30 per cent than that of Agra.

Method of preparing indigo

Indigo is prepared from a plant which is sown every year after the rains; before preparation it much resembles hemp. It is cut three times in the year, the first cutting taking place when it is about 2 or 3 feet high; and it is then cut to within 6 inches of the ground. The first leaf is certainly better than those which follow, the second yielding less by 10 or 12 per cent than the first, and the third 20 per cent less than the second. It is classified by the colour, determined when a morsel of the paste is broken. The colour of the indigo made from the first crop is of a violet-blue, which is more brilliant and more lively than the others, and that of the second is more lively than that of the third...

After the Indians have cut the plant they throw it into tanks made of lime, which become so hard that one would say that they were made of a single

piece of marble. The tanks are generally from 80 to 100 paces in circuit, and when half-full of water, or a little more, they are filled up with the cut plant. The Indians mix it and stir it up with the water every day until the leaf – for the stem is of no account – becomes reduced into slime or greasy earth. This done, they allow it to rest for some days, and when they see that all has sunk to the bottom and that the water is clear above, they open the holes made round the tank to allow the water to escape. The water having been drawn off, they then fill baskets with the slime, after which, in a level field, each man sits near his basket, takes this paste in his fingers, and moulds it into pieces of the shape and size of a hen's egg cut in two – that is to say, flat below and pointed above. But the indigo of Ahmadabad is flattened and made into the shape of a small cake. It is to be particularly remarked, that the merchants, in order to escape paying custom on useless weight, before sending the indigo from Asia to Europe are careful to sift it, so as to separate the dust attached to it, which they afterwards sell to the people of the country, who make use of it in their dyes. Those who are employed to sift the indigo observe great precautions, for while so occupied they hold a cloth in front of their faces, and take care that all their orifices are well closed, only leaving two small holes in the cloth for the eyes, to see what they are doing. Moreover, both those who sift the indigo and the writers of sub-merchants of the Company who watch them sifting, have to drink milk every hour, this being a preservative against the subtlety of the indigo. All these precautions do not prevent those who are occupied for eight or ten days, sifting indigo, from having all that they expectorate coloured blue for some time. 1 have indeed on more than one occasion observed that if an egg is placed in the morning near one of these sifters, if it is broken in the evening, it is found to be altogether blue inside, so penetrating is the dust of indigo.

As the men take the paste from the baskets with their fingers steeped in oil, and mould it in pieces, they expose them to the sun to dry. When the merchants buy the indigo they always burn some pieces in order to see if there is any sand mixed with it. For the peasants who take the paste out of the baskets to separate it into pieces, after they have dipped their hands in oil, place it in the sand, which mingles with the paste and makes it heavier; but when burnt the indigo is reduced to ashes and the sand remains entire. The Governors do all they can to stop this fraud, but there are always some who practise it.

2. Saltpetre from Agra and Patna, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[13]

Saltpetre comes in abundance from Agra and from Patna, a town of Bengal; that which is refined costs three times as much as that which is impure. The Dutch have established a depot at Chapra, which is 14 leagues above Patna; and the saltpetre refined there is sent by river to Hugly. The Dutch imported boilers from Holland, and employed refiners to refine the saltpetre for themselves; but have not succeeded, because the people of the country, seeing that they wished to deprive them of the profits of refining, would not supply them any longer with whey, without the aid of which the saltpetre cannot be bleached, for it is worth nothing at all if it is not very white and very transparent. A maund of saltpetre costs 7 mahmudis.

3. Method of manufacture of saltpetre, Francisco Pelsaert[14]

Saltpetre is found in many places near Agra, at distances of from 10 to 40 kos; it occurs usually in villages which have formerly been inhabited, and have been for some years abandoned. It is prepared from three kinds of earth, black, yellow, and white, but the black earth gives the best quality, being free from salt or brackishness. The method of manufacture is as follows. Two shallow reservoirs like salt-pans are made on the ground, one much larger than the other. The larger is filled with the salt earth and flooded with water from a channel in the ground; the earth is then thoroughly trodden out by numbers of labourers till it is pulverised and forms a thin paste; then it is allowed to stand for two days, so that the water may absorb all the substance. The water is then run off by a large outlet into the other reservoir, where a deposit settles, which is crude saltpetre. This is evaporated in iron pans once or twice, according to the degree of whiteness and purity desired, being skimmed continually until scarcely any impurities rise. It is then placed in large earthen jars, holding 25 to 30 lb.; a crust forms in the dew during the night, and if any impurities are still left, they sink to the bottom; the pots are then broken, and the saltpetre dried in the sun. From 5000 to 6000 maunds should be obtainable yearly in Agra alone, without reckoning the produce of places at a distance. The peasants, however, have now recognised that the produce, which was formerly cheap and in small demand, is wanted by us as well as by the English, who are also beginning to buy, and, like monkeys, are eager to imitate whatever they see done by others. The result is that, instead of the old price of 1½ rupees

for a maund of 64 lb., it is now up to 2 or 2½ rupees, and likely to rise steadily.

4. Gum lac, opium, wax, long pepper, Francois Bernier[15]

…[from Bengal] the best lac, opium, wax, civet, long pepper, and various drugs are obtained; and butter [ghee], which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numberless places.

D. Some drugs prepared in India, Francisco Pelsaert[16]

Borax

Borax is found in the Eastern mountains [Tibet], in the dominions of a very powerful king, named Raja Bikram, the extent of whose kingdom may be judged from the fact that it stretches to the frontiers of the White Tartars. Men of that nation carry on an extensive trade in it, because it yields many commodities in much demand, such as musk, civet, borax, spikenard, quicksilver, brass and copper, and a dye named *meynsel* which gives a handsome red-and-yellow colour. The inhabitants bring all these goods to Donga, 150 [?] kos from Agra and a great market; it is in Jahangir's territory, but is administered by Raja Bichha. The place where borax is found is named Tachelachan [possibly modern Taklakot]; it occurs in a river which flows through the eastern mountains and falls into a great lake called Masseroer [Manasarowar]. This lake must be very far away, for few or none of them [? my informants] have seen it, but they assert on the strength of their old books that in reality it can only be the sea, and not a lake. Owing to the peculiar quality of the water, the borax settles like coral in the bed of the river, and is dug out twice a year, and sold without any further treatment such as refining or evaporating. The supply is very large, sufficient to satisfy the whole world, and it usually sells at the low price of 4 or 5 rupees for a maund of 60 lb. It is brought to Agra in bales packed in sheepskin, each weighing 4 maunds; here we pack it in bladders, which are filled with bitter oil, to prevent deterioration from long keeping or from its natural qualities.

Spikenard

Spikenard grows wild in the mountains and is not sown. The plants grow a handbreadth high, and are closely intertwined; they are called *koilte kie.* Spikenard is here considered to be a valuable medicine or drug, particularly for stiffened limbs; it is rubbed down with oil, smeared on the limb, and allowed to dry; it produces warmth, and expels the cold…

Sal ammoniac

Sal ammoniac is found at Thanesar or Sirhind, on the road to Lahore. It is a sort of scum which forms on the site of very old brick-kilns; it is dug and

purified by evaporation, like saltpetre. The usual price is 7 to 7½ rupees per maund, but under instructions from our employers we have now ceased to purchase it.

E. Diamond industry

1. Diamond-cutters at Rammalakota Mines [Province of Carnatic], Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[17]

There are at this mine numerous diamond-cutters, and each has only a steel wheel of about the size of our plates. They place but one stone on each wheel, and pour water incessantly on the wheel until they have found the 'grain' of the stone. The 'grain' being found, they pour on oil and do not spare diamond dust, although it is expensive, in order to make the stone run faster, and they weight it much more heavily than we do.

I have known them to weight a stone with 150 livers of lead. It is true that it was a large stone, which weighed 130 carats after it had been cut, and that the mill was like ours, the large wheel of which was turned by four blacks. The Indians do not agree with us in believing that weighting them causes flaws in the stones. If theirs do not receive any it is because they always have a small boy who holds in his hand a very thin wooden spoon with which he anoints the wheel incessantly with oil and diamond powder. Besides this their wheel does not go so fast as ours, because the wooden wheel which causes the steel one to revolve is seldom more than 3 feet in diameter. The Indians are unable to give the stones such a lively polish as we give them in Europe; this, I believe, is due to the fact that their wheels do not run so smoothly as ours. For, being made of steel, in order to grind it on the emery, of which it has need every twenty-four hours, it has to be taken off the tree, and it cannot be replaced so as to run as evenly as it should do…

Although a particular diamond may be by nature hard, having, so to speak, a kind of knot, such as is seen in wood, the Indian diamond-cutters would not hesitate to cut such a stone, although our diamond-cutters in Europe would experience great difficulty in doing so, and as a general rule would be unwilling to undertake it; but the Indians are paid something extra for their trouble…

Trade in diamonds

The merchants who visit the mine to buy, remain in their dwellings, and every morning at from 10 to 11 O'clock the masters of the miners, after they have dined (for the Banians never leave their houses till they have washed

and eaten), take their diamonds to show to them. If the parcels are large, and contain many stones of the value of from 2,000 up to 15,000 or 16,000 ecus, they entrust them to the foreign merchant for seven or eight days or more in order that he may examine them with care. When the stones have been examined, and are returned by the merchant, if they suit him he should conclude the transaction at once, otherwise the owner of the stones wraps them in a corner of his waist band, his turban, or his shirt, and departs, so that one never sees the same stones again, or at least they are mixed with others, when the miner returns with another parcel. When the transaction is concluded the puchaser gives an order for payment on the Shroff or person who issues and receives bills of exchange. If you have agreed to pay in three or four days, and delay longer, you have to pay interest at the rate of 1½ per cent per month. Most frequently, when the merchant is known to be solvent, a bill of exchange on Agra, Golkonda, or Bijapur is preferred, but more especially one upon Surat, where, as it is the most famous port in India, the dealers desire to purchase the commodities which come in vessels from foreign countries, and are suitable for their wants.

Children of diamond merchants in business

It is very pleasant to see the young children of these merchants and of other people of the country, from the age of ten years up to the age of fifteen or sixteen, assemble every morning under a tree which is in the town square. Each has his diamond weights in a little bag suspended on one side, and on the other a purse attached to his waistband, which contains as much as 500 or 600 gold pagodas. They seat themselves there awaiting the arrival of anyone who wishes to sell diamonds either brought from this or from some other mine. When anyone brings a stone he places it in the hands of the eldest of the children, who is, so to speak, the chief of the band; he looks at it and passes it on to him who sits next. Thus it goes from hand to hand till it returns to the first one without anyone saying a word.

He then asks the price of the specimen, wishing to purchase, if possible; and if by chance he buys at too high a price he is responsible. In the evening these children count up what they have purchased, and after examining the stones separate them according to their water, weight and cleanness. Next they price each as they expect to dispose of them to strangers, and by this they see how far the value exceeds the cost of purchase. They then carry them to the great merchants who always have a number of parcels to match,

and all the profit is divided among the children, save only that their chief receives a quarter per cent more than the others. Young as they are, they know the value of all the stones so well that if one of them has bought a stone and is willing to lose a half per cent, another gives him cash for it. You can seldom show them a parcel of a dozen stones, among which they will not discover four or five with some flaw, point, or defect at the angles…

Silent trade in diamonds

I have to record a rather singular and curious account of the manner in which the Indians, whether they are idolaters or Musalmans, make their sales of all kinds of commodities. All passes in complete silence and without any one speaking. The seller and the buyer sit facing one another like two tailors, and one of the two opening his waistband, the seller takes the right hand of the buyer and covers his own with his waistband, under which in the presence of many other merchants, who occupy themselves sometimes in the same manner, the sale is completed secretly without anyone having cognizance of it. For the seller and buyer talk neither by means of their lips nor their eyes, but only by the hand, which they manage to do in the following manner: When the seller takes the whole hand of the buyer that means 1,000, and as many times as he presses it so many thousands of pagodas or rupees, according to the coin which may be in question. When he takes only five fingers that means 500, and when he takes only one it means 100. By taking only the half up to the middle joint, 50 is meant, and the end of the finger up to the first signifies 10. This is the whole mystery employed by the Indians in their sales, and it often happens that, in a place where there are many people, a single parcel will change hands five or six times without those present knowing for how much it has been sold on each occasion. As for the weight of the stones, one need not be deceived if he does not buy in secret. For when one buys them in public there is a man specially employed by the King to weigh diamonds, who receives no fees from private persons. When he names the weight, both buyer and seller accept his statement, since he has no interest in favouring either party.

2. Trade in precious stones in Goa, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[18]

Goa was formerly the place where there was the largest trade in all Asia in diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, and other stones. All the miners and

merchants went there to sell the best which they had obtained at the mines, because they had there full liberty to sell, whereas, in their own country, if they showed anything to the Kings or Princes, they were compelled to sell at whatever price was fixed. There was also at Goa a large trade in pearls, both of those which came from the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf, and those fished for in the straits of Manar on the coast of the island of Ceylon, as also of those which were brought from America. It should be known then, that in Goa and in all the other places which the Portuguese hold in India, they have a particular weight for pearls which is not used in the other places where there is a trade in pearls, neither in Europe, Asia, nor America. I do not include Africa, because this trade is unknown there, and because in that part of the world the women content themselves, in lieu of jewels, with pieces of crystal, beads of false coral, or yellow amber, of which they make necklaces and bracelets to wear on their arms and legs.

F. Towns and Bazaars

1. Gaur, Ludovico di Varthema who visited between 1503 and 1508[19]

One of the best that I had hitherto seen…Fifty ships are laden every year in this place with cotton and silk stuffs…These same stuffs go through all Turkey, through Syria, through Persia, through Arabia Felix, through Ethiopia, and through all India.

2. Gaur, as described by a visiting Portuguese in 1521[20]

The town is situated on a large plain which is flat like the whole of the surrounding area. The streets and lanes are paved with brick like the Lisbon New Street. The market is everywhere and everything – food and other goods alike – is in plentiful supply and very cheap. The streets and cross-lanes are so full of people that [it] is impossible to move and it has reached the point where the high noblemen have taken to being preceded along the road to the palace by men carrying bamboo sticks to push people out of the way.

3. Quilon, Tome Pires[21]

It is a great port of call where the ships of many merchants from different places do a great deal of trade in this kingdom.

4. Calicut, Tome Pires[22]

The town is large and has many inhabitants, and a great deal of trading is done there by many merchants, natives of Malabar as well as Klings, Chettis and foreigners from all parts, both Moors and heathens. It is a very famous port and is the best thing in all Malabar. Many nations used to have great factories here…They make many kinds of silken cloths here, and preserves.

5. Agra heavily populated, crowded bazaars, William Finch[23]

Agra hath not been in fame above fiftie yeeres, being before Acabars [Akbar's] time a village; who removed (as you have heard) from Fetipore [Fatehpur Sikri] for want of good water. It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly passe in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, save only the great bazar and some few others, which are large and faire. The citie lyeth in manner of a halfe-moone,

bellying to the land-ward some 5 c. in length, and as much by the rivers side, upon the bankes whereof are many goodly houses of the nobility, pleasantly over-looking Gemini, which runneth with a swift current from the north to the south, somewhat easterly into Ganges.

6. Bijapur a great town, Ralph Fitch[24]

Bisapor, which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court, and they bee great idolaters. And they have their idols standing in the woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a cowe, some like a monkie, some like buffles, some like peacockes, and some like the devill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they have good store of gold and silver. Their houses are of stone, very faire and high. Form hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de lashach [Qutb Shah]. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalean, and in the countrey of the king of Decan [Ahmadnagar], bee the diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleasant, with fare houses of bricke and timber. It aboundeth with great store of fruites and fresh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles, without any more apparell. We found it here very hote. The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these partes is a porte or haven called Masulipatan, which standeth eight dayes journey from hence toward the Gulfe of Bengala, whether come many shippes out of India [Portuguese India], Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with pepper, spices, and other commodities. The countrie is very good and fruitfull.

7. Dacca, where Khatris are rich beyond belief, Fray Sebastian Manrique[25]

Many strange nations resort to this city on account of its vast trade and commerce in a great variety of commodities, which are produced in profusion in the rich and fertile lands of this region. These have raised the city to an eminence of wealth which is actually stupefying, especially when one sees and considers the large quantities of money which lie principally in the houses of the Cataris [Khatris], in such quantities indeed that, being difficult to count, it is usual commonly to be weighed.

8. Ahmadabad, two hundred laden coaches leave every ten days for Cambay, William Finch[26]

Amadabade or Amadavar is a goodly city and seituate on a faire river, inclosed with strong wals and faire gates, with many beautifull turrets…The buildings comparable to any citie in Asia or Africa, the streets large and well paved, the trade great (for almost every ten dayes goe from hence two hundred coaches richly laden with merchandise for Cambaya), the merchants rich, the artificers excellent for carvings, paintings, inlayd workes, imbroydery with gold and silver. At an houres warning it hath in readiness sixe thousand horse; the gates perpetually strong guarded; none suffered without license to enter, nor to depart without certificate…

9. Ahmadabad, merchants from various places reside here, Nicholas Withington[27]

…Here are marchaunts of all places resydinge, as well Chrystians as Moores and Gentills. The commodities of this place are cloth of gould, silver tissue, vellvets (but not comparable to ours), taffetase and other stuffes, and divers druggs, with other commodities.

10. Ahmadabad, a considerable trade centre, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[28]

Ahmadabad is one of the largest towns in India, and there is a considerable trade in silken stuffs, gold and silver tapestries, and others mixed with silk; saltpetre, sugar, ginger, both candied and plain, tamarinds, mirabolans, and indigo cakes, which are made at three leagues from Ahmadabad, at a large town called Suarkej [Sarkhej].

11. Cambay, houses with cisterns to preserve monsoon water, great concourse of ships, Pietro Della Valle[29]

Cambaia is a City…seated on the Seashore, in a plain, almost in the utmost recess of that great Gulph whereunto it gives its name. The City, that is the inner part without the Suburbs, is incompass'd with walls, built with plain cortines and round battlements. The Houses within are roofed with coverings of tiles and Cisterns, which is the custom in *India* for provision of Water, which falls in such plenty during those three months of the great Summer rains. In our Countries they would be ordinary Houses, but in these parts they are counted good, and perhaps the best of the whole Province; and they are made shady and cool, as the heat of the place requires. The City hath no form'd Port, because it stands in a low Plain, but 'tis call'd a Port, by reason of the great concourse of Vessels thither from several parts,

which nevertheless for the most part are Frigots, Galeots, and other small ones of that make, which go either by oar or sail, because great ones cannot come near the Land by a great way.

12. Bazaar at Calicut, Pietro Della Valle[30]

…we went to see the *Bazar* which is near the shore; the Houses, or rather Cottages, are built of Earth and thatched with Palm-leaves, being very low; the Streets also are very narrow, but sufficiently long; the Market was full of all sorts of Provisions and other things necessary to the livelihood of that people, conformably to their Custom…

13. City of Calicut, Pietro Della Valle[31]

…the City is great, and we found it to consist of plots set with abundance of high Trees, amongst the boughs whereof were a great many wild monkeys, and within these close Groves stand the Houses, for the most part at a distance from the common Wayes, or Streets; they appear but small, little of their outsides being seen; besides low walls made of a black stone surround these Plots and divide them from the Streets, which are much better than those of the *Bazar,* but without any ornament of Windows, so that he that walks through the City may think that he is rather in the midst of uninhabited Gardens than of an inhabited City. Nevertheless it is well peopled and hath many inhabitants, whose being contented with narrow Buildings is the cause that it appears but small…

14. Banaras, foreigners buy silk directly, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[32]

Benares is a large and very well-built town, the majority of the houses being of brick and cut stone, and more lofty than those of other towns of India; but it is very inconvenient that the streets are so narrow. It has several caravansarais, and, among others, one very large and well built. In the middle of the court there are two galleries where they sell cottons, silken stuffs, and other kinds of merchandise. The majority of those who vend the goods are the workers who have made the pieces, and in this manner foreigners obtain them at first hand. These workers, before exposing anything for sale, have to go to him who holds the contract, so as to get the imperial stamp impressed on the pieces of calico or silk, otherwise they are fined and flogged.

15. Markets in Delhi, costly goods not on open display, Francois Bernier[33]

Here the costly merchandise is generally kept in warehouses, and the shops are seldom decked with rich or showy articles. For one that makes a display of beautiful and fine cloths, silk, and other stuffs striped with gold and silver, turbans embroidered with gold, and brocades, there are at least five-and-twenty where nothing is seen but pots of oil or butter, piles of baskets filled with rice, barley, chick-peas, wheat, and an endless variety of other grain and pulse, the ordinary aliment not only of the *Gentiles,* who never eat meat, but of the lower class of *Mahometans,* and a considerable portion of the military.

Fruit market in Delhi

There is, indeed, a fruit-market that makes some show. It contains many shops which during the summer are well supplied with dry fruit from *Persia, Balk, Bokara,* and *Samarkande;* such as almonds, pistachios, and walnuts, raisins, prunes, and apricots; and in winter with excellent fresh grapes, black and white, brought from the same countries, wrapped in cotton; pears and apples of three or four sorts, and those admirable melons which last the whole winter. These fruits are, however, very dear; a single melon selling for a crown and a half…

Ambas or *Mangues,* are in season during two months in summer, and are plentiful and cheap; but those grown at *Dehli* are indifferent. The best come from *Bengale, Golkonda,* and *Goa,* and these are indeed excellent. I do not know any sweetmeat more agreeable.

Pateques, or water-melons, are in great abundance nearly the whole year round; but those of *Dehli* are soft, without colour or sweetness. If this fruit be ever found good, it is among the wealthy people, who import the seed and cultivate it with much care and expense.

Confectioners' shops

There are many confectioners' shops in the town, but the sweat meats are badly made, and full of dust and flies….

Meat shops

In the *bazars* there are shops where meat is sold roasted and dressed in a variety of ways. But there is no trusting to their dishes, composed, for aught

I know, of the flesh of camels, horses, or perhaps oxen which have died of disease. Indeed no food can be considered wholesome which is not dressed at home.

16. Trade at Multan, Jean de Thevenot[34]

Multan, which comprehends *Bucor* [Bakhar], has to the South the Province of *Sinde,* and to the North the Province of *Caboul;* as it hath *Persia* to the West, and the Province of *Lahors* to the East. It is watered with many Rivers [the Indus and its tributaries Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Sutlej] that make it Fertile. The Capital Town which is also called *Multan* was heretofore a place of very great Trade, because it is not far from the River *Indus;* but seeing at present, Vessels cannot go up so far, because the Chanel of that River is spoilt in some places, and the Mouth of it full of shelves, the Traffick [trade] is much lessened, by reason that the charge of Land-carriage is too great: However the Province yields plenty of Cotton, of which vast numbers of Cloaths are made. It yields also Sugar, Opium, Brimstone, Galls [from which dye is obtained], and store of Camels, which are transported into *Persia,* by *Gazna,* and *Candahar,* or into the *Indies* themselves by *Lahors;* but whereas the Commodities went heretofore down the *Indus* at small Charges, to *Tatta,* where the Merchants of several Countries came and bought them up, they must now be carried by Land as far as *Surrat,* if they expect a considerable price for them.

…It furnishes *Indostan* with the finest Bows that are to be seen in it, and the nimblest Dancers.

G. Ports and Trade

1. Diu

(a) A good port, Garcia da Orta[35]

Diu is an island which includes a city and a good port with a very considerable trade and concourse of many merchants, Venetians, Greeks, Rumes, Turks, Persians and Arabs.

(b) Muslim ships cannot pass without passport from Portuguese, Ralph Fitch[36]

The first citie of India that we arrived at upon the fift of November, after we had passed the coast of Zindi [Sind], is called Diu, which standeth in an iland in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales have in those partes. It is but little, but well stored with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diverse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they have a passeport from the Portugales.

2. Goa

(a) Yearly arrival of fleet from Portugal, Ralph Fitch[37]

Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the fleete which commeth every yeere from Portugal, which be foure, five, or sixe great shippes, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there fortie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their pepper for Portugall. Often-times they lade one in Goa; the rest goe to Cochin, which is from Goa an hundred leagues southward.

(b) Rich heathen merchants, brisk trade, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[38]

The Heathenish Indians that dwell in Goa are very rich Merchants, and traffique much: there is one street within the Towne, that is full of shops kept by those Heathenish Indians that not only sell all kinds of Silkes, Sattins, Damaskes, and curious workes of Porceline from China and other places, but all manner of wares, Veluet, Silke, Sattin and such like, brought out of *Portugals* which by means of their Brokers they buy by the great, and sell them againe by the piece or elles wherein they are very cunning, and naturally subtile. There is also another street, where the Benianes of

Cambaia dwell that haue all kinds of wares out of Cambaia, and all sorts of precious stones, and are very subtile and cunning to bore and make holes in all kinds of stones, Pearls, and Corrals: on the other side of the same street dwell other Heathens which sell all sorts of Bedsteads, Stooles, and such like stuffe very cunningly couered ouer with Lacke, most pleasant to behold, and they can turne the Lacke into any colour that you will desire. There is also a street full of Gold and Silver Smiths that are Heathens, which make all kind of workes, also diuers other Handicrafts men, as Copper-smiths, Carpenters, and such like Occupations, which are all Heathens, and euery one a street by themselves. There are likewise other Merchants that deale all by great, with Corne, Rice, and other Indian wares and merchandises, as Wood and such like. Some of them farme the Kings Rents and revenues, so that they are skilfull euery way to make their profits. There are also many Heathen Brokers very cunning and subtile in buying and selling, and with their tongues to pleade on both sides.

3. Surat

(a) Great traffic to Mecca, Edward Terry[39]

The ship that usually goeth from Surat to Moha [Mokha] is of exceeding great burthen. Some of them, I beleeve, at the least fourteene or sixteene hundred tunnes; but ill built, and, though they have good ordnance, cannot well defend themselves. In these ships are yeerely abundance of passengers for instance, in one ship returning thence, that yeere we left India, came seventeene hundred, the most of which number goe not for profit but out of devotion to visite the sepulchre of Mahomet at Medina, neere Meche, about one hundred and fiftie leagues from Moha. Those which have beene there are ever after called Hoggeis [Haji], or holy men.

The ship bound from Surat to the Red Sea beginnes her voyage about the twentieth of March, and finisheth it towards the end of September following. The voyage is but short and might easily bee made in two moneths; but in the long season of raine, and a little before and after it, the winds are commonly so violent that there is no comming, but with great hazard, into the Indian Sea. The ship returning is usually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling, most of it in gold and silver. Besides, for what quantitie of monies comes out of Europe by other meanes into India, I cannot answere; this I am sure of, that many silver streames runne thither, as all rivers to the sea, and there stay, it being lawfull for any nation to bring

in silver and fetch commodities, but a crime not lesse then capitall to carry any great summe thence. The coyne or bullion brought thither is presently melted and refined, and then the Mogols stampe (which is his name and title in Persian letters) put upon it.

(b) Hindu merchants ask incoming ship to sell entire cargo, Surat centre of ship-building, Niccolao Manucci[40]

It is the largest port in India and the best river. Thus, it is resorted to by a great number of ships from different parts of Europe, Persia, Arabia, Mecca, Bassora, the coasts of Malabar and Choramandal, Massulapatao [Masulipatam or Machhlipatanam], Bengal, Siam, Acheen, Queddah, the Maldives, Malacca, Batavia, Manilla, China and many other parts of the world.

Whenever a loaded vessel arrives, the Hindu traders go aboard and ask if the captain wishes to sell the whole cargo of the ship. If so, they pay for it in money, or furnish goods for the return cargo, whichever is preferred. This is all done without delays, and merchants can thus acquire whatever merchandise they are in search of, and for which they have left home. On this river are built very fine lofty ships in a very short time, everything necessary being found, principally excellent timber; for which reason these ships last much longer than those made in Europe.

(c) Port of Surat richest in the world, Manuel Godinho[41]

Surat is the biggest trading centre of India, and I may say the richest in the whole world, because the best merchandise from all over flocks there, both by land and by sea. Goods from Europe are carried by the English and the Dutch, from Africa by the ships from the Red Sea and from all over Asia by its inhabitants. Even the best of Indian drugs [including chemical compounds and medicinal and vegetable substances] find their way into Surat, overland, in caravans of bullocks and camels which keep on streaming in all the time. The merchants and businessmen living in that city are extremely wealthy, some are worth over five to six millions and own up to fifty ships which sail every where. Foreign vessels visiting the port are countless. At any time of the year one may find in Surat ships bound for China, Malacca, Achin, Macassar, Moluccas, Djakarta, Maldives, Bengal, Tenasserim, Ceylon, Cochin, Cannanore, Calicut, Mecca, Aden, Suez,

Mogadishu, Kishm, Muscat, Madagascar, Hormuz, Basra, Sind, England, and so on, to any place one may think of.

4. Bharuch, a great centre of trade in cotton and agates, Pietro Della Valle[42]

Having travell'd sixteen *Cos,* which was from *Surat* in all two and twenty, before Evening we arriv'd at the City of *Barocci,* or *Behrug,* as they call it in Persian; under the walls whereof, on the South side, runs a River call'd *Nerbeda* [Narmada, Sanskrit '"giver of bliss"], which we ferried over. The City is encompass'd with a wall of moderate bigness, built high upon a rising hill. For the circuit 'tis populous enough, as generally are all the parts of *India.* 'Tis considerable for a very great Trade of fine Cotton Cloth, or Callico, made more plentifully there than in other places, and dispersed not onely through *Asia,* but also into our *Europe,* so that the English and Dutch (which two Nations have Houses of constant residence here) freight five or six great ships therewith every year; and for the better imbarking of it, make it up in very great bales, each as big as a Roman Coach; and every piece of Cloth, little bigger than one of our Towels, being carri'd to *Aleppo,* will not be sold for less than three or four *Piastres,* and in *Italy* at least for six crowns. Whence you may infer what wealth comes out of this small City alone, which for compass and buildings is not greater than *Siena* of *Tuscany,* although 'tis above three times as populous, and you may also consider to what summ the Prince's Costumes arise.

A few *Cos* from the City is a Mine of Calcidonies and Agates, white and green; but these stones are carry'd less into *Barocci* than to *Cambaia,* although it be further from the Mine, because there is a Sea-port, and a greater concourse of foreign Merchants; and in *Cambaia* they are wrought into little Globes, either round or oval, to make Coronets or Necklaces, and also little Cups and divers other curious vessels for ornament.

The Sea comes not up to *Barocci* even at the highest tides, but is about as many miles distant as 'tis from *Surat.*

□

Chapter 5
Architecture

A. Temples and Caves

B. Tanks and Lakes

C. Forts, Palaces

D. Town Planning

E. Mosques

F. Mausoleums

A. Temples and Caves

1. Elephanta Caves

(a) 'The best of all' pagodas, Garcia da Orta [first European to record his impressions, in 1534][1]

Another pagoda, the best of all, is on an island called Pori [Gharapuri], which we call the Isle of the Elephant…On the walls, all round, there are sculptured images of elephants, lions, tigers, and many human images, some like Amazons, and in many other shapes well sculptured. Certainly it is a sight well worth seeing and it would appear that the devil had used all his powers and knowledge to deceive the gentiles into his worship. Some say it is the work of the Chinese when they navigated to the land. It might well be true seeing that it is so well worked.

(b) One of the wonders of the world, Dom Joao de Castro, Viceroy of Goa [1545-1548][2]

The mountain on this island which I said was opposite the Northern region, on the one side, which is a continuous cliff, is hard natural rock. Beneath the mountain a vast temple was cut and fashioned, hollowing out the living rock, a temple of such marvellous workmanship that it seems impossible for it to have been made by human hands. All the works, images, columns, reliefs, workrooms, which are there are carved in the massive stone of the mountain, all of which seems to pass beyond the bounds of nature; indeed, the proportions and the symmetry with which each figure and everything else is made would be well worth the while of any painter to study, even if he were Apelles. This temple is 35 *bracas* long, 25 wide and about 4 high. And what greater monument to pride could men fashion than to hollow out a very hard natural rock by means of iron and sheer tenacity, and thereby to enter into such vast spaces?

(c) 'Remarkable' and 'stupendous' temple, the Mahesa-murti "curious and beautiful crown on the head," Portuguese historian, Diego do Couto[3]

…not only the figures looked very beautiful, but the features and workmanship could be very distinctly perceived, so that neither in silver or wax could such figures be engraved with greater nicety, fineness or perfection…

The From the pavement of this chapel issued a body from the waist upwards of so enormous size, that it fills the whole vacuum in length and breadth of the chapel: it has three large faces, the middle one looks to the north, the second to the west, and the other to the east. Each of these faces has two hands, and on the neck two large necklaces, wrought with considerable perfection. The figures have on their heads three very beautiful crowns.

…[the interior was covered with a fine coat of lime and bitumen which] made the Pagoda so bright, that it looked very beautiful and was worth seeing.

(d) Figures so well cut, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[4]

…and round about the wals are cut and formed, the shapes of Elephants, Lions, Tigers…Amazones and [many] other [deformed] things of divers sorts, which are all so well [and workmanlike] cut, that it is strange to behold.

(e) Miraculous work, defaced by Portuguese, John Fryer[5]

Having in a Week's time compleated my Business, returning the same way, we steered by the S*outh* side of the Bay, purposely to touch at *Elephanto,* so called from a monstrous Elephant cut out of the main Rock, bearing a Young one on its Back; not far from it the Effigies of an Horse stuck up to the Belly in the Earth in the Valley; from thence we clambered up the highest Mountain on the Island, on whose Summit was a miraculous Piece hewed out of solid Stone: It is supported with Forty two *Corinthian* Pillars, being a Square, open on all sides but towards the *East;* where stands a Statue with three Heads, crowned with strange Hieroglyphicks: At the *North* side in an high *Portuco* stands an Altar, guarded by Giants, and immured by a Square Wall; all along, the Walls are loaded with huge Giants, some with eight hands, making their vanquished Knights stoop for mercy. Before this is a *Tank* full of water, and beyond that another Place with Images. This seems to be of later date than that of *Canorein* [Kanheri], though defaced by the *Portugals,* who have this Island also…

(f) Animal sculptures fascinating, statues designed to evoke reverence, J. Ovington[6]

Here likewise are the just dimensions of a Horse Carved in Stone, so lively with such a Colour and Carriage and the shape finisht with that Exactness,

that many have Fancyed it, at a distance, a living Animal, than only a bare Representation.

...These Figures have been Erected not barely for displaying the Statuary's skill, or gratifying the Curiosity of the Sight, but by their admirable Workmanship were more likely design'd to win upon the Admiration, and thereby gain a kind of Religious Respect from such Heathens as came near them.

2. The Pagoda of Salsette

(a) Made by spirits, Dom Joao de Castro[7]

A league and a half away from the destroyed city of Thana, among some vast mountains, there is a huge and high rock, almost spherical, inside which from the bottom right up to the top is carved out a large and noble space with many sumptuous temples and marvellous buildings. And this whole handiwork and group of dwellings is set in many rows, as in some palaces. In the whole of this building there is not a single image, column, house, portico, figure, pillar, cistern, temple, chapel or anything else which is not carved out of the very stone of this rock, a thing which certainly is not within the capability of mortals. Through many investigations, I believe this work to be so amazing that it is almost one of the seven wonders of the world, except if its worth were undermined by its seeming that men are not capable of it, and that the craft and possibility to achieve it did not lie within their understanding and power, but that it was made by spirits and diabolical art. As for me I am in no doubt of it at all. And supposing that it is so, even then it is a difficult thing to be able to believe that this skill is so powerful as to make something which nature would find difficult.

(b) Images cut out of rock, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[8]

By the town of Bassaym…there lyeth an Island called Salsette. There are two of the most renowned Pagodes, or temples, or rather holes wherein the Pagodes stand in all India…Images therein cut out of the [very] rockes of the same hill, with most horrible and fearefull [forms and] shapes…all the chambers…are all full of carved Pagodes, of so fearefull, horrible and develish formes [and shapes] that it is [an abomination to see].

3. Destruction of temple in Goa by the Portuguese, letter by the Florentine, Andrea Corsali in 1515 to Duke Giuliano de' Medici[9]

In this land of Goa and the whole of India there are numerous ancient edifices of the pagans. In a small island nearby called Divari, the Portuguese in order to build the land of Goa have destroyed an ancient temple called Pagoda, which was built with a marvellous artifice, with ancient figures of a certain black stone worked with the greatest perfection, of which some still remain standing in ruins and damaged because the Portuguese do not hold them in any esteem. If I could obtain one of these sculptures thus ruined, I would have sent it to your lordship, so that you may judge in what great esteem sculpture was held in antiquity.

4. Kanheri Caves

(a) Sculpted to perfection, "may certainly be reckoned one of the wonders – and perhaps the greatest in the world', Diego do Couto[10]

…in the centre of this Island there exists that wonderful Pagoda of Canari, thus called from its being supposed to have been the work of the Canaras. It is constructed at the foot of a great Hill of Stone of light grey colour; there is a beautiful Hall at its entrance, and in the yard that leads to the front back door, there are two human figures engraved on the same stone, twice as big as the Giants exhibited on the Procession of the Corpus Christi feast in Lisbon, so beautiful, elegant, and so well executed, that even in Silver they could not be better wrought and made with such perfection.

(b) City all cut of rock, John Fryer[11]

…Next Morn before Break of Day we directed our Steps to the anciently fame'd, but now ruin'd City of *Canorein;* the way to it is so delightsome, I thought I had been in *England;* fine Arable, Pasture, and Coppices; thus we passed Five Mile to the Foot of the Hill on which the City stands, and had passed half a Mile through a thick Wood, peopled by Apes, Tygers, wild Buffolo's, and Jackalls; here were some Flocks of Parockets: When we alighted, the Sun began to mount the *Horizon* over the Hills, and under our Feet, as if he had newly bathed his fiery Coursers; there appeared the Mouth of a *Tank,* or Aqueduct, out of a Rock, whose steaming Breath was very hot, but water cold: From hence it is thought the whole City to be supplied with Water; for as we ascend, we find such Places, where convenient, filled with Limpid Water, not over-matched in *India:* If it be so, (as I know not how to contradict it) that it should have its Current upwards,

through the hard Rocks artificially cut, the World cannot parallel so wonderful a Water-course!

From hence the Passage is uneasy and inaccessible for more than two abreast, till we come to the City, all cut out of a Rock; where is presented *Vulcan's Forge,* supported by two mighty Colosses, bellied in the middle with two Globes. Next a Temple with a beautiful Frontispiece not unlike the *Portuco* of St. *Paul's West Gate:* Within the Porch on each side stand two Monstrous Giants [the Chaitya Caves, the giants being Buddhas], where two Lesser and one Great Gate give a noble Entrance; it can receive no Light but at the Doors and Windows of the Porch, whereby it looks more solemnly; the Roof is Arched, seeming to be born up by huge Pillars of the same Rock, some Round, some Square, 34 in number. The *Cornish* Work of Elephants, Horses, Lions; at the upper end it rounds like a Bow; near where stands a great Offertory somewhat Oval, the Body of it without Pillars, they only making a narrow Piatzo about, leaving the Nave open: It may be an 100 Feet in Length, in Height 60 Feet or more.

The Darbar cave

Beyond this, by the same Mole-like Industry, was worked out a Court of Judicature (as those going to shew it will needs give Names) or Place of Audience, 50 Feet square, all bestuck with Imagery, Well Engraven according to old Sculpture. On the Side, over against the Door, sate one Superintendent, to whom the *Brachmin* went with us, paid great Reverence, not speaking of him without a token of worship; whom we called *Jougy* [jogi], or the Holy Man; under this the way being made into handsome Marble Steps, are the King's Stables, not different from the Fashion of our Noblemens Stables, only at the head of every Stall seems to be a *Dormitory,* or Place for Devotion, with Images, which gave occasion to doubt if ever for that End; or rather made for an Heathen Seminary of Devotes and these their Cells or Chappels, and the open Place their Common Hall or School: More aloft stood the King's Palace, large, stately and magnificent, surrounded with lesser of the Nobility.

Portuguese attempts to destroy the caves

To see all, would require a Month's time; but that we might see as much as could be in our allotted time, we got upon the highest part of the Mountain, where we feasted our Eyes with innumerable Entrances of these Cony-

burrows, but could not see one quarter part. Whose Labour this should be, or for what purpose, is out of memory; but this Place by the *Gentiles* is much adored…the *Portugals,* who are now Masters of *it,* strive to erace the remainders of this *Herculean* Work, that it may sink into the oblivion of its Founders.

(c) One of the greatest wonders in Asia, Giovanni Careri[12]

The *Pagod* or Temple of the *Canarin,* whereof I intended to give an exact and true account, is one of the greatest wonders in Asia; as well because it is look'd upon as the Work of Alexander the Great, as for its extraordinary and incomparable Workmanship, which certainly could be undertaken by none but Alexander. What I most admire is that it is almost unknown to Europeans; for tho' I have made much enquiry, I do not find that any *Italian,* or other *European* Traveller has writ of it…

I climb'd the bare Craggy Rock with the Idolater, at the top whereof on the East side the great *Pagod* is hewn out, with other small ones by it.

The first piece of Workmanship that appears, consists of two large Columns, 2 Spans high, the third part of them from the bottom upwards is square, the middle part Octangular, and the top round. Their Diameter is six Spans; they are fifteen spans distant from one another, and each of them eight from the Rock, which is cut after the same manner. These Columns support a Stone Architrave forty four Spans long, four in thickness and eight in breadth; cut like the rest out of the same Rock. These 3 Porticos lead into a sort of Hall or Passage Room, four Spans long, cut in the same Rock. At the end of it are three Doors, one fifteen Spans high, and eight in Breadth, which is the middlemost, and two others four Spans square on the sides, which are the way into a lower place. Over these Doors is a Cornish four Spans broad, of the same Stone; over which thirty Spans above the Ground, there are other such Doors, or Windows cut in the Rock. At the same height, there are little Grots, or Dens, six Spans high, of which the middlemost is the biggest. Thirty four Spans above the Ground, in the same place is such another Grot. It is no easy matter to conceive what the use of all this was…

On the same side is the Famous *Pagod of the Canarin* [the Great Chaitya Cave]. The Entrance to it is through an opening forty Spans Spans long, in a Wall of the same Stone, fifty Spans long, and eight Spans thick, on which

there are three Statues. On the right Hand before you go into the *Pagod*, is a round Grot, above fifty Spans about, in which round the Wall, there are many Statues sitting, and some standing, and one on the left, is bigger than the rest. In the middle rises a round *Cupola*, cut out of the same Rock, like a Pillar of the same Stone, with several Characters carv'd about it, which no Man can ever explain. Going into the first Porch of the *Pagod*, which is 50 Spans square, there are on the sides two Columns 60 Spans high, with their Capitals, and six Spans Diameter. On that upon the Right Hand coming in, there are two Statues. Beyond these Columns at the entrance of a Grot, on the left there are two great Statues standing, and looking at one another. Still further in are two vast big Statues on the Left, and one on the Right of the Door, all standing, with several little Statues by them, only within the space of that Porch; for going into the adjoyning Grot, which is 24 Spans square, there is nothing worth observing. On the right Hand, where the Lions are, there are no Statues, but two large Vessels upon convenient Pedestals.

Hence there are three equal Doors thirty Spans high, and eight broad, but that in the middle even with the Floor, those on the sides five Spans above it, into another plain Place. Here there are four Columns twelve Spans high, standing on the Rock it self, between the five Windows that give Light to the *Pagod*. On the right side of the Door there are some unknown Letters worn with Age, as is all the rest of the Work. In this Place on the sides, besides several small Figures, there are two vast Statues of Giants standing, above twenty five Spans high; shewing their right Hands open, and holding a Garment in the left, on their Heads the same Caps, and in their Ears Pendents after the *Indian* Fashion.

At the Entrance of the great Gate of the *Pagod*, which is fifteen Spans high, and ten in breadth, there are on the Right four Statues standing, one of which is a Woman holding a Flower in her Hand; and twelve other less, some sitting and some standing, with their Hands on their Breasts, and something in them. On the left are four other Statues, two whereof are Women, with large Rings about their Ancles of the same Stone, and sixteen little Statues on their sides, some sitting, some standing, and some with their Hands on their Breasts, as was said before. Over the said Door there are other two great ones, and as many opposite to them, with three little ones standing. On the left Hand within is another Inscription in the same

Character: Over the Arch of this Door is a Window forty Spans wide, which is the width of the *Pagod*, with a Stone like an Architrave in the middle, supported on the inside by two Octangular Pillars.

The *Pagod* is Arch'd, forty Spans in breadth, and one Hundred in length, and rounded at the end, besides the four Columns at the Entrance, there are thirty more within, which divide it into three Isles; seventeen of them have Capitals, and Figures of Elephants on them, the rest are Octangular and Plain. The space between the Columns and the Rock, that is, the breadth of the side Isles is six Spans. At the end of the *Pagod*, there is a sort of round *Cupola*, thirty Spans high, and sixteen of my Paces about, cut in the same Rock, but not hollow within. I believe it serv'd for some use, which we being Ignorant of the ancient Customs of those Times cannot guess at. I know not what Judgment *Portuguese* Authors make of it, because their Books are scarce at *Naples*; but they it is certain are well acquainted with it, the Viceroys themselves sometimes coming from *Goa* to see it; yet it is most likely they could never discover the Truth.

All that has been hitherto Describ'd is Cut in the very Rock, without any Addition to the Statues, or any thing that may be parted. But on the Floor of the *Pagod* there are several hew'd Stones, which perhaps serv'd for Steps to some Structure.

Coming out of the *Pagod*, and ascending fifteen Steps, all cut in the Rock, I found two Cisterns of Rain-Water, good to Drink; and as many Steps above that, a Grott sixteen Spans square, and a great one further on with much Water standing in it. Mounting twenty Spaces higher, I found another Grott twenty Spans square, which led to another of the same Dimensions, and that into one of twelve. In the first was a rising Window with Steps to it cut in the Rock, with two Columns near a small Cistern…

5. Ellora, surpassing human force, Jean de Thevenot[13]

…The first thing I saw were very high Chappels, and I entered into a Porch cut out of the Rock, which is of a dark grayish Stone, and on each side of that Porch, there is a Gigantick figure of a Man cut out of the natural Rock [the dwarapalas, door-keepers on the north side of the court of the Kailash temple], and the Walls are covered all over with other figures in relief, cut in the same manner. Having passed that Porch, I found a Square Court [court of the Kailash temple], an hundred paces every way: The Walls are

the natural Rock, which in that place is six Fathom high, Perpendicular to the Ground-plat, and cut as smooth and even, as if it were Plaster smoothed with a Trewel. Before all things, I resolved to view the outside of that Court, and I perceived that these Walls, or rather the Rock hangs, and that it is hollowed underneath; so that the void space makes a Gallery almost two Fathom high, and four or five broad: It hath the Rock for Ground, and is supported only by a row of Pillars cut in the Rock, and distant from the floor of the Gallery, about the length of a Fathom, so that it appears as if there were two Galleries. Everything there is extreamly well cut, and it is really a wonder to see so great a Mass in the Air, which seems so slenderly under-propped, that one can hardly forbear to shiver at first entering into it…

I entered into a great Temple built in the Rock [the Kailash temple built by the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna in the 8th century]; it has a flat Roof, and adorned with Figures in the inside, as the Walls of it are: In that Temple there are eight rows of Pillars in length, and six in breadth, which are about a Fathom distant from one another.

The Temple is divided into three parts: The Body of it, (which takes up two thirds and a half of the length,) is the first part, and is of an equal breadth all over; the Quire, which is narrower, makes the second part; And the third, which is the end of the Temple, is the least, and looks only like a Chappel; in the middle whereof, upon a very high Basis, there is a Gigantick Idol, with a Head as big as a Drum, and the rest proportionable. All the Walls of the Chappel are covered with Gigantick Figures in relief, and on the outside all round the Temple, there are a great many little Chappels adorned with Figures of an ordinary bigness in relief, representing Men and Women, embracing one another.

Leaving this place, I went into several other Temples of different structure, built also in the Rock, and full of Figures, Pilasters, and Pillars: I saw three Temples, one over another, which have but one Front all three [the Tin Thal, or three-storeyed cave temple, the last of the twelve Buddhist caves at Ellora]; but it is divided into three Stories, supported with as many rows of Pillars, and in every Story, there is a great door for the Temple; the Stair-cases are cut out of the Rock. I saw but one Temple that was Arched, and therein I found a Room, whereof the chief Ornament is a square Well, cut in the Rock, and full of Spring-water, that rises within two or three foot of the

brim of the Well. There are vast numbers of Pagods all along the Rock, and there is nothing else to be seen for above two Leagues: They are all Dedicated to some Heathen Saints, and the Statue of the false Saint, (to which everyone of them is Dedicated,) stands upon a Basis at the farther end of the Pagod…

However it be, if one consider that number of spacious Temples, full of Pillars and Pilasters, and so many thousands of Figures, all cut out of a natural Rock, it may be truly said that they are Works surpassing humane force; and that at least, (in the Age wherein they have been made,) the Men have not been altogether Barbarous, though the Architecture and Sculpture be not so delicate as with us. I spent only two hours in seeing what now I have described, and it may easily be judged, that I needed several days to have examined all the rarities of that place…I broke off my curiosity, and I must confess it was with regret…

TEMPLES

6. The Hariharesvara temple, a work of rare beauty, pillars appear as if made in Italy, Domingo Paes[14]

…I shall speak of the city of Darcha, which has a monument such as can seldom be seen elsewhere [18 leagues from Bisnaga, possibly the Hariharesvara temple on the banks of Tungabhadra at Harihar]…This Darcha has a pagoda, which is the monument I speak of, so beautiful that another as good of its kind could not be found within a great distance. You must know that it is a round temple made of a single stone, the gateway all in the manner of joiners' work, with every art of perspective. There are many figures of the said work, standing out as much as a cubit from the stone, so that you see on every side of them, so well carved that they could not be better done – the faces as well as all the rest; and each one in its place stands as if embowered in leaves; and above it is in the Romanesque style, so well made that it could not be better. Besides this, it has a sort of lesser porch upon pillars, all of stone, and the pillars with their pedestals so well executed that they appear as if made in Italy; all the cross pieces and beams are of the same stone without any planks or timber being used in it, and in the same way all the ground is laid with the same stone, outside as well as in. And all this pagoda, as far round as the temple goes, is enclosed by a trellis made of the same stone, and this again is completely surrounded

by a very strong wall, better even than the city has, since it is all of solid masonry. It has three entrance gates, which gates are very large and beautiful, and the entrance from one of these sides, being towards the east and facing the door of the pagoda, has some structures like verandahs, small and low, where sit some Jogis; and inside this enclosure, which has other little pagodas of a reddish colour, there is a stone like mast of a ship, with its pedestal four-sided, and from thence to the top eight-sided, standing in the open air. I was not astonished at it, because I have seen the needle of St. Peter's at Rome, which is as high, or more.

Ganesh image at temple

…In this temple of Darcha is an idol in the figure of a man as to his body, and the face is that of an elephant with trunk and tusks, and with three arms on each side and six hands, of which arms they say that already four are gone, and when all fall then the world will be destroyed; they are full of belief that this will be, and hold it as a prophecy. They feed the idol every day, for they say that he eats; and when he eats women dance before him who belong to that pagoda, and they give him food and all that is necessary, and all girls born of these women belong to the temple.

7. The Four Temples, Chidambaram, Francois Martin[15]

We spent the night at Chidambaram, or The Four Temples as it is called by cartographers…The Four Temples are built in the form of four high towers which can be seen from far away. Chidambaram is an important centre. They have built a kind of fort within the precincts of the four temples.

8. Nagapatam, Jan Nieuhof in 1682[16]

…not far from the city is a Pagode…called Tzina, the Pinacle of which reaches to the very Clouds, the Inhabitants believe that it was built by the Devil, and that in one Night…

9. A beautiful temple near Pulicat, Jan Nieuhof[17]

…the lofty and most ancient Pagode, call'd Tyripopeliri…at a little Distance from the Sea-shoar,…of which I had the Curiosity to take a full View. It is an ancient Structure, the front of which is adorn'd with many Statues Artificially cut in Stone. It is surrounded by a Wall with a Gallery on top of it, over which are placed a great Number of large Coffins, which rest upon Statues of divers Figures…The Walls are made of blue Stones,

which are brought thither a vast way, out of the Country, and most Artfully joined together.

10. Some temples in the North

(a) In Chittor, Sir Thomas Roe[18]

…toombe of woonderfull magnificence…100 churches all of carved stone…

(b) A delicate grove at Todah, Sir Thomas Roe[19]

[full of] little temples and altars of pagods and gentilliticall idolatrye, many…wells, tancks and summer houses of carved stone, curiously arched; so that I must confess a banished Englishman might have beene content to dwell there.

(c) A temple in ruins at Sidhpur, possibly destroyed by Moors, Peter Mundy[20]

Here is a Hindooe Dewra ruinated, it seems by Moores envieing its beautie, adorned on the outside with the best Carved worke that I have seene in India, verie spacious and high, yett not a handbreadth from the foote to the topp but was Curiously wrought with the figures of men and weomen etts. their fabulous stories. Now the said Edifice is defaced by the throwing downe the Copulaes, Arches and pillars thereof, breaking the Armes, Leggs and Noses of the said images…

(d) Joshimath in 1631, Jesuit missionary Francisco de Azevedo[21]

…in front of the main entrance of this pagoda…the statue of an angel made of bronze, very splendid, and the whole very artistic, not only the statue itself but more specially the features.

(e) The Jain temple of Cintamani at Ahmedabad, destroyed by Aurangzeb in 1644-6, rebuilt by the merchant Santidas, John Albert de Mandelslo[22]

…the principal Mosquey of the Benjans, which without dispute is one of the noblest structures that can be seen…The Mosquey stands in the middle of a great Court…all about which there is a gallery, much after the manner of our Cloysters in Monasteries…

(f) Santidas's pagod converted into a mosque by Aurangzeb, Jean de Thevenot[23]

Amedabad being inhabited also by a great number of Heathens, there are *Pagods,* or Idol-Temples it. That which was called the *Pagod* of *Santidas* [temple of Chintaman built by Shantidas, a Jain merchant, in 1638 at a cost of nine lakh rupees] was the chief, before *Auran Zeb* converted it into a Mosque. When he performed that Ceremonie, he caused a Cow to be killed in the place, knowing very well, that after such an Action, the Gentiles according to their Law, could worship no more therein. All round the Temple there is a Cloyster furnished with lovely Cells, beautified with Figures of Marble in relief, representing naked Women sitting after the Oriental fashion. The inside Roof of the Mosque is pretty enough, and the Walls are full of the Figures of Men and Beasts; but *Auranzeb,* who hath always made a shew of an affected Devotion, which at length raised him to the Throne, caused the Noses of all these Figures which added a great deal of Magnificence to that *Mosque,* to be beat off [broken].

11. Some observations on Hindu temples

(a) G. P. Maffei [1588], official historian of Jesuit missions[24]

[temples]…which are able to compete in magnificence with the most superb of ancient Rome.

(b) Jesuit historian, Du Jarric [1608][25]

Temples fort somptueux & magnifiques.

(c) The temple at Nagarkot, Edward Terry[26]

…most richly set forth, both scaled and paved with plate of pure gold.

(d) On temples in the south and the most celebrated Rameshwaram, Philipp Baldaeus[27]

In the choice of the Places [for temples], and manner of Building, they follow rather their Instinct or pretended Inspiration, than any general Rule…These Pagodes are on the Coast of Malabar most commonly built of Marble, and on the Coast of Coromandel, of very large square stone; such is the most celebrated Pagode at Rammanakojel, a vast Structure…of which I have been an eyewitness myself…The Pagodes of the Malabars are generally cover'd with Copper, adorn'd with Balls gilt on the top; within and without stand their Idols with many Heads and Arms, surrounded on sides with Serpents. The Pagode is enclosed by a Brick-wall, for the reception of the People, who don't enter the Pagode, but perform their

Worship in the Court…Hence it is that the Gates are well guarded, being commonly either of Marble or covered with Brass, with the Figures of Elephants, Tygers, Bears, and Lyons upon them.

(e) Vishnu and Shiva temples higher than others, Abraham Roger[28]

The Pagodas of Wistnou [Vishnu] and Eswara [Shiva] are well built and higher than those which are built for lesser gods…the towers are sometimes high, like, among others, the towers of the Pagoda near Tegnepatram.

(f) Rare and admirable works, Thomas Bowrey[29]

Many, yea most of their Pagods, are very Stately buildings of stone of curious workman Ship of the Same, representing all Sorts of musick and dances to theire Gods, and are Surrounded with cloysters of marble, flat roofed with large and Exceedingly fine marble, Supported with Pillars of the Same, flagged below alsoe with marble, with walks to the great gate of the Pagod…The Entrance vizt. the Great gate of Some of these Pagods, I have often Observed, are most rare and Admirable worke, vizt. a man on horseback cut out in one Entire piece Set upon each Side one full as bigge or bigger than any naturall ones, all of marble, and, which is more rare, I have seen within some of these great Pagods, a large Cart and 2 horses, with all their appurtenances, cut out of an entire Stone.

B. Tanks and Lakes

1. A water tank at Hospet made by the king of Vijayanagar, Domingo Paes[30]

…the king made a tank there, which, as it seems to me, has the width of a falconshot, and it is at the mouth of two hills, so that all the water which comes from either one side or the other collects there; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside. This water is brought from a lake which itself overflows into a little river.

The tank has three large pillars handsomely carved with figures; these connect above with certain pipes by which they get water when they have to irrigate their gardens and rice-fields. In order to make this tank the said king broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men, looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked, so many there were; this tank the king portioned out amongst his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work, and that the tank was finished and brought to completion.

2. A great engineering feat, Fernao Nuniz[31]

This King [Ajaro, identified with Bukka II] made in the city of Bisnaga many walls and towers and enclosed it anew. Now the city at that time was of no use, there being no water in it by which could be raised gardens and orchards, except the water of the Nagumdym which was far from it, for what water there was in the country was all brackish and allowed nothing to grow; and the King, desiring to increase that city and make it the best in the kingdom, determined to bring to it a very large river which was at a distance of five leagues away, believing that it would cause much profit if brought inside the city. And so he did, damming the river itself with great boulders; and according to story he threw in a stone so great that it alone made the river follow the King's will. It was dragged thither by a number of elephants of which there are many in the kingdom; and the water so brought he carried through such parts of the city as he pleased. This water proved of such use to the city that it increased his revenue by more than three hundred

and fifty thousand *pardaos*. By means of this water they made round about the city a quantity of gardens and orchards and great groves of trees and vineyards, of which this country has many, and many plantations of lemons and oranges and roses, and other trees which in this country bear very good fruit. But on this turning of the river they say the King spent all the treasure that had come to him from the king his father, which was a very great sum of money...

3. An antique tank at Merta, William Finch[32]

…a very faire tanke…

4. Water tank at Surat, Pietro Della Valle[33]

Of remarkable things without the city, there is on one side a very large Cistern, or Artificial Pool, surrounded with stone-work, and contriv'd with many sides, and angles at which there are stairs, leading down to the surface of the water. In the midst stands a little Island, which cannot be gone to but by boat, or swimming. The Diametre of this Artificial Lake is two good furlongs, which in our parts would seem a competent largeness, but here 'tis not much; and this Fish pond of *Surat* is not accounted among the greatest, but the least, in *India;* where indeed they are numerous, and the most magnificent, and goodly structures, or rather, the only structures in this Country which have anything of magnificence, or handsomeness. They are made in divers places by Princes, Governours of Countries, or other wealthy persons, for the publick benefit, and as works of Charity, because the soil, suitable to the Climate, is sufficiently hot, and aboundeth not in water: Rivers are not in all places; and other running waters, and springs, there are scarce any, especially in the more inland parts remote from the Sea: Rain likewise very seldome during the whole year, saving in that season, called by them Pansecal [Barsa-kal, rainy season], which signifies, *The time of rain,* being about three moneths, beginning about the middle of June, and during which time the Rain is continual, and very great…

Now, for that the Country is in some parts so *scarce of water*, many Cities and inhabited places have no other but the rain-water gather'd in these great Cisterns which are so capacious that one of them suffices a City for a whole year and more: And it not onely affords drink to men and animals but also they wash clothes and beasts in it when occasion requires, and make use of it to all purposes…

The *Cistern* or *Lake of Surat* hath a great trench adjoyn'd to it on one side, long, large and deep, over which certain small bridges are built; and it falls into another less Cistern a good way off, which though but small here, comparatively, would yet be a very large one in our parts. 'tis built with many sides of stone like the former, as also the banks of the Trench are…

This poole of Surat is called *Gopi Telau,* that is, the Poole of *Gopi*, which was his name who made it at his own charge. And although the King, who in those dayes rul'd over *Guzarat,* did what he could to have it called after his own name, yet that of the Builder has been justly retain'd by the vulgar, and remains to this day.

5. Stately tank at Daulatabad, Jean de Thevenot[34]

We saw a stately *Tanquie* at the Town of *Ambar*, it is square, and on three sides faced with Free-stone, with fair steps to go down to it: In the middle of the fourth side there is a Divan, that runs out into the Water about two Fathom; it is covered with Stone, and supported by sixteen Pillars a Fathom high: It stands at the foot of a fair House, from whence they go down into that Divan, by two fine pair of Stairs at the sides of it, there to take the Air and Divert themselves. Near the Divan there is a little Pagod under Ground, which receives day light by the door, and by a square airie, and many Devout People are there, because of the convenience of the Water.

6. A great reservatory at Sitanagar, Jean de Thevenot[35]

When I came down, I perceived at the foot of the Hill, on the East side, a building which I was not told of; I went thither alone with my *Pions*... Near to that Building, there is a Reservatory as broad as the *Seine* at *Paris;* but so long, that from the highest place I went to, I could not discover the length of it. In that Reservatory, there is another little Tanquie, seven or eight Fathom square, and Walled in: This Water bring below the House, there is a large pair of Stairs to go down to it; and about an hundred and fifty paces forward, in the great Reservatory opposite to the House, there is a square Divan or *Quiochque*, about eight or ten Fathom wide, the Pavement whereof is raised about a foot above the Water. That Divan is built and covered with the same Stone, that the House is built of: It stands upon sixteen Pillars, a Fathom and a half high, that's to say, each Front on four.

Seeing my Company kept on their March, I spent but half an hour in viewing that Building, which very well deserves many, as well for

examining the design of it, the nature of the Stones, their Cut, Polishing and Bigness; as for considering the Architecture, which is of a very good contrivace, and though it cannot absolutely be said to be of any of our Orders, yet it comes very near the Dorick.

C. Forts and Palaces

1. Delhi, ancient stone pillar in front of Sultan's palace, William Finch[36]

…About 2 c. without Dely is the remainder of an auncient mole [*mahal*?] or hunting house, built by Sultan Berusa [Sultan Firoz Shah, the pillar referred to is the Asoka *lat* brought by him from Meerut], a great Indian monarch, with much curiositie of stoneworke. With and above the rest is to be seen a stone pillar, which, passing through three stories, is higher then all twenty foure foot, having at the top a globe and a halfe moone over it. This stone, they say, stands as much under the earth, and is placed in the water, being all one entire stone; some say Naserdengady, a Potan king [probably Nasiruddin Tughlak, son of Firoz Shah], would have taken it up and was prohibited by multitude of scorpions, and that it hath inscriptions. In divers parts of India the like are to be seene, and of late was found buried in the ground about Fettipore a stone piller of an hundred cubits length, which the King commanded to bring to Agra, but was broken in the way, to his great griefe.

2. Jalor Fort, William Finch[37]

Jeloure[Jalor]. This…is a castle seated on the height of a steepe mountaine, 3 c. in ascent, by a faire stone cawsey, broad enough for two men to passe abrest. At the first cose end is a gate and place of armes; there the cawsey is inclosed with wals on both sides; and at the 2 c. end is a double gate; at the 3 c. stands the castle, where you must enter three severall gates, the first very strongly plated with iron; the second not so strong, with places over it to throw downe scalding lead or oyle; the third strongly plated with pikes sticking forth, like harping irons. Betwixt each of these gates are spacious courts for armes, and within the further gate is a faire portcullis. Being entred, on the right hand stands a faire meskite, with divers devoncans adjoyning, both to doe justice and to take the aire. On the left hand stands the Governours house on the height of the hils, over-looking all. A flight-shot [bow-shot] within the castle is a faire pagode built by the founders of the castle, ancestors of Gidney Caun [possibly Ghazni or Ghaznin Khan of Jalor], which were Indians. He turned Moore and bereaved his elder brother of this hold by this stratageme.

3. Allahabad Fort, William Finch[38]

The towne and castle stand out on the further side of Ganges pleasantly seated, called anciently Praye [Prayag], and is held one of the wonders of the east. Divers Potan [Pathan] kings have sought to build here a castle, but none could doe it till Acabar [Akbar] layd the foundation and proceeded with the worke. It stands on a point or angle, having the river Gemini [Jumna] on the south side falling into Ganges. It hath beene fortie yeeres abuilding, and is not yet finished; neither is like to bee in a long time. The Acabar for many yeeres had attending this worke by report twentie thousand persons, and as yet there continue working thereon some five thousand of all sorts. It will be one of the most famous buildings of the world. In this castle Sha Selim kept, when he rebelled against his father. The outward wals are of an admirable height, of a red square stone, like Agra Castle; within which are two other wals nothing so high. You enter thorow two faire gates into a faire court, in which stands a piller of stone [the Asoka pillar in Allahabad fort] fiftie cubits above ground (so deeply placed within ground that no end can be found), which by circumstances of the Indians seemeth to have beene placed by Alexander or some other great conquerour, who could not passe further for Ganges. Passing this court your enter a lesse; beyond that a larger, where the King sits on high at his dersane to behold elephants and other beasts to fight. Right under him within a vault are many pagodes, being monuments of Baba Adam and Mama Havah [Adam and Eve] (as they call them) and of their progenie, with pictures of Noah and his descent. The Indians suppose that man was heere created, or kept heere at least for many yeeres, affirming themselves to be of that religion whereof these fathers were.

4. Royal palace at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle[39]

…we rode to the Palace, which stands in a Fort, or Citadel, of good largeness, incompass'd with a great Ditch and certain ill built bastions. At the entrance we found two very long, but narrow, Bulwarks. Within the Citadel are many Houses, and I believe there are shops also in several streets; for we pass'd through two Gates, at both of which there stood Guards, and all the distance between them was an inhabited street. We went through these two Gates on Horse-back, which, I believe, was a priviledge, for few did so besides ourselves, namely such onely as entered where the King was; the rest either remaining on Horse-back at the first Gate, or

alighting at the Entrance of the second. A third Gate also we enter'd, but on foot, and came into a kind of Court, about which were sitting in Porches many prime Courtiers and other persons of quality. Then we came to a fourth Gate, guarded with Souldiers, into which onely we *Franchi,* or Christians, and some few others of the Country, were suffer'd to enter…

5. King's palace at Calicut, Pietro Della Valle[40]

The first and principal gate of the Palace opens upon a little Piazza, which is beset with certain very great Trees affording a delightful shade. I saw no Guard before it; it was great and open; but before it was a row of Balusters, about four or five palms from the ground, which serv'd to keep out not only Horses and other Animals but also Men upon occasion. In the middle was a little flight of Stairs, outside the Gate, leading into it, and another within on the other side. Yet, I believe, both the Stairs and the Balusters are movable, because 'tis likely that when the King comes forth the Gate is quite open; otherwise it would not be handsome, but this is only my conjecture. We enter'd this Gate, ascending the Stairs above the Rails, where we were met by the Messenger whom the above-said person had sent to the King and who again invited us into the Palace by the King's Order. Within the Gate we found a great Court, of a long form, without any just and proportionate figure of Architecture; on the sides were many lodgings in several places, and in the middle were planted divers great Trees for shade. The King's chief apartment, and (as I believe by what I shall mention hereafter) where his Women were, was at the end of the Court, opposite to the left side of the Entrance. The Edifice, in comparison of ours, was of little consideration; but, according to their mode, both for greatness and appearance capable of a Royal Family. It had a cover'd porch, as all their structures have, and within that was a door of no great largeness leading into the House.

6. The castle at Mando [Malwa], Jean de Thevenot[41]

Though this Town lying at the foot of a Hill, be naturally strong by its Situation, it is nevertheless fortified with Walls and Towers, and has a Castle on the top of the Hill, which is steep, and encompassed with Walls six or seven Leagues in circuit. It is a very neat Town at present, but nothing to what it hath been heretofore: It appears by the Ruins all about, that it hath been much greater than it is, that it hath had two fair Temples, and many stately Palaces; and the sixteen large *Tanquies* or Reservatories,

which are to be seen still for keeping of Water, shew (that in former times) it hath been a place of great consequence.

7. Castle of Berampur [Khandesh], Jean de Thevenot[42]

The entry into the Castle [Badshahi Qila] is from the *Meidan,* and the chief Gate is betwixt two large Towers; the Walls of it are six or seven Fathom high; they have Battlements all round, and at certain intervals there are large round Towers which jet a great way out, and are about thirty paces Diametre. This Castle contains the Kings Palace, and there is no entring into it without permission; the *Tapty* running by the East side of that Town, there is one whole Front of the Castle upon the River-side, and in that part of it the Walls are full eight Fathom high, because there are pretty neat Galleries on the top, where the King (when he is at *Brampour)* comes to look about him, and to see the fighting of Elephants, which is commonly in the middle of the River; in the same place, there is a Figure of an Elephant done to the natural bigness, it is of a reddish shining Stone, the back parts of it are in the Water, and it leans to the left side; the Elephant (which that Statue represents) died in that place, fighting before *Cha-Gehan* (the Father of *Auran-Zeb)* who would needs erect a Monument to the Beast, because he loved it, and the Gentiles besmear it with Colours, as they do their Pagods…

8. Fatehpur Sikri, William Finch[43]

At 7c. on this way, and 12 c. from Agra, is seated the famous citie of Fetipore [Fatehpur Sikri], built by the Acabar, and inclosed with a faire stone wall, which yet standeth fresh, having foure faire and strong gates, it being some three English miles betwixt gate and gate. In the middest it is all ruinate, lying like a waste desart, and very dangerous to passe through in the night, the buildings lying wast without inhabitants; much of the ground beeing now converted to gardens, and much sowed with nill and other graine, that a man standing there would little thinke he were in the middest of a citie. To the entrance of the gate from Agra, some course in length upon a stony ascent, lie the ruines of the suburbs; as also without the southwest gate for two English miles in length, many faire buildings being fallen to the ground; and on the left hand are many faire enclosed gardens, three miles alongst from the citie. At the entrance of the northeast gate is a goodly bazar (market place) of stone, halfe a mile long, being a spacious, straight-paved street, with faire buildings on either side. Close within the

gate is the Kings saray, with large stone lodgings, but much ruined. At the head of this street stands the Kings house and moholl, with much curious building; and on the further side hereof, upon an ascent, stands the goodliest meskite of the East [the Jama Masjid]. It hath some twentie foure or thirty steps of ascent to the gate [the Buland Darwaza], which is one of the highest and fairest (I suppose) in the whole world; on the top are a number of clustering pinnacles, curiously disposed. The top of this gate may be plainely seene eight or tenne miles distance. Within is a goodly spacious court, very curiously paved with free stone, about sixe times the largenesse of Londons Exchange, with faire large walkes alongst the side more then twice as broad and double the height of those about the Burse of London [the Royal Exchange], the pillars upholding them beeing of one intire stone; and round about are entrances into many goodly roomes, neatly contrived.

9. Agra Fort, Jean de Thevenot[44]

Though this Prince [Akbar] pretended to make *Agra* a place of consequence, yet he Fortified it not neither with ramparts, Walls, nor Bastions, but only with a Ditch, hopeing to make it so strong in Soldiers and Inhabitants, that it should not need to fear the attempts of any Enemy. The Castle was the first thing that was built, which he resolved to make the biggest at that time in the *Indies*; and the situation of the old one appearing good and commodious, he caused it to be demolished, and the foundations of the present to be laid. It was begirt with a Wall of Stone and Brick terrassed in several places, which is twenty Cubits high, and betwixt the Castle and River a large place was left for the exercises the King should think fit to divert himself with.

The Kings Palace is in the Castle. It contains three Courts adorned all round with Porches and Galleries that are Painted and Gilt; nay there are some peeces covered with plates of Gold. Under the Galleries of the first Court, there are Lodgings made for the Kings Guards: The Officers Lodgings are in the second; and in the third, the stately appartments of the King and his Ladies; from whence he goes commonly to a lovely Divan which looks to the River, there to please himself with seeing Elephants fight, his Troops exercise, and Plays which he orders to be made upon the Water, or in the open place.

This Palace is accompanied with five and twenty or thirty other very large ones, all in a line, which belong to the Princes and other great Lords of

Court; and all together afford a most delightful prospect to those who are on the other side of the River, which would be a great deal more agreeable, were it not for the long Garden-walls, which contribute much to the rendering the Town so long as it is. There are upon the same line several less Palaces and other Buildings. All being desirous to enjoy the lovely prospect and convenience of the Water of the *Gemna,* endeavoured to purchase ground on that side, which is the cause that the Town is very long but narrow, and excepting some fair Streets that are in it, all the rest are very narrow, and without Symmetry.

Before the Kings Palace, there is a very large Square, and twelve other besides of less extent within the Town. But that which makes the Beauty of *Agra* besides the Palaces I have mentioned, are the *Quervanseras* [caravan sarais] which are above threescore in number; and some of them have six large Courts with their Portico's, that give entry to very commodious Appartments, where stranger Merchants have their Lodgings: There are above eight hundred Baths in the Town, and a great number of Mosques, of which some serve for Sanctuary. There are many magnificent Sepulchres in it also, several great Men having had the ambition to build their own in their own life-time, or to erect Monuments to the memory of their Forefathers.

10. Emperor's palace, Delhi, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[45]

The Emperor's palace is a good half league in circuit. The walls are of fine cut stone, with battlements, and at every tenth battlement there is a tower. The fosses are full of water and are lined with cut stone. The principal gate has nothing magnificent about it, nor has the first court, where the nobles are permitted to enter on their elephants.

Leading from this court there is a long and wide passage which has on both sides handsome porticoes, under which there are many small chambers where some of the horse guards lodge. These porticoes are elevated about two feet from the ground, and the horses, which are fastened to rings outside, take their feed on the edge. In certain places there are large doors, which lead to different apartments, as to that of the women, and to the Judges' court. In the middle of this passage there is a channel full of water, which leaves a good roadway on either side, and forms little basins at equal distances. This long passage leads to a large court where the Omarhs, i.e. the great nobles of the kingdom, who resemble the Bachas [Pachas] in Turkey, and the Khans in Persia, constitute the bodyguard. There are low

chambers around this court for their use, and their horses are tethered outside their doors.

From this second court a third is entered by a large gate, by the side of which there is, as it were, a small room raised two or three feet from the ground. It is where the royal wardrobe is kept and whence the khil'at [robe of honour] is obtained whenever the Emperor wishes to honour a stranger or one of his subjects. A little farther on, over the same gate is the place where the drums, trumpets, and hautboys are kept [the Naggar-Khana], which are heard some moments before the Emperor ascends his throne of justice, to give notice to the Omrahs, and again when the Emperor is about to rise. When entering this third court you face the Divan where the Emperor gives audience. It is a grand hall elevated some four feet above the ground floor, and open on three sides. Thirty-two marble columns sustain as many arches, and these columns are about four feet square, with their pedestals and some mouldings [the Chihal Situn, hall of forty pillars]. When Shahjahan commenced the building of this hall he intended that it should be enriched throughout by wonderful works in mosaic, like those in the chapel of the Grand Duke In Italy; but having made a trial upon two or three pillars to the height of two or three feet, he considered that it would be impossible to find enough stones for so considerable a design, and that moreover it would cost an enormous sum of money; this compelled him to stop the work, and content himself with a representation of different flowers.

In the middle of this hall, and near the side overlooking the court, as in a theatre, they place the throne when the Emperor comes to give audience and administer justice. It is a small bed of the size of our camp beds, with its four columns, the canopy, the back, a bolster, and counterpane; all of which are covered with diamonds.

11. Red Fort, Delhi, Francois Bernier[46]

The entrance of the fortress presents nothing remarkable except two large elephants of stone, placed at either side of one of the principal gates. On one of the elephants is seated the statue of *Jemel,* the renowned Raja of *Chitor;* on the other is the statue of *Polta,* his brother. These are the brave heroes who, with their still braver mother, immortalised their names by the extraordinary resistance which they opposed to the celebrated *Ekbar*...

After passing into the citadel through this gate, there is seen a long and spacious street, divided in the midst by a canal of running water. . The street has a long divan, or raised way, on both sides, in the manner of the *Pontneuf,* five or six feet high and four broad. Bordering the divan are closed arcades, which run up the whole way in the form of gates. It is upon this long divan that all the collectors of market-dues and other petty officers exercise their functions without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass in the street below. The *Mansebdars* or inferior *Omrahs* mount guard on this raised way during the night. The water of the canal runs into the *Seraglio;* divides and intersects every part, and then falls into the ditches of the fortification. This water is brought from the river *Gemna* by means of a canal opened at a distance of five or six leagues above *Dehly,* and cut with great labour through fields and rocky ground.

The other principal gate of the fortress also conducts to a long and tolerably wide street, which has a divan on both sides bordered by shops instead of arcades. Properly speaking, this street is a *bazar,* rendered very convenient in the summer and the rainy season by the long and high arched roof with which it is covered. Air and light are admitted by several large round apertures in the roof.

Besides these two streets, the citadel contains many smaller ones, both to the right and to the left, leading to the quarters where the *Omrahs* mount guard, during four-and-twenty hours, in regular rotation, once a week. The places where this duty is performed may be called splendid, the O*mrahs* making it a point to adorn them at their own expense….

Large halls are seen in many places, called *Kar-kanays* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths; in a third, painters; in a fourth, varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors, and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. This article of dress, which lasts only a few hours, may cost ten or twelve crowns, and even more, when beautifully embroidered with needlework…

I must not forget the *Am-Kas* [Hall of Public Audience], to which you at length arrive, after passing the places just mentioned. This is really a noble

edifice: it consists of a large square court of arcades, not unlike our *Place Royale*, with this difference, however, that the arcades of the *Am-Kas* have no buildings over them. Each arcade is separated by a wall, yet in such a manner that there is a small door to pass from one to the other. Over the grand gate, situated in the middle of one side of this court, is a capacious divan, quite open on the side of the court, called the *Nagar-Kanay.* In this place, which thence derives its name, are kept the trumpets, or rather the hautboys and cymbals, which play in concert at certain hours of the day and night…

Opposite to the grand gate, which supports the *Nagar-Kanay,* as you cross the court, is a large and magnificent hall, decorated with several rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are all painted and overlaid with gold. The hall is raised considerably from the ground, and very airy, being open on the three sides that look into the court. In the centre of the wall that separates the hall from the *Seraglio,* and higher from the floor than a man can reach, is a wide and lofty opening, or large window [the celebrated jharokha], where the Monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left; while eunuchs standing about the royal person flap away the flies with peacocks' tails, agitate the air with large fans, or wait with undivided attention and profound humility to perform the different services allotted to each. Immediately under the throne is an enclosure, surrounded by silver rails, in which are assembled the whole body of *Omrahs,* the *Rajas,* and the *Ambassadors,* all standing, their eyes bent downward, and their hands crossed. At a greater distance from the throne are the *Mansebdars* or inferior *Omrahs,* also standing in the same posture of profound reverence. The remainder of the spacious room, and indeed the whole courtyard, is filled with persons of all ranks, high and low, rich and poor; because it is in this extensive hall that the King gives audience indiscriminately to all his subjects: hence it is called *Am-Kas,* or audience-chamber of high and low…

The grand hall of the *Am-Kas* opens into a more retired chamber, called the *Gosel-Kane,* or the place to wash in. Few persons are permitted to enter this room, the court of which is not so large as that of the *Am-Kas.* The hall is, however, very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted, and raised four or five French feet from the pavement, like a large platform. It is in this place that the King; seated in a chair, his *Omrahs* standing around him, grants more

private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of state…

D. Town Planning

Shahjahanabad, Francois Bernier[47]

The two principal streets of the city, already mentioned as leading into the square, may be five-and-twenty or thirty ordinary paces in width. They run in a straight line nearly as far as the eye can reach; but the one leading to the *Lahor* gate is much the longer. In regard to houses the two streets are exactly alike. As in our *Place-Royale,* there are arcades on both sides; with this difference, however, that they are only brick, and that the top serves for a terrace and has no additional building. They also differ from the *Place Royale* in not having an uninterrupted opening from one to the other, but are generally separated by partitions, in the spaces between which are open shops, where, during the day, artisans work, bankers sit for the dispatch of their business, and merchants exhibit their wares. Within the arch is a small door, opening into a ware-house, in which these wares are deposited for the night.

The houses of the merchants are built over these ware-houses, at the back of the arcades: they look handsome enough from the street, and appear tolerably commodious within; they are airy, at a distance from the dust, and communicate with the terrace-roofs over the shops, on which the inhabitants sleep at night; the houses, however, are not continued the whole length of the streets. A few, and only a few, other parts of the city have good houses raised on terraces, the buildings over the shops being often too low to be seen from the street. The rich merchants have their dwellings elsewhere, to which they retire after the hours of business.

There are five streets, not so long nor so straight as the two principal ones, but resembling them in every other respect. Of the numberless streets which cross each other, many have arcades; but having been built at different periods by individuals who paid no regard to symmetry, very few are so well built, so wide, or so straight as those I have described.

Amid these streets are dispersed the habitations of *Mansebdars* or petty *Omrahs,* officers of justice, rich merchants, and others; many of which have a tolerable appearance. Very few are built entirely of brick or stone, and several are made only of clay and straw, yet they are airy and pleasant, most of them having courts and gardens, being commodious inside and containing good furniture. The thatched roof is supported by a layer of long,

handsome, and strong canes, and the clay walls are covered with a fine white lime…

E. Mosques

Jama Masjid, Delhi, Francois Bernier[48]

…the principal *Mosquee...* is conspicuous at a great distance, being situated on the top of a rock in the centre of the town. The surface of the rock was previously levelled, and around it a space is cleared sufficiently large to form a handsome square, where four fine long streets terminate, opposite to the four sides of the *Mosquee;* one, opposite to the principal entrance, in front of the building; a second, at the back of the building; and the two others, to the gates that are in the middle of the two sides. The ascent to the three gates is by means of five-and-twenty or thirty steps of beautiful and large stones, which are continued the whole length of the front and sides. The back part is cased over, to the height of the rock, with large and handsome hewn stone, which hides its inequalities, and tends to give a noble appearance to the building. The three entrances, composed of marble, are magnificent, and their large doors are overlaid with finely wrought plates of copper. Above the principal gate, which greatly exceeds the others in grandeur of appearance, there are several small turrets of white marble that produce a fine effect; and at the back part of the *Mosquee* are seen three large domes, built also of white marble, within and without. The middle dome is much larger and loftier than the other two. The end of the *Mosquee* alone is covered: the space between the three domes and the principal entrance is without any roof; the extreme heat of the climate rendering such an opening absolutely necessary. The whole is paved with large slabs of marble. I grant that this building is not constructed according to those rules of architecture which we seem to think ought to be implicitly followed; yet I can perceive no fault that offends the taste; every part appears well contrived, properly executed, and correctly proportioned. I am satisfied that even in *Paris* a church erected after the model of this temple would be admired, were it only for its singular style of architecture, and its extra-ordinary appearance. With the exception of the three great domes, and the numerous turrets, which are all of white marble, the *Mosquee* is of a red colour, as if built with large slabs of red marble: although it consists of a species of stone, cut with great facility, but apt to peel off in flakes after a certain time.

F. Mausoleums

1. Mausoleum of Moiuddin Chishti at Ajmer, William Finch[49]

Asmere [Ajmer], seated upon the top of an inaccessible mountaine of 3c. ascent, being a fort invincible; the citie at the foot not great, inclosed with a stone wall, ditched round, the buildings reasonable faire; without the wals are many antiquities, amongst which, some 2 c. toward Agra, is a very faire tanke [Ana Sagar]. This place is only famous for the sepulchre of Hoghee Mundee [Muinuddin Chishti], a saint much respected by the Mogols, to whom (as is said before) the Acabar made a romery on foot from Agra to obtayne a sonne. Before you come to this tombe you passe three faire courts, of which the first contayneth neere an acre of ground, paved all with blacke and white marble, wherein are interred many of Mahomets cursed kindred; on the left hand is a faire tanke inclosed with stone. The second court is paved like the former, but richer, twice as bigge as the Exchange in London; in the middest whereof hangs a curious candlesticke with many lights. Into the third you passe by a brazen gate curiously wrought; it is the fairest of the three, especially neere the doore of the sepulchre, where the pavement is curiously interlayed; the doore is large and inlayed with mother of pearle, and the pavement about the tombe of interlaid marble; the sepulchre very curiously wrought in worke of mother of pearle and gold, with an epitaph in the Persian tongue. A little distant stands his seate in a darke obscure place, where he sat to fore-tell of matters, and is much reverenced. On the east-side stand three other courts, in each a faire tanke; on the north and west stand divers faire houses, wherein keepe their sides [Arabic *saiyid,* 'lord'] or church-men. Note that you may not enter any of these places but bare-foot.

2. Tombs at Agra, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[50]

As for the tombs in Agra and its environs, there are some which are very beautiful, and every eunuch in the Emperor's harem is ambitious to have as magnificent a tomb built for himself. When they have amassed large sums they earnestly desire to go to Mecca, and take with them rich presents; but the Great Mogul, who does not wish the money to leave his country, very seldom grants them permission, and consequently, not knowing what to do with their wealth, they expend the greater part of it in these burying-places, and thus leave some memorial.

Taj Mahal

Of the tombs at Agra, that of the wife of Shahjahan is the most splendid…I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this great work, on which twenty-two years have been spent, during which twenty thousand men worked incessantly; this is sufficient to enable one to realise that the cost of it has been enormous. It is said that the scaffoldings alone cost more than the entire work, because, from want of wood, they, as well as the supports of the arches, had all to be made of brick; this has entailed much labour and heavy expenditure. Shahjahan began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war with his sons interrupted his plan, and Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it. A eunuch in command of 2,000 men guards both the tomb of the Begam and the Tasimacan, to which it is near at hand.

3. Taj, Francois Bernier[51]

…Resuming the walk along the main terrace, you see before you at a distance a large dome, in which is the sepulchre, and to the right and left of that dome on a lower surface you observe several garden walks covered with trees and many parterres full of flowers.

When at the end of the principal walk or terrace, besides the dome that faces you, are discovered two large pavilions, one to the right, another to the left, both built with the same kind of stone, consequently of the same red colour as the first pavilion. These are spacious square edifices, the parts of which are raised over each other in the form of balconies and terraces; three arches leave openings which have the garden wall for a boundary, and you walk under these pavilions as if they were lofty and wide galleries. I shall not stop to speak of the interior ornaments of the two pavilions, because they scarcely differ in regard to the walls, ceiling, or pavement from the dome which I am going to describe. Between the end of the principal walk and this dome is an open and pretty large space, which I call a water-parterre because the stones on which you walk, cut and figured in various forms, represent the borders of box in our parterres. From the middle of this space you have a good view of the building which contains the tomb, and which we are now to examine.

This building is a vast dome of white marble nearly of the same height as the *Val De Grace* of *Paris,* and encircled by a number of turrets, also of

white marble, descending the one below the other in regular succession. The whole fabric is supported by four great arches, three of which are quite open and the other closed up by the wall of an apartment with a gallery attached to it. There the *Koran* is continually read with apparent devotion in respectful memory of *Tage Mehale* by certain *Mullahs* kept in the mausoleum for that purpose. The centre of every arch is adorned with white marble slabs whereon are inscribed large *Arabian* characters in black marble, which produce a fine effect. The interior or concave part of the dome and generally the whole of the wall from top to bottom are faced with white marble: no part can be found that is not skillfully wrought, or that has not its peculiar beauty. Everywhere are seen the jasper, and *jachen,* or jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the *Grand Duke's* chapel at *Florence,* and several more of great value and rarity, set in an endless variety of modes, mixed and enchased in the slabs of marble which face the body of the wall. Even the squares of white and black marble which compose the pavement are inlaid with these precious stones in the most beautiful and delicate manner imaginable.

Under the dome is a small chamber, wherein is enclosed the tomb of *Tage Mehale.* It is opened with much ceremony once in a year, and once only; and as no Christian is admitted within, lest its sanctity should be profaned, I have not seen the interior, but I understand that nothing can be conceived more rich and magnificent.

It only remains to draw your attention to a walk or terrace, nearly five-and-twenty paces in breadth and rather more in height, which runs from the dome to the extremity of the garden. From this terrace are seen the *Gemna* flowing below, a larger expanse of luxuriant gardens, a part of the city of *Agra,* the fortress, and all the fine residences of the *Omrahs* erected on the banks of the river. When I add that this terrace extends almost the whole length of one side of the garden, I leave you to judge whether I had not sufficient ground for asserting that the mausoleum of *Tage Mehale* is an astonishing work. It is possible I may have imbibed an Indian taste; but I decidedly think that this monument deserves much more to be numbered among the wonders of the world than the pyramids of *Egypt,* those unshapen masses which when I had seen them twice yielded me no satisfaction, and which are nothing on the outside but heaps of large stones

piled in the form of steps one upon another, while within there is very little that is creditable either to human skill or to human invention.

4. Mausoleum of Akbar, Jean de Thevenot[52]

King *Gehanguir* [Jahangir] caused one to be built for King *Ecbar* his Father, upon an eminence of the Town [at Sikandra]. It surpasses in magnificence all those of the *Grand Signiors,* but the fairest of all, is that which *Cha-Gehan* [Shah Jahan] Erected in honour of one of his Wives called *Tadge-Mehal* [Mumtaz Mahal], whom he tenderly loved, and whose death had almost cost him his life…

□

Chapter 6
Language, Literature and Education

A. Languages

B. Education

C. Palm leaf manuscripts

A. Languages

1. Father Thomas Stephens in a letter to his brother in October 1583[1]

There are many languages used in these countries. Their speech is not without charm; in composition it resembles Latin and Greek; phrases and constructions are worthy of our respect. The letters signify syllables, and they have as many shapes as there are possible combinations of consonants with vowels.

2. Indostan written in Nagari, Edward Terry[2]

For the language of this empire, I meane the vulgar, it is called Indostan; a smooth tongue, and easie to be pronounced, which they write as wee to the right hand [reference to Hindi or Gujarati, written in the *nagari* characters]. The learned tongues are Persian and Arabian, which they write backward, as the Hebrewes, to the left.

3. Fr. Henry Henriques, first European to prepare a Tamil grammar, on his progress in 1566[3]

…the *arte* had been perfected more this year than it was. I am convinced that, if I am sent some colleagues who for a whole year would do nothing other study it, they would be able at the end of that year to hear confessions.

4. The Malabar language, Philipp Baldaeus[4]

The *Malabars* write upon the leaves of the wild palm-trees with iron pencils; their letters are very antient, and distinguished into, (1) *Short or running letters;* (2) *Long ones;* (3) *Vowels;* (4) *Consonants;* (5) *Dipthongs;* (6) *Letters used only in the beginning of a word;* (7) *Such as are used only in the middle;* and *(8) Such as are used only in the end;*... And seeing that the *Malabar* letters have hitherto not appeared in publick print, either in *Holland* or *Germany,* it will not be amiss to alledge the reasons thereof, and to shew that this language is no less worth our care now-a-days, than the *Hebrew, Chaldean, Arabian, Persian, Samaritan,* and other languages.

5. The language of Brahmins, J. Ovington[5]

…the Bramins, who are deriv'd Bramon, who (they say) was one of the first Men that inhabited the World, have a Language used among them, but very difficult to be attain'd, which several of themselves therefore understand

not. It is the Learned Language among them, called the *Sanscreet*, and is the same with them as Latin is with us. In this the Records of their Nation, the Mysteries of their Theology, the Books of their Religion and Philosophy, and the Fables of their Priests, are writ.

B. Education

1. Pathashalas in Goa run by Brahmins before Portuguese advent, *Oriente Conquistado*[6]

They are entitled as Xenens [Brahmins], that is, masters, because in Koncan they alone teach other Brahmans to read, write and count. [*Pathashalas* were closed by Royal order of March 8, 1546 and replaced by *Escolas Paroquiais*].

2. On medical education offered to Hindu physicians in India, *Breve Relacao das Escrituras dos Gentios da India Oriental*[7]

All the opinions of the Gentios are found in their books (Vaidia-Xastra) which are used in schools where many students learn and come to the land of the Portuguese to be examined by the *Fisico-mor* (Chief Medical Officer), who is a European. Several times I heard him say that the Brahmans called Pandits treat patients much better than the Europeans who practise medicine in India.

3. A village school, learning by rote, Pietro Della Valle[8]

…I entertain'd myself in the Porch of the Temple beholding little boys learning Arithmetick after a strange manner, which I will here relate. They were four, and having all taken the same lesson from the Master, in order to get that same by heart and repeat likewise their former lessons and not forget them, one of them singing musically with a certain continu'd tone, (which hath the force of making deep impression in the memory) recited part of the lesson; as, for example, " One by its self makes one;" and whilst he was thus speaking he writ down the same number, not with any kind of Pen, nor on Paper, but (not to spend Paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strew'd all over with very fine sand; after the first had writ what he sung, all the rest sung and writ down the same thing together. Then the first boy sung and writ down another part of the lesson; as, for example, "Two by its self make two," which all the rest repeated in the same manner, and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures they put them out with the hand, and, if need were, strew'd it with new sand from a little heap which they had before them wherewith to write further. And thus they did as long as the exercise, continu'd; in which manner likewise, they told me, they learnt to read and

write without spoiling Paper, Pens, or Ink, which certainly is a prety way. I ask'd them, if they happen'd to forget, or be mistaken in any part of the lesson, who corrected and taught them? they being all Scholars without the assistance of any Master; they answer'd me and said true, that it was not possible for all four of them to forget, or mistake in the same part, and that thus they exercis'd together, to the end that if one happen'd to be out the others might correct him. Indeed a prety, easie and secure way of learning.

4. Jai Singh's College at Banaras, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[9]

Adjoining this great pagoda, on the side which faces the setting sun at midsummer, there is a house which serves as a college which the Raja Jai Singh, the most powerful of the idolatrous princes in the Empire of the Great Mogul, has founded for the education of the youth of good families. I saw the children of the Prince, who were being educated there by several Brahmans, who taught them to read and write in a language which is reserved to the priests of the idols (Sanskrit), and is very different from that spoken by the people….

5. Education in Banaras, Athens of India, Francois Bernier[10]

The town of *Benares,* seated on the *Ganges,* in a beautiful situation, and in the midst of an extremely fine and rich country, may be considered the general school of the *Gentiles*. It is the Athens of India, whither resort the *Brahmens* and other devotees; who are the only persons who apply their minds to study. The town contains no colleges or regular classes, as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients; the masters being dispersed over different parts of the town in private houses, and principally in the gardens of the suburbs, which the rich merchants permit them to occupy. Some of these masters have four disciples, others six or seven, and the most eminent may have twelve or fifteen; but this is the largest number. It is usual for the pupils to remain ten or twelve years under their respective preceptors, during which time the work of instruction proceeds but slowly; for the generality of them are of an indolent disposition, owing, in a great measure, to their diet and the heat of the country. Feeling no spirit of emulation, and entertaining no hope that honours or emolument may be the reward of extra-ordinary attainments, as with us, the scholars pursue the studies slowly, and without much to distract their attention, while eating their *kichery,* a mingled mess of vegetables supplied to them by the care of rich merchants of the place.

The first thing taught is the *Sanscrit,* a language known only to the *Pendets* [pandits], and totally different from that which is ordinarily spoken in *Hindoustan.* It is of the *Sanscrit* that Father *Kirker* [Father Kircher, author of *China Illustrata* which contains the alphabet and elements of Sanskrit explained in Latin] has published an alphabet, which he received from Father *Roa.* The name signifies 'pure language;' and because the *Gentiles* believe that the four sacred books given to them by God, through the medium of *Brahma,* were originally published in *Sanscrit,* they call it *the holy* and *divine language.* They pretend that it is as ancient as *Brahma* himself, whose age they reckon by *lecques* [lakhs], or hundreds of thousands of years, but I could not rely upon this marvellous age. That it is extremely old, however, it is impossible to deny, the books of their religion, which are of unquestionable antiquity, being all written in *Sanscrit.* It has also its authors on philosophy, works on medicine written in verse, and many other kinds of books, with which a large hall at *Benares* is entirely filled.

When they have acquired a knowledge of *Sanscrit* which to them is difficult, because without a really good grammar, they generally study the *Purane* [Puranas], which is an abridgment and interpretation of the *Beths;* those books being of great bulk, at least if they were the *Beths* which were shown to me at *Benares.* They are so scarce that my *Agah,* notwithstanding all his diligence, has not succeeded in purchasing a copy. The *Gentiles* indeed conceal them with much care, lest they should fall into the hands of the *Mahometans,* and be burnt, as frequently has happened.

After the *Purane,* some of the students apply their minds to philosophy, wherein they certainly make very little progress. I have already intimated that they are of a slow and indolent temper, and strangers to the excitement which the possibility of advancement in an honourable profession produces among the members of *European* universities.

C. Manuscripts

1. Paper books, J. Ovington[11]

The Paper-Books, in vulgar use among the Inhabitants of *India*, are long Schrowls of Paper, sometimes Ten Foot in length, and a Foot broad, sowed together at the upper end, as many long Sheets as the occasion of the Writing requires. The Pen they write with is the ancient *Calamus*, or Reed, about the thickness of a large Goose Quill.

2. Palm-leaf books, Pietro Della Valle[12]

Before my departure from *lkkeri* I was presented by *Vitula Sinay* (of whom I had before taken leave) with a little Book, written in the *Canara* language, which is the vulgar tongue in *Ikkeri* and all that State. It is made after the custom of the Country, not of paper, (which they seldom use) but of Palm-leaves, to wit of that Palm which the *Portugals* call *Palmum brama, i.e., Wild-palm*, and is of that sort which produces the Indian Nut; for such are those commonly found in *India,* where Palms that produce Dates are very rare. On the leaves of these Palms they write, or rather ingrave, the Letters with an Iron style made for the purpose, of an uncouth form; and, that the writing may be more apparent, they streak it over with a coal, and tye the leaves together to make a Book of them after a manner sufficiently strange. I, being desirous to have one of these Books, to carry as a curiosity to my own Country for ornament of my Library, and not finding any to be sold in the City, had entreated *Vitula Sinay* to help me to one, but he, not finding anyone vendible therein, caus'd a small one to be purposely transcrib'd for me, (there being not time enough for a greater) and sent it to me as a gift just as I was ready to take Horse.

3. The leaf of the palm-tree on which men write, Jean de Thevenot[13]

All the *Malabars* write as we do (from the left to the right) upon the leaves of Palmeras-Bravas [the palmyra palm], and for making their Characters, they use a Stiletto a Foot long at least; the Letters which they write to their Friends on these leaves, are made up round, like a roll of Ribbons; they make their Books of several of these leaves, which they file upon a String, and enclose them betwixt two Boards of the same bigness; they have many Ancient Books (and all almost in Verse) which they are great lovers of. I

believe the Reader will be glad to see their Characters, and I have hereto subjoyned the Alphabet…

□

Chapter 7
Religion and philosophy

A. Cosmology and Symbology

B. Philosophy

C. Transmigration of souls

D. Unanimity in matters of faith

E. No interest in conversion

F. Yogis and Vratis

A. Cosmology and Symbology

1. The Hindu Trinity, birth of Manu, Reverend Henry Lord[1]

That Bremaw [Brahma] therefore might have power to make the Creatures, hee indued him with the Abilities of Creation and production. Secondly, that Vistney [Vishnu] might preserve the Creatures, the Lord gave all things into his power, that might tend to the preservation of those that Bremaw should make... Lastly, that Ruddery [Rudra] might bee a fit Executioner of Gods Justice, God gave into his possession whatsoever might tend to the destruction of living Creatures…

…Bremaw consulting with himselfe, how he might fulfill the charge imposed upon him, grew extraordinarily afflicted in his body, the strangenesse of which anguish vexing him in every part, boaded some alteration or unexpected event; when loe such travaile as happeneth to women in labour seazed him, and a certain tumour and swelling of his body withall, according to the suddaine ripenesse of the burthen within, distended his bowels more and more, and gave newer and greater extremities to him in this Agony, till the burthen (though Bremaw farre exceeded the stature of common men) made two ruptures, the one on the right side, the other on the left; when behold two Twinnes, the one male the other female, to wit, Man and Woman did betray themselves to the world in full growth and perfect stature…

2. Parashakti and Brahma, Vishnu, Rudra, Niccolao Manucci[2]

There was a woman called Paracceti (Parasakti) – that is 'Superior Power' and 'Most Excellent'. This woman had three children. The first, so they say, had five heads and is called Brahma – that is, 'Knowledge.' To him she granted power over all things visible and invisible. The name of the second is Vishnu; to him she gave the power of preserving all that his brother created. The third is called Rutrim (Rudram); of him, too, it is said that he has five heads, and that his mother granted him power of destroying and dispelling all that his brother should do or create. They follow this up by saying the woman married her own sons. But as they are never clear in their beliefs they split off here into five different opinions.

Some say that the mother of these three she who is called Parachety (Parasakti), is the First Cause and the Veritable God; others that it is the

eldest son, Brahma, who is First Cause; others – and these are the most numerous – that it is the second son, Vishnu who is alone God and the First Cause; others assert it is the third son who is God. Finally, the last group, to reconcile this diversity of opinions, say that all three jointly are the First Cause and Veritable God. They also assert that none of them by himself nor the three jointly can be God, for whatever is human like other men could never be God. What they say to this effect seems reasonable enough; but they hardly ever adhere long to these views. For through the number of changes made by them in their discourse, they are unable to carry on an argument in form.

3. Missionaries and the Hindu Trinity, Francois Bernier[3]

I have conversed with European missionaries who thought that the *Gentiles* have some idea of the mystery of the *Trinity,* and maintained that the *Beths* state in direct terms that the three beings, though three persons, are one God. This is a subject on which I have frequently heard the *Pendets* [pandits] dilate, but they explain themselves so obscurely that I never could clearly comprehend their opinion. I have heard some of them say that the beings in question are in reality three very perfect creatures, whom they call *Deutas* [devatas], without being able, however, properly to explain what they mean by this word *Deuta,* like our ancient idolaters, who could never, in my opinion, explain what they meant by the names *Genii* and *Numina,* which were probably equivalent to the *Deuta* of the *Indians*. I have also discoursed with other *Pendets* distinguished for learning, who said that these three beings are really one and the same God, considered under three different characters, as the creator, upholder, and destroyer of all things; but they said nothing of three distinct persons in one only God.

I was acquainted with the Reverend Father *Roa* [Father Heinrich Roth, attached to the Goa Mission, who studied Sanskrit and Hindu religion in which he was regarded the authority in his time], a Jesuit, a German by birth, and missionary at *Agra,* who had made great proficiency in the study of *Sanscrit.* He assured me that the books of the *Gentiles* not only state that there is one God in three persons, but that the second person has been nine times embodied in flesh [avatar]…

4. Agreement on one Supreme God, Abraham Roger[4]

[Despite differences, all sects recognise] a sovereign God who is absolute and unique.

5. Hindu belief in the essence of God, Niccolao Manucci[5]

There is not an individual among them who denies that there is a God; still; they have so many different views in what they say of God that they are incompetent to find the truth. Some say that water is God, and they style this 'the infallible science'; others, that God is a spiritual substance widely diffused. Then shortly afterwards, with hardly any discussion, they will tell you that it is the air which is God, and there is none other. But as they have no fixity in their belief, they will next tell you briefly, after setting forth the above statements as infallible, that the sun is God; that it has created, and still creates – that it preserves and destroys all things in this world.

It is in this last belief that the greater number of the heathen of India live, never failing on the rise of that luminary to prostrate themselves before it, and to yield it homage and adoration; and this they do once more when they go to bed.

There are those who think more of their stomach than of anything else. They worship cooked rice as their god, and as a sign of their veneration never fail before eating it to offer to it their humblest homage. These are the people who have made the definition that there is but the one God, who is called Parama Bruma (Parama Brahma), which means 'Superior Knowledge,' or 'Most Excellent.' They say of Parama Brahma, that he is the letter O [OM]; and they believe that when they breathe and pronounce the letter O they fail not at that juncture to enter into glory. For it is then, they say, that the soul of such a person comes out by the crown of his head and passes with the velocity of an arrow into the centre of the sun, where it takes its position amidst heavenly glory. They hold that any-one who dies while doing this act is a true martyr.

In addition to this Parama Brahma there are, they say, three hundred and thirty millions of gods. The king of them they call Vendyrem (Devendram) – that is, Lord of the Gods…

6. Hindu beliefs on the nature of divinity, Francois Bernier[6]

I then tried them on the nature of their *Deutas,* but their explanation was very confused. These Gods consist, they said, of three kinds, good, bad, and indifferent. Some of the learned believe that the *Deutas* are composed of

fire, others that they are formed of light, and many are of opinion that they are *Biapek* [Vyapaka, all-pervading]; a word of which I could obtain no clearer explication than that God is *Biapek,* that our soul is *Biapek,* and that whatever is *Biapek* is incorruptible and independent of time and place. There are *Pendets* again who, according to my learned host and his companions, pretend that *Deutas* are only portions of the divinity; and lastly, others consider them as certain species of distinct divinities, dispersed over the surface of the globe.

B. Philosophy

1. Same terms as studied in Rome, Roberto de Nobili[7]

We image that these people are ignorant, but I assure you they are not. I am actually reading one of their books in which I learn philosophy anew almost in the same terms as I studied it in Rome, though of course, their philosophy is fundamentally different from ours.

2. On the Vedas, Abraham Roger[8]

The first treats of the first cause, of the first matter, of the angels, of souls, of the reward of the good and the punishment of the bad, of the generation of creatures, and their corruption, what are sins, those that may be forgiven, who may do it, and wherefor. The second treats of the Regents to whom they ascribe power over all things. The third part is entirely moral, which exhorts to virtue and obliges to the hatred of the contrary. The fourth part treats of the ceremonies of the temple, of offerings and of festivals, but this fourth part cannot be any longer found, as it had long been lost.

3. Six schools of philosophy, Francois Bernier[9]

Among the philosophers who have flourished in *Hindoustan* six bear a great name; and from these have sprung the six sects [Nyaya founded by Gautama, Vaiseshika by Kanada, Sankhya by Kapila, Yoga by Patanjali, Mimansa by Jaimini and Vedanta by Badarayana], which cause much jealousy and dispute, the *Pendets* of each pretending that the doctrines of their particular sect are the soundest, and most in conformity to the *Beths*. A seventh sect has arisen, called *Baute* [Buddha] which again is the parent of twelve others; but this sect is not so considerable as the former: its adherents are despised and hated, censured as irreligious and atheistical, and lead a life peculiar to themselves.

C. Transmigration of souls

1. Souls of vile men enter bodies of beasts, Edward Terry[10]

Those most tender hearted idolaters are called Banians; who hold Pithagoras [his philosophy] as a prime article of their faith. They thinke that the soules of the best men and women, when their bodies let them out of prison, take their repose in kine, which in their opinion are the best of all creatures. So the soules of the wicked goe into viler beasts; as the soules of gluttons and drunkards into swine; the soules of the voluptuous and incontinent into monkies and apes; the soules of the furious, cruell, and revengefull into lyons, tygers, and wolves; the soules of the envious into serpents; and so into other creatures according to their qualitie and disposition, successively from one to another of the same kinde, *ad infinitum;* by consequence beleeving the immortalitie of the world. So that there is not a silly flie but, if they may bee credited, carries about some soules (haply they thinke of light women); and will not be perswaded out of these grosse opinions, so incorrigible are their sottish errours; and therefore will not deprive the most offensive creatures of their life (not snakes, that will kill them), saying it is their nature to doe harme: how that they have reason to shunne, not libertie to destroy them.

2. Belief in afterlife, Francisco Pelsaert[11]

They imagine or believe that, if they have lived well in this world, the soul, directly the breath has left the body, flies to another man or child of equal or higher rank, and is born again; but if a man has not lived well, the soul passes to a beast – bird, worm, fish, evil or good animal – according to the appointed punishment. This is the reason why they will kill no animal, so as not to trouble or disturb the soul within, which would have to journey to some other animal, for they say: Who knows but the soul of my father, mother, sister, or children who may have died, may for their sins be in that animal?

3. Transmigration of souls, Francois Bernier[12]

I remember that I also questioned them on the nature of the *Lengue – cherire* [belief in the transmigration of the soul], which some of their authors admit; but I could elicit no more from them than what I had long before learnt from our *Pendet;* namely, that the seeds of plants, of trees, and

of animals do not receive a new creation; that they have existed, scattered abroad and intermixed with other matter, from the first creation of the world; and that they are nothing more or less, not only in potentiality, as it is called, but in reality, than plants, trees and animals entirely perfect, but so minute that their separate parts only become visible when being brought to their proper place, and there receiving nourishment they develop and increase; so that the seed of an apple or pear-tree is a *Lengue-cherire,* a small apple or pear-tree, perfect in all its essential parts; and the seed of a horse, of an elephant, or of a man is a *Lengue-cherire,* a small horse, a small elephant or a small man, which requires only life and nourishment in order to its visibly assuming its proper form.

4. Holding cow's tail, one can cross the river between this life and the next, Francois Bernier[13]

The *Gentiles* believe in a doctrine similar to that of the *Pythagoreans* with regard to the transmigration of souls, and hold it illegal to kill or eat any animal; an exception being made, however, in favour of a few of the second tribe, provided the flesh eaten be not that of the cow or peacock. For these two animals they feel a peculiar respect, particularly for the cow, imagining that it is by holding to a cow's tail they are to cross the river which separates this life from the next. Possibly their ancient legislators saw the shepherds of *Egypt* in a similar manner pass the river *Nile,* holding with the left hand the tail of a buffalo or ox, and carrying in the right a stick for the guidance of the animal; or this superior regard for the cow may more probably be owing to her extraordinary usefulness, as being the animal which supplies them with milk and butter (a considerable part of their aliment), and which may be considered the source of husbandry, consequently the preserver of life itself.

5. Metem-psychosis and Pythagoras, Jean de Thevenot[14]

The *Bramens* believe the *Metempsychosis* or *Transmigration* of Souls into New Bodies, more or less noble, according to the merit of their Actions which they have done in their Life-time. And many of the other Castes follow that Opinion of *Pythagoras* [there is no reason to believe that Indians borrowed the doctrine of metempsychosis from Pythagoras]; They believe that every Soul must thus make many Transmigrations, but they determine not the number; and therefore there are some who kill no Beast, and never kindle Fire nor light Candle, for fear some Butterflie should burn

it self thereat: It being possible (say they) that the Soul of a Butterflie may have lodged in the Body of a Man; and they have the same Sentiment of other Animals. In prospect of saving living Creatures, they often sollicite the *Mogul* Governours, to forbid Fishing on certain Festival days; and sometimes that prohibition is procured by Presents. They would willingly also hinder the killing of Cows, but they can never obtain that. The *Mahometans* will needs eat Flesh and that of the Cow is the best of all the gross Meats of the *Indies*.

D. Unanimity on matters of faith

1. Basic beliefs common, Pietro Della Valle[15]

In the substantial points of Religion all agree together; all believe the Transmigration of Souls, which according to their merits and demerits (as they think) are sent by God into other bodies, either of Animals more or less clean, and of more or less painful life, or else of men more or less noble and handsome, and more or less pure of Race, wherein they place not a little of their vain superstition; accounting all other Nations and Religions besides themselves unclean, and some more then others, according as they more or less differ from their Customs. All equally believe that there is a Paradise in Heaven with God, but that thereinto go onely the Souls of their own Nation, more pure and without any sin, who have liv'd piously in this world; or in case they have sin'd, after divers Transmigrations into various bodies of Animals and Men, having by often returning into the world undergone many pains, they are at length purg'd, and at last dye in the body of some man of Indian and noble Race, as the Brachmans, who amongst them are held the noblest and purest; because their employment is nothing else but the Divine Worship, the service of Temples and Learning, and because they observe their own Religion with more rigor then any others.

2. Differences due to diversity of conditions, Pietro Della Valle[16]

…it appears that in the substance of Religion and what is most important all the Races of the Indians agree together, and differ onely perhaps through the necessity which is caus'd by the diversity of humane conditions in certain Rites and Ceremonies, particularly of eating more or less indistinctly.

3. No exclusive religious community, Jean de Thevenot[17]

…I would have it observed, that in all the *Indies* there is no religious Community amongst the Gentiles, belonging particularly to one Caste or Tribe: For Example, There is not any, whereinto none are admitted but *Bramens* or *Raspoutes* ; if there be a convent of *Sogues* any where, the Community will consist of *Bramens*, *Raspoutes*, *Comris*, *Banians* and other Gentiles ; and it is the same in a convent of Vartias, or a company of *Faquirs*.

E. No interest in conversion

1. To you your religion, to me mine, Francois Bernier[18]

'We pretend not,' they replied, [Hindus talking to Bernier] "that our law is of universal application. God intended it only for us, and this is the reason why we cannot receive a foreigner into our religion. We do not even say that yours is a false religion: it may be adapted to your wants and circumstances, God having, no doubt, appointed many different ways of going to heaven." I found it impossible to convince them that the Christian faith was designed for the whole earth, and theirs was mere fable and gross fabrication.

2. Believe God has set a path for every one, Jean de Thevenot[19]

…they believe that every Man may be saved in his Religion and Sect, provided he exactly follow the way which God hath set before him, and that he will be damned if he take another Course: They make no doubt but that their Religion is the first of all Religions; that it was Established in the days of *Adam,* and preserved in *Noah*: They believe Heaven and Hell, but they affirm that none shall enter there before the Universal Judgment.

3. Influence of Hindu theory of *maya* on Dara and Sujah, Francois Bernier[20]

I shall explain to you the Mysticism of a Great *Sect* which has latterly made great noise in *Hindoustan,* inasmuch as certain *Pendets* or *Gentile Doctors* had instilled it into the minds of *Dara* and *Sultan Sujah,* the elder sons of *Chah-Jehan.*

You are doubtless acquainted with the doctrine of many of the ancient philosophers concerning that great life-giving principle of the world, of which they argue that we and all living creatures are so many parts: if we carefully examine the writings of *Plato* and *Aristotle,* we shall probably discover that they inclined towards this opinion. This is the almost universal doctrine of the *Gentile Pendets* of the *Indies,* and it is this same doctrine which is held by the sect of the *Soufys* and the greater part of the learned men of *Persia* at the present day, and which is set forth in Persian poetry in very exalted and emphatic language, in their *Goul-tchen-raz* [Gulshan Raz, composed in 1317 A.D., on the Sufi doctrines propounded by Amir Syed Hosaini], or Garden of Mysteries. This was also the opinion of *Flud* [Robert

Flud, 1574-1637, healer by 'faith natural'] whom our great *Gassendy* has so ably refuted; and it is similar to the doctrines by which most of our alchymists have been hopelessly led astray. Now these *Sectaries* or *lndou Pendets,* so to speak, push the incongruities in question further than all these philosophers, and pretend that God, or that supreme being whom they call *Achar* [immovable, unchangeable] has not only produced life from his own substance, but also generally everything material or corporeal in the universe, and that this production is not formed simply after the manner of efficient causes, but as a spider which produces a web from its own navel, and withdraws it at pleasure. The Creation then, say these visionary doctors, is nothing more than an extraction or extension of the individual substance of *God,* of those filaments which He draws from his own bowels; and, in like manner, destruction is merely the recalling of that divine substance and filaments into Himself; so that the last day of the world, which they call *maperle* or *pralea* [maha-pralaya or pralaya], and in which they believe every being will be annihilated, will be the general recalling of those filaments which God had before drawn forth from Himself. There is, therefore, say they, nothing real or substantial in that which we think we see, hear or smell, taste or touch; the whole of this world is, as it were, an illusory dream, inasmuch as all that variety which appears to our outward senses is but one only and the same thing, which is God Himself; in the same manner as all those different numbers, of ten, twenty, a hundred, a thousand, etc., are but the frequent repetition of the same unit. But ask them some reason for this idea; beg them to explain how this extraction and reception of substance occurs, or to account for that apparent variety; or how it is that God not being corporeal but *biapek,* as they allow, and incorruptible, He can be thus divided into so many portions of body and soul, they will answer you only with some fine similes: That *God* is as an immense ocean in which many vessels of water are in continual motion; let these vessels go where they will, they always remain in the same ocean, in the same water; and if they should break, the water they contain would then be united to the whole, to that ocean of which they were but parts. Or they will tell you that it is with *God* as with the light, which is the same everywhere, but causes the objects on which it falls to assume a hundred different appearances, according to the various colours or forms of the glasses through which it passes…

F. Yogis and Vratis

1. Jogis at Ahmadabad, Pietro Della Valle[21]

…we beheld from that height the little River call'd *Sabermeti* [Sabarmati], which runs on that side under the walls without the City. Upon the bank thereof, stood expos'd to the Sun many *Gioghi* [jogis] of more austere lives, namely such as are not onely naked like those above describ'd, but go all sprinkled with ashes, and paint their bodies and faces with a whitish colour upon black, which they do with a certain stone that is reduced into powder like Lime. Their Beards and Hair they wear long, untrim'd, rudely involv'd, and sometimes erected like horns. Painted they are often, or rather daub'd with sundry colours and hideous figures; so that they seem so many Devils, like those represented in our Comedies. The ashes wherewith they sprinkle their bodies are the ashes of burnt Carkasses; and this to the end they may be continually mindful of death. A great crew of these, with their Chief, or Leader, (who conducts them with an extravagant banner in his Hand, made of many shreds of several colours, and whom they all religiously obey) sat by the River's side in a round form, as their custom is; and in the field there were many people, who came some to walk, and others to wash themselves; the Pagan Indians holding their Rivers in great Veneration, and being not a little superstitious in bathing themselves therein. From the same place I beheld a little Chappel built upon two small figures of *Mahadeu,* not upright, but lying along upon the ground, and carv'd in basse relief, where also were Lamps burning, and people making their offerings.

2. Yogis outside temple at Cambay, proficient in arts of divination, magic, enchantment and secrets of herbs, Peitro Della Valle[22]

Without the Gate of these Temples I beheld, sitting upon the ground in a circle, another Troop of those naked *Gioghi,* having their bodies smear'd with Ashes, Earth and Colours, like those I had seen upon the River of *Ahmedabad;* they made a ring about their *Archimandrita,* or Leader, who was held in such Veneration not onely by the Religious of their Sect, but also by the other secular *Indians,* for Reputation of Holiness, that I saw many grave persons go and make low Reverence to him, kiss his Hands, and stand in an humble posture before him to hear some sentence; and He with great gravity, or rather with a strange scorn of all worldly things,

hypocritically made as if he scarce deign'd to speak and answer those that came to honour him. These are not such by Descent, but by Choice, as our Religious Orders are. They go naked, most of them with their bodies painted and smear'd, as is above mention'd; yet some of them are onenly naked, with the rest of their bodies smooth, and onely their Fore-heads dy'd with Sanders and some red, yellow, or white colour; which is also imitated by many secular persons, out of superstition and gallantry. They live upon Almes, despising clothes and all other worldly things. They marry not, but make severe profession of Chastity, at least in appearance; for in secret 'tis known many of them commit as many debaucheries as they can. They live in society under the obedience of their Superior, and wander about the world without having any settled abode. Their Habitations are the Fields, the Streets, the Porches, the Courts of Temples, and Trees, especially under those where any Idol is worshipt by them; and they undergo with incredible patience day and night no less the rigor of the Air than the excessive heat of the Sun, which in these sultry Countries is a thing sufficiently to be admir'd. They have spiritual Exercises after their way, and also some exercise of Learning, but (by what I gather from a Book of theirs translated into *Persian,* and intitl'd, *Damerdbigiaska* [not identified], and, as the Translator saith, a rare piece) both their exercises of wit and their Learning consist onely in Arts of Divination, Secrets of Herbs, and other natural things, and also in Magick and Inchantments, whereunto they are much addicted, and boast of doing great wonders. I include their spiritual exercises herein because, according to the aforesaid Book, they think that by the means of those exercises, Prayers, Fastings and the like superstitious things, they come to Revelations; which indeed are nothing else but correspondence with the Devil, who appears to and deludes them in sundry shapes, fore-warning them sometimes of things to come…

And of the Sciences of the *Gioghi*, and their spiritual exercises, especially of a curious way, rather superstitious than natural, of Divining by the breathing of a Man, wherein they have indeed many curious and subtle observations, which I upon tryal have found true, if any would know more, I refer him to the Book above mention'd, which I intend to carry with me for a Rarity into Italy; and, if I shall find convenience, I shall one day gratifie the Curious with a sight of it in a Translation.

3. A strange penance in Bengal, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[23]

I shall relate also an example of a strange kind of penance which I saw when sailing up the Ganges on the 12th of May 1666. A clean place on the margin of the river had been prepared, in which one of these poor idolaters was condemned to place himself on the ground many times during the day, supported only on his hands and feet, and to kiss the ground three times before rising, without daring to touch it with the rest of his body. When he rose it was necessary for him to do so on the left foot, with the right foot in the air, and every morning during a whole month, before drinking or eating, he was obliged to place himself in this position fifty times in succession, and kiss the ground one hundred and fifty times. I was told that the Brahmans had inflicted this penance on him for having allowed a cow to die in his house, not having taken it to the margin of the water according to custom, in order that it might be bathed while dying.

4. Jain ascetics pull out hair one by one, Niccolao Manucci[24]

There is another class of persons called Nostiguer [? Nastika, atheist, who doubts the divine authority of the Vedas], who not only may not be looked upon when eating, but may not hear the sound of any human voice while so occupied. So far is this carried that, when eating they cause a copper vessel to be beaten hard at their door. Men of this caste do not allow their beard to be touched, either by the razor or by scissors, but it is dragged out, hair by hair with a small pincers. The first time that the pulling out of the hair of the head and beard is begun, if the patient betrays no sign of pain, he is accepted as a firm disciple; if, on the contrary, he weeps, cries, or makes faces, they say he is too tender and thereby unworthy to be admitted into the confraternity.

5. Austerities of Jogis, Francois Bernier[25]

Among the vast number, and endless variety of *Fakires,* or *Derviches,* and *Holy Men,* or *Gentile* hypocrites of the *Indies,* many live in a sort of convent, governed by superiors, where vows of chastity, poverty, and submission are made. So strange is the life led by these votaries that I doubt whether my description of it will be credited. I allude particularly to the people called *Jauguis* [Jogis], a name which signifies ‘united to God.’ Numbers are seen, day and night, seated or lying on ashes entirely naked; frequently under the large trees near *talabs,* or tanks of water, or in the galleries round the *Deuras,* or idol temples. Some have hair hanging down to the calf of the leg, twisted and entangled into knots, like the coat of our

shaggy dogs, or rather like the hair of those afflicted with that *Polish* disease, which we call *la Plie*. I have seen several who hold one, and some who hold both arms, perpetually lifted up above the head; the nails of their hands being twisted, and longer than half my little finger, with which I measured them. Their arms are as small and thin as the arms of persons who die in a decline, because in so forced and unnatural a position they receive not sufficient nourishment; nor can they be lowered so as to supply the mouth with food, the muscles having become contracted, and the articulations dry and stiff. Novices wait upon these fanatics, and pay them the utmost respect, as persons endowed with extraordinary sanctity. No *Fury* in the infernal regions can be conceived more horrible than the *Jauguis* with their naked and black skin, long hair, spindle arms, long twisted nails, and fixed in the posture which I have mentioned…

Sarmad executed for refusal to wear clothes

I was for a long time disgusted with a celebrated *Fakire,* named *Sarmet,* who paraded the streets of *Dehli* as naked as when he came into the world. He despised equally the promises and the threats of *Aureng-Zebe,* and underwent at length the punishment of decapitation from his obstinate refusal to put on wearing apparel.

Long pilgrimages undertaken laden with iron chains

Several of these *Fakires* undertake long pilgrimages, not only naked, but laden with heavy iron chains, such as are put about the legs of elephants. I have seen others who in consequence of a particular vow stood upright, during seven or eight days, without once sitting or lying down, and without any other support than might be afforded by leaning forward against a cord for a few hours in the night; their legs in the meantime were swollen to the size of their thighs. Others again I have observed standing steadily, whole hours together, upon their hands, the head down, and the feet in the air. I might proceed to enumerate various other positions in which these unhappy men place their body, many of them so difficult and painful that they could not be imitated by our tumblers; and all this, let it be recollected, is performed from an assumed feeling of piety, of which there is not so much as the shadow in any part of the *Indies*...

Some peculiarly enlightened

Some of the *Fakires* enjoy the reputation of being peculiarly enlightened saints, perfect *Jauguis,* and really united to God. These are supposed to have entirely renounced the world, and like our hermits they live a secluded life in a remote garden, without ever visiting a town. When food is brought to them, they receive it: if none be offered to them it is concluded that the holy men can live without food, that they subsist by the favour of God, vouchsafed on account of previous long fasts and other religious mortifications. Frequently these pious *Jauguis* are absorbed in profound meditation. It is pretended, and one of the favoured saints himself assured me, that their souls are often rapt in an ecstasy of several hours' duration; that their external senses lose their functions; that the *Jauguis* are blessed with a sight of God…

Powers of yogis, alchemists

I have now to give an account of certain *Fakires* totally different from the *Saints* just described, but who also are extraordinary personages. They almost continually perambulate the country, make light of everything, affect to live without care, and to be possessed of most important secrets. The people imagine that these favoured beings are well acquainted with the art of making gold, and that they can prepare mercury in so admirable a manner that a grain or two swallowed every morning must restore a diseased body to vigorous health, and so strengthen the stomach that it may feed with avidity, and digest with ease…

Other Fakirs dressed in white of modest demeanour

But there are *Fakires* of a much more comely appearance than those whom we have been considering, and their lives and devotion seem less extravagant. They walk the streets barefooted and bareheaded, girt with a scarf which hangs down to the knee, and wearing a white cloth which passes under the right arm and goes over the left shoulder in the form of a mantle, but they are without any under garment: their persons, however, are always well washed, and they appear cleanly in every respect. In general they walk two and two with a very modest demeanour, holding in one hand a small and fair threefooted earthen pot with two handles: they do not beg from shop to shop like many other *Fakires,* but enter freely into the houses of the *Gentiles,* where they meet with a hearty welcome and an hospitable reception, their presence being esteemed a blessing to the family.

6. Yogis at Surat, Manuel Godinho[26]

…The yogis are the most strict among their religious, and the ancients called them gymnosophists, but I would more appropriately call them devil's martyrs or even living devils. Always on the move from place to place, like gypsies, some with very worn out and mended clothing, others altogether naked and still others with a piece of cloth around those parts which one naturally feels most embarrassed about, and the rest of the body bare...

They move about covered with ash from head to feet, including the eyes and the mouth, and with ash from cowdung, and the cow also gives them water with which from time to time they wash themselves. They have neither shelter nor bed and sleep on the ground, in the open. Not only do they shun all delicacy and pleasure out of eating and dressing but also live very ascetically, to such an extent that one is filled with wonder and moved to compassion. Some go about naked with heavy iron chains around their necks and bodies like hairshirts; others bury themselves alive by the roadside leaving only a breathing hole just large enough to fit a tube, through which they are fed *canja,* that is, rice-water. Others turn themselves into dwellers on pillars, after climbing atop columns or logs, and do not come down until death. Others, on the major festival days at their temples, hang themselves from pulleys on very sharp steel hooks fitted into their bare backs and remain hanging in mid-air while they merrily chant verses to their idols.

Hands held aloft for ten years

I saw some of these yogis at Surat and among these there was one who would not lower his hands, having held them aloft continuously for ten years, and the nerves and the joints having already become so stiff, it would not have been possible for him to get them down even if he so wished. His hands were clenched into a fist, like someone making a gesture of contempt, and his nails were so outgrown that they went around the back of his hands and were like strings that tied them. But for the hair from his head covering a part of his face, the rest of the body was bare. I saw another who had only one arm upraised and yet another who never sat down either by day or night, under any circumstances, and relaxed himself mostly by placing his arms on a rope stretched across from window to window and by shifting his weight from one side to another. There were others who carried

loads of shells and large branches of gall-nuts around their necks. I was keen to see how the yogis with the upraised arms ate and slept, and witnessed some boys among their followers placing food in their mouths and that, at night, the banias brought bagfuls of cowdung with which they started a fire and spent the night sitting around it.

Yogis venerated as living saints

The yogis are highly respected by the Hindus as they believe them to be the greatest living saints who are doing penance to atone for the great sins of the entire world, and thereby restrain the wrath of God with those arms of theirs uplifted towards heaven. Every evil deed of theirs is condoned in the belief that whoever harms them is excommunicated and loses both his body and soul. Each carries his own horn which he sounds on entering a village to announce that there is a yogi there who has to be fed. If, by an odd chance, the yogi is offended and curses a village because it did not provide him with whatever was necessary, all its inhabitants will go to him in a procession in order to beg his pardon and to request him to withdraw his sentence which they imagine is already affecting them. The yogis are greatly feared, besides being respected, for, if any one of them is aggrieved, two or three thousand of them soon come together to demand satisfaction, as all of them are keen to safeguard the honour of their calling. When they move in this way, in a group, they elect a leader and follow him, in the same manner as the gypsies choose their count. He is invariably the highest ranking among the nobles of the blood, always available amongst them because there is hardly any pagan kingdom which does not boast of a yogi prince and, for many of these it helps as a safeguard against their brothers and even to capture their kingdoms with the help of their colleagues...

Claim knowledge of medicine, have cures for snake bites

All these yogis are very great sorcerers and pride themselves upon their knowledge of medicine although, in fact they are only herbalists. They make what we call snake stones which are the best antidote against any poisonous vermin. They work wonders everyday in India, where the snakes are very poisonous and kill in a few hours, but those who possess such a stone escape. When placed on the bite, the stone immediately adheres to it and does not fall off until it has first sucked up all the poison, of which the stone can later be cleansed by placing it in milk. The yogis also have other green stones which they claim to have the same effect as the other ones, if

held in the mouth, but I do not know if it is true in practice. The knowledge of these yogis which was much praised by the ancient writers, who called them gymnosophists, which actually means naked philosophers, is now found only in those who, having acquired it and professed it at the European universities, come to the realms of Madurai and Mysore, in the interior of India, where, dressed as true yogis, in order to find greater acceptance and goodwill among the natives, display their knowledge by converting them to the faith of Christ Our Lord, thereby becoming the gymnosophists of the souls. The Jesuits have many such philosophers in those realms [possibly a reference to Fr. Robert de Nobili, 1577-1656 and his colleagues].

7. Naga Sadhus at Magh Mela, Jean de Thevenot[27]

They are many times to be seen in Troops at *Halabas* [Allahabad]*,* where they Assemble for Celebrating of some Feasts (for which they are obliged to wash themselves in the *Ganges)* and to perform certain Ceremonies. Such of them as do no hurt, and shew signs of Piety are extreamly honoured by the Gentiles; and the Rich think they draw down blessings upon themselves, when they assist those whom they call Penitents…

One may meet with some of them in the Countrey stark naked with Colours and Trumpets, who ask Charity with Bow and Arrow in hand and when they are the strongest, they leave it not to the discretion of Travellers to give or refuse. These wretches have no consideration even for those that feed them; I have seen some of them in the *Caravans,* who made it their whole business to play tricks, and to molest Travellers, though they had all their subsistence from them. Not long since I was in a *Caravane,* where some of these *Faquirs* were, who took a fancy to suffer no body to sleep: All night long they did nothing but Sing and Preach; and instead of banging them soundly to make them hold their peace (as they ought to have been served) the Company prayed them civilly, but they took it ill; so that they doubled their Cries and Singing, and they who could not Sing, laugh'd and made a mock of the rest of the *Caravane.*

8. Strange penance at Jagannath, Jean de Thevenot[28]

The Province of *Oulesse*r [Orissa], which we call *Bengala,* and which the Idolaters name *Jaganat* because of the famous Idol of the Pagod of *Jaganat* which is there, is Inhabited by Gentiles no less fantastical in point of

Religion, than those of *Halabas;* and this one instance may serve for a proof of it. A *Faquir* intending to invent some new spell of Devotion that was never seen before, and which might cost him a great deal of pains, resolved to measure with his Body the whole extent of the *Moguls* Empire, from *Bengala* as far as *Caboul,* which are the limits of it from South East to North West. The pretext he had for so doing, was, that once in his life he might be present at the Feast of *Houly,* which I have already described, and he had a kind of novices to wait upon him and serve him.

The first Action he did when he set out upon his Journey, was to lay himself at full length on the ground upon his belly, and to order that the length of his Body might be marked there; that being done, he rose up, and acquainted his followers with his Design, which was to take a Journey as far as *Caboul,* by lying down and rising up again continually, and to walk no more at a time but the length of his Body; ordering his Novices to make a mark on the ground at the Crown of his Head, every time he lay down, to the end he might exactly regulate the March he was to make; all was punctually performed on both sides: The *Faquir* made a Cosse and a half a day, that's to say, about three quarters of a League; and they who related the Story, met him a year after his setting out, no farther off than at the utmost bounds of the Province of *Halabas.* In the mean time, he had all imaginable respect shewed him in the places he passed through; and was loaded with Charity, in so much, that he was obliged to distribute the Alms he got amongst the Poor, who in hopes of getting by him, followed him in his Journey.

9. A Convent of Vartins [Jains?] at Lahore, Jean de Thevenot[29]

There is a Convent of Gentiles there, who are called *Vartias,* that have their General, Provincial and other Superiours, they say that it is above Two thousand years since they were founded. They vow Obedience, Chastity and Poverty; they strictly observe their Vows, and when anyone trespasses against them, he is rigorously punished. They have Brothers appointed to beg for all the Convent; they eat but once a day, and change their House every three Months, they have no fixt time for their Noviciat; some perform it in two years, some in three, and there are others who spend four years therein, if the Superiour think fit. The main point of their institution is not to do to others what they would not have others do to them; that precept they observe even towards Beasts, for they never kill any, and much more

towards Men, seeing if any body beat them, they do not resist, and if they be reviled, they make no answer. They obey the least Signal of their Superiour without murmuring, and it is forbidden to them to look a Woman or Maid in the face; they wear nothing on their Bodies but a Cloath to cover their Privy Parts, and they bring it up to their heads to make a kind of a Coif like that of a Woman; they can possess no Money, are prohibited to reserve any thing for tomorrow to eat, and how hungry soever they may be, they patiently wait till their Purveyors bring them the Alms, which are daily given them at the Houses of the Gentiles of their Tribe; they take but little, that they may not be trouble-some to any body, and therefore they receive no more at every place but a handful of Rice, or some other eatable matter, and if more be offered them, they'll refuse it; they take nothing but what is boyled and drest (nothing but what is cooked) for they kindle no Fire in their House, for fear some Flie may burn it self therein; when they have got Charity enough, they return to the Convent, and there mingle all the Rice, Lentils, Milk, Cheese, and other Provisions they have got together. Then an Officer distributes all equally among the *Vartias,* who eat their Portions severally cold or hot, as it is given them, and drink nothing but water.

Vartis eat once a day

They make their meal about noon, which serves them for the whole day; let hunger or thirst press them never so much, they must wait till the same hour next day, before they either eat or drink.

Varti dormitory, Gentile Nuns

The rest of the day they employ in Prayers, and reading of Books; and when the Sun sets, they go to sleep, and never light a Candle. They all lie in the same Chamber, and have no other Bed but the Ground. They cannot of themselves leave the orders after they have once taken the Vows; yet if they commit any fault contrary to their Vows, and especially against that of Chastity, they are expelled, not only the order, but also their tribe. The General, Provincials, and all the Officers change their Convent every four Months their Office is for Life; and when any of them dies, he names to the Religous, him whom he thinks fittest to succeed, and they follow his choice. These *Vartias* have above ten thousand Monasteries in the *Indies;* and some of them are more Austere than others: Nay their [sic] are some who think it enough to worship God in Spirit, and these have no Idols, and will have no

Pagod near them. There are also Religious Nuns in some places, who live very exemplarily.

□

Chapter 8
Religion in Practice

A. Theory of incarnation

B. Importance of image worship

C. Some important pilgrimage centres

D. Worship at other sites

E. Worship of trees and animals

F. Ahimsa, love of animals

G. Ritual bathing, eclipses

A. Theory of incarnation

1. The eighth avatar of Vishnu, Philipp Baldaeus[1]

[This avatar] is accounted of the greatest moment above the rest; for…in all the others Vistnum [Vishnu] appeared in the world with some part of his divinity; but in doing this he carried with him the whole substance of it so that he left his place vacant in heaven.

2. Theory explained by pandits, Francois Bernier[2]

I must observe…that the word 'incarnation'…was new to me, having never seen it used in the same direct sense. Some *Pendets* [pandits] explained their doctrine to me in this manner: formerly God appeared in the forms which are mentioned, and in those forms performed all the wonders which have been related. Other *Pendets* said that the souls of certain great men, whom we are wont to call heroes, had passed into the different bodies spoken of, and that they had become *Deutas* [devtas]; or, to speak in the phraseology of the idolaters of old, they had become powerful Divinities, *Numina, Genii,* and *Daemons;* or, if you will, *Spirits* and *Fairies;* for I know not how else to render the word *Deuta;* but this second explanation comes much to the same thing as the first, inasmuch as the *Indous* believe that their souls are constituent parts of the deity.

Other *Pendets* again gave me a more refined interpretation. They said that the incarnations or apparitions mentioned in their books, having a mystic sense, and being intended to explain the various attributes of God, ought not to be understood literally. Some of the most learned of those *Doctors* frankly acknowledged to me that nothing can be conceived more fabulous than all the incarnations, and that they were only the invention of legislators for the sake of retaining the people in some sort of religion. On the supposition that our souls are portions of the deity, a doctrine common to all *Gentiles,* must not (observed the *Pendets)* the reality of those incarnations, instead of being made a mysterious part of religion, be exploded by sound philosophy? For, in respect of our souls, we are God, and therefore it would in fact be ourselves who had imposed upon ourselves a religious worship, and a belief in the transmigration of souls, in paradise, and in hell, – which would be absurd.

3. Tenth incarnation for liberation from Muslim tyranny, Francois Bernier[3]

The second person in the Trinity [Vishnu] has been, according to them, nine times incarnate in consequence of various evils in the world, from which he delivered mankind. The eighth incarnation was the most remarkable [that of Krishna]; for they say that the world having been enthralled by the power of giants, it was rescued by the second person, incarnated and born of a virgin at midnight, the angels singing in the air, and the skies raining flowers that whole night...

The tenth incarnation, say the *Gentiles,* will have for its object the emancipation of mankind from the tyranny of the *Mahometan,* and it will take place at the time when, according to our calculation, *Antichrist* is to appear; this is however but a popular tradition, not to be found in their sacred books…

4. Celebration of Krishna's killing of Kansa in Kabul, Jean de Thevenot[4]

Those of the same Tribe eat together, and at night they make Bonefires in the Streets. That Feast is Celebrated yearly at the Full Moon in *February,* and ends by the destruction of the Figure of a Giant; against which a little child shoots Arrows, to represent what the People are made to believe; to wit, That God coming into the World under the name of *Cruchman* [Krishna]; he appeared in shape of a Child, that a great Giant that feared to be undone by him, endeavoured to ruin him: But that that Child hit him so dexterously with an Arrow, that he laid him dead upon the ground. These people seem heretofore to have been Christians; but if they have had any Tincture [trace] of it, it is much corrupted by the Fables and strange Tales that have been told them concerning the same, to which they conform their Lives and Religion.

5. Gentile beliefs concerning Rama and Sita, Jean de Thevenot[5]

…the vulgar Opinion of the Gentiles, touching the God Ram, is that he was produced, and came out of the Light, in the same manner as the Fringe of a Belt comes out of that Belt ; and if they Assign him a Father whom they call *Dester* [Dasaratha], and a Mother named *Gaoucella* [Kausalya]; that is only for form sake, seeing he was not born: And in that consideration, the *Indians* render him divine Honours in their Pagods, and else where; And

when they salute their Friends, they repeat his Name, saying, *Ram, Ram.* Their Adoration consists in joyning their hands, as if they Prayed, letting them fall very low, and then lifting them up again gently to their mouth, and last of all, in raising them over their head. They call *Chita* [Sita] the Wife of *Ram;* and seeing they know what respect Christians bear to the Holy Virgin, they have the boldness to compare that Wife to her; and if they meet with her Image, they take it to be the representation of *Chita.*

B. Importance of image worship

1. Discussion in Banaras, Francois Bernier[6]

Finding myself in such excellent company [of some of the most learned pandits], I determined to ascertain their opinion of the adoration of idols. I told them I was leaving the *Indies* scandalised at the prevalence of a worship which outraged common sense, and was totally unworthy such philosophers as I had then the honour of addressing. "We have indeed in our temples" said they, 'a great variety of images, such as that of *Brahma,* of *Mehadeu* [Mahadev], of *Genich* [Ganesh], and of *Gavani* [Bhavani?], who are the principal and the most perfect of the *Deutas,* and we have many others esteemed less perfect. To all these images we pay great honour; prostrating our bodies, and presenting to them, with much ceremony, flowers, rice, scented oil, saffron and other similar articles. Yet do we not believe that these statues are themselves *Brahma* or *Bechen* [Vishnu]; but merely their images and representations. We show them deference only for the sake of the deity whom they represent, and when we pray it is not to the statue, but to that deity. Images are admitted in our temples, because we conceive that prayers are offered up with more devotion where there is something before the eyes that fixes the mind; but in fact we acknowledge that God alone is absolute, that He only is the omnipotent Lord.'

2. Image of the Virgin at Bassein also venerated by Gentiles, Jean de Thevenot[7]

…many Gentiles go to *Bassaim,* a Town belonging to the *Portuguese,* where there is the Image of a Virgin, who is called our Lady of Remedies [the Church of Nossa Senhora dos Remedios, midway between Bassein and Agasi] and where (they say) Miracles are wrought. When they come to the Church door, they salute it, bowing to the ground; and having taken off their Shoes, and come in, they make many Reverences; they put Oyl into the Lamp that hangs before the Image; burn Wax-Candles, and cast some Money into the Box, if they be able. At first they would have added to this Oblation, Fruits, and the Anointing of their Body, that so they might call it Sacrifice, but the *Portuguese* hindred them.

C. Some important pilgrimage centres

1. Seven most sacred sites, Niccolao Manucci[8]

The Hindus assert that in the world there are seven principal places where it is possible to obtain what one has imagined and desired – that is to say, in cases where a person wishes to become emperor or king, wealthy, powerful, or to attain other positions of the same order…

The principal temples referred to above are these – that is to say:

1. The first, Maya [probably Mayapur, near Hardwar], to be found among the mountains of the north.

2. Matura (Mathura), which is near the city of Agrah.

3. Caxis (Kashi), which is on the Ganges, in the city of Benares.

4. Canchis (Kanji), in the Karnatik.

5. Evantica, in the mountains of Tartary.

6. Puris (Puri), on the borders of Cochin China.

7. Darahotis (? Gangotri), at the source of the Ganges, as they suppose it to be.

Bands of interested persons make these lengthy pilgrimages, enduring a thousand hardships on the way, only at the end to drown by their own choice, without considering where they are about to take up their abode.

The chief temples destroyed by King Aurangzeb within his kingdom were the following:

1. Maisa (? Mayapur).

2. Matura (Mathura).

3. Caxis (Kashi).

4. Hajudia (Ajudhya), and an infinite number of others; but, not to tire the reader, I do not append their names.

2. Pilgrimages undertaken in large groups, rich finance journey of poor, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[9]

All the idolaters who are subjects of the Great Mogul and other Princes on either side of the Ganges at least once in their lives make a pilgrimage to

perform their devotions at one of the four pagodas which I have named, and most commonly to that of Jagannath, it being the principal and most considerable of all. The Brahmans and rich people make this pilgrimage more than once, some every four years, others every six or every eight years, when they place the idols of their pagodas in litters and accompany their Brahmans in procession to the pagoda for which they have most reverence; but it is most frequently, as I have said, to that of Jagannath, and also to that of Benares, because both are on the Ganges, the water of which is held in special veneration by them.

These pilgrimages are not made as in Europe, by one or two individual pilgrims, but the people of a town or several villages assemble and travel together in company. The poor who come from afar, sometimes 300 or 400 leagues, with all the savings which they have accumulated for that purpose during their lives, are unable to bear the expenses of the journey, and they are assisted by the rich, who expend very great sums in such alms. Each one travels according to his station and means, some in pallankeens or litters, others in carriages; and the poor, some on foot and others on oxen, the mother carrying her child and the father the cooking utensils.

Gods carried along

The god whom they carry in procession from the place they are leaving, to visit and pay his respects to the great Ram Ram, reposes at full length in a rich pallankeen covered with gold brocade with silver fringes, with a mattress and cushion of the same material under his head, feet, and elbows, as we see in the effigies on our tombs. The Brahmans distribute among the most important persons in the troop fans with handles 7 or 8 feet long, and covered with plates of gold and silver, the fan being at the end in the form of a kiln-shovel of 2 to 3 feet in diameter, and covered with the same brocade as the pallankeens. It is surrounded with peacock feathers, and makes a great current of air; to it bells are sometimes attached to give a kind of music, and there are generally five or six of these fans to drive away the flies from the face of the idol; those who carry them take turns from time to time, like those who carry the pallankeens, so that many may share in this honourable task…

MAJOR TEMPLES

Tirupati

1. "Of the Richness of the Pagode of Tremelle and of the Pomp with which the King of Bisnege visits it," Gasper Correia[10]

I have seen this festival [of the full moon of August] and the fair that is held on that day, this pagode-house being located in a large field, where people begin to gather with their bundles of goods *(fardagens)* fifteen days in advance, where three or four million people assemble, amongst whom there would be three hundred or four hundred thousand on horse, where one can find all the nations of people in the world, and as many goods as one can name from people's mouths, in which I affirm that all the things in the world, nay in the universe, can be found, and of each thing as much as one is searching for. I will write of only one thing here as the greatest achievement that I can relate, and it is this. When these peoples go to do their adoration at the pagode, they go washed and perfumed with sandal, dressed in their fine clothes, and arrayed with their gold jewellery, and the men shave their heads with a razor, leaving no more than a long, thin, tuft *(guedelha)* of hair on the crown *(moleyra)*...

And since there are so many people, as I have said, there are enough barbers to suffice for them, who are all set apart below some large trees, and they shave one head for only one copper coin which is called *caixa;* and the amount of hair that they amass is such that they fill up the space below the trees and on top of them. An amazing thing! There is a man who buys up this hair from the barbers, and they begin to buy when they begin to shave, and they pay a thousand *pardaos* and at times even more; the buyer then has this hair plaited and made into cords, gross and fine, and wigs for women, and other things, in which he makes much money, and all of it is sold there in the fair…

The eve and the day of the pagode that these people present themselves [for *darshana],* and all night long, no one, be he great or small, can present himself without leaving a coin in offering, and each one gives according to his means, and there are some who put down a thousand *pardaos,* and two thousand and five thousand, for very great lords come there: where in front of the pagode; they make a great pile of gold coins, as large as one can make with ten measures *(moios)* of wheat…

The King of Bisnega also comes to this festival, and he comes as unencumbered *(afforado)* as he can, and he brings along ten thousand horse, and two hundred thousand infantry, and hundred to two hundred women of

his own who come in palanquins and litters, locked up with a key, so that no one can see them, and they can see everything through a very small silver netting, and the litter is all gilded and rich on the inside, where they can do what they want, and sleep, or remain sitting…

2. A Jesuit account of Tirupati in 1602[11]

Trepeti which is a city two leagues from Chandegri, very beautiful and large, and like another Rome for this Gentility, on account of a greatly venerated pagode that is there, where from this entire Orient there gather innumerable people, who come with great devotion and offerings to visit this demon which they call Permal.

3. A large and sumptuous edifice, jeweller-trader Jacques de Coutre's account of 1611[12]

And from there [Gurramkonda, the Andhra fort that served as a provincial court for the powerful Gobburi Obba Raya, brother-in-law to Venkatapati, the Vijayanagar king] we left for the city of Chandreguiri, where the emperor had his court after the rebellion [1565]. We arrived at this place, which was very lovely and walled just like Belur. It had a castle atop a very high hill, and at its foot was the palace of the emperor, it was a large and sumptuous edifice. At the entry of the door of the city there was a very large statue in stone, a figure of a negr – like those in Angola – which had four arms. The Gentiles call it Primala. He is one of the gods that they adore, and he had a sword in his hand and three women around him. And inside the city, there was another statue, no smaller in size, of an ape: they call him Nanaando, concerning whom they tell great stories made up by these barbarians. He is also adored as one of the gods. He had a very large tail which went entirely around his body, and he was smeared with oil. There was another statue, a large and disproportionate thing, in the shape of a man; only it had the head of an elephant. This one is called by the Gentiles Ganaso. These three monsters: Primala, Nanocato and Ganaso are adored and held to be gods by the Gentiles of all the Orient…

And the city had great suburbs, and it was teeming with people. I was there for five days: and I went alone from there to the diamond mine in a palanquin, for my companion Francisco de Silvera did not wish to go on ahead on account of fear for the thieves who were there, and the great duties that had to be paid along the routes at the customs-houses by persons, even

if they did not carry goods. Thus I went on, and promised to advise him of the route so that he could pass with greater security. I left the walls of the city and made my way more than two leagues through its suburbs *(arrabales)* till Tripiti, the city of the pagode which is so called, and it seemed that it was all one city. There I saw an extremely large edifice: it was called the pagode of Tripiti, considered in all the Orient to be the principal and the head of all the pagodes. It had very great revenues which the kings and emperors of the Orient gave it. Besides the revenues, the riches in terms of money and jewels that it has are such, that when the emperor has need of money, he asks for a loan from the pagode with great ceremonies. Then, the chief and head of the Brahmins, who are the sacerdotes who administer that pagode, lend it to him…

I saw inside the edifice an idol made of metal. It had two eyes of silver with some glass inside that reflects like a mirror. It was very richly dressed with many jewels, amongst which I saw a girdle with diamonds and rubies; and in the middle I saw a diamond which was worth, and which had cost according to what the Brahmins told me, a hundred and twenty thousand pagodas, which is in our coin a little less than two hundred and forty thousand ducats. Besides this idol, I saw many others in the city.

And I saw many other offerings which all the idolatrous kings of the Orient had presented, and they gave many arms, and it was of great pilgrimage *(romeria)*. They came there in such numbers that when I was travelling by the roads, I came across over a hundred thousand souls together who came in pilgrimage, each of the families bringing along a small idol: some of silver, others of gold, others made of brass, depending on what they could offer. With many drums, they came with flags, some on horse, others on foot, others sitting on oxen as if they were mules. They had their horns covered with brass, and with many tassels *(borlas)* on the neck. These came from the kingdom of the Decan alone. When I saw them from afar, I thought it was an army on the march. I remained two days in the city of Tripiti solely to see the barbarous festivities that they did every day, and at night with many fireworks. And there was a great number of whores and dancers who danced perpetually before the idol with rare dishonesty, the final purpose of all of which was directed at luxury. And all the riches in the city of Tripiti consisted in nothing save the pagode, for even the residents

were rich on account of the great commerce that there was here in pearls, and in all the precious stones.

4. Hindus in their element here, chronicler Antonio Bocarro in 1635[13]

The Gentiles are in their element here, for they worship all the abominations of figures of dogs, cats, monkeys and these are the most common, and of elephants and of cows, and of every type of animal, and the pagodas of all these are so many that there is a very large city, which is Rome to them, only for pagodas, which the Gentiles of this whole Orient arrange to have made as large as possible, and whoever does so is regarded as the more devout and powerful, and however sumptuous they may be they are still dismal and subterranean houses, which shows very well that they are dedicated to the Devil...

5. Very rich temple, Abraham Roger, Dutch Protestant minister resident St. Pulicat in the 1630s and early 1640s[14]

Some days' journey from *Paliacatta* is the very famous *Pagode Tripeti,* which has three festivals yearly. One is in September, at which time there is a great confluence therewards from all directions, particularly of the *Soudraes,* or common folk; who all come with gifts. The second, is in December. At which time one finds for the most part *Bramines* with their gifts. The time of the third festival I have been unable to ascertain. So that since *Tripeti* has so many visits, it must necessarily have many incomes. It is also said that this *Pagode* yearly would have an income of 60, 70, 80, thousand *Pagodas;* all of which results from the gifts, and offerings, that are brought there. Since these *Heathens* do not come there with empty hands, but to discharge by means of gifts the promises they have made to the *Pagode,* on the occasion of recovering their good health, or to give thanks for some other benefit received, so that this *Pagode* has become extremely powerful and rich.

6. Where people shave their hair, Niccolao Manucci[15]

In the Karnatik, inland six leagues from Madras, is a famous and ancient temple called Tripiti. Here assemble many people from all parts of India. The shrine is very wealthy from the large and frequent offerings presented, and owing to the large revenue derived from it, Aurangzeb has to this time postponed its destruction. But it seems to me the reason for not doing so was his fear of renewed rebellions difficult of suppression.

This temple is on a rather high hill, the ascent of which occupies two hours. There are various shelters in which there are many hermits, and hollows occupied by Brahman priests…Impelled by their barbarous religion all the devout go there, and every year there is a festival for fifteen days. A large number of people assemble, and take up their quarters in a village at the foot of the hill. Others shelter themselves in tents or camp under trees…

On this pilgrimage people must shave their heads and faces in order to be cleansed of their sins. These innocent folk give credit to all that the deceiving priests assert, and, in addition, offer them presents. Many also do penance by climbing the hill on all fours, or on their knees, others at full length, rolling their body over and over. Others carry up water to wash the temple *et cetera*...

In addition to the above, there are public women, dancers, who are required to appear several times a week to sing and dance before the idol. For this purpose they have some allowances, from which they are under obligation not to be absent. I have seen Hindus who, on festival days, through religious fervour, climbed up a mast where there was a wheel bearing two iron hooks, and fixing these into their loins at the back, hung down, and praising the idol, swung round three times, making various gestures with their hands and feet. Such persons are held by Hindus in great esteem.

JAGANNATH

1. Magnificence of the temple, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[16]

Jagannath is the name of one of the mouths of the Ganges, upon which the great pagoda is built, where the Great Brahman, that is to say the High Priest of the idolaters, resides. The form of the choir or interior of this pagoda is as follows: it is similar, in proportion, to all the others, which are built upon the same model, in the form of a cross. The great idol on the altar of the choir has two diamonds for his eyes and a pendant from his neck which reaches to the waist, and the smallest of these diamonds weighs about 40 carats; he has bracelets on his arms, some being of pearls and some of rubies, and this magnificent idol is called Kesora [Kesava Rai]…

Bejewelled deities

I come now to a more detailed description of the idol on the altar of the pagoda of Jagannath. It is covered from the neck to the base with a grand

mantle which hangs on the altar, and this mantle is of gold or silver brocade according to the nature of the ceremonies. At first this idol had neither feet nor hands, and this is how this fact is explained. After one of their prophets was taken up into heaven, when they were all plunged in tears and lamentation at losing him, God sent to them from heaven an angel like the prophet, whom they treated with great honour and respect. But while the angel was engaged in making the idol, impatience seized upon them, and they removed it to the pagoda, although, as yet, it was unprovided with feet and hands. But as it was deformed, they made hands for it out of the small pearls which we call 'pearls by the ounce' [seed pearls]. As for the feet, they cannot be seen, being concealed under the mantle. There is nothing left uncovered save the hands and face; the head and body are made of sandalwood. Round the elevated dome in which the idol is seated, from the base up to the top, there are many niches containing other images, the majority of which represent hideous monsters made of stone of various colours. On each side of this great pagoda there are others, much smaller, where the pilgrims make their petty offerings, and those who, on account of sickness or in their business, have made a vow to some god, take there an image or semblance of the object in memory of the benefit which they believe they have received. This idol is anointed every day with scented oils which make him quite black. He has on his right hand his sister who is called Sotora [Subhadra], who is also represented standing and clothed; and on his left his brother, also clothed, who is called Balbader [Balbhadra]. In front of the great idol, somewhat to the left, his wife is to be seen, who is called Kemui [Kamini], she is of massive gold, and represented standing, the three others are made of sandalwood…

Revenues of temple

…The revenues of this great pagoda are sufficient to feed 15,000 or 20,000 pilgrims daily, and these numbers are often to be found there, the pagoda being the object of the highest devotion by the Indians, who visit it from all quarters…

Large numbers of pilgrims fed daily

The great wealth of pagoda (for it supports upwards of 20,000 cows) depends upon the amount of the offerings made every day by the incredible multitude of people who arrive from all parts. But these alms are not altogether at the discretion of those who give them, as they are fixed by the

High Priest, who before granting permission to the pilgrims to shave themselves, to bathe in the Ganges, and do the other things necessary in fulfilment of their vows, taxes each one according to his means of which he is very exactly informed. Thus he receives enormous sums, from which he himself derives no profit, all being expended on the feeding of the poor and the support of the pagoda. The Grand Brahman distributes each day to the pilgrims whatever food is required, consisting of butter, milk, rice, and flour; but to the poor, who are in want of utensils to cook their food with, it is given ready cooked. It is a surprising thing, and well worthy of notice, to observe how the food is distributed to the poor people who have no pots. In the morning the rice is cooked in earthen pots of different sizes, and when the hour has come when the poor pilgrims come for food, if, for example, there are five, the chief Brahman orders another Brahman to take a pot full of cooked rice, which he lets fall, and the pot is broken into five equal parts, of which each pilgrim takes one, and likewise in proportion, more or less, according to the number of people who present themselves to receive their shares. The Brahmans never cook twice in the same earthen pot, but frequently use copper pots, and they have for plates certain leaves larger than our walnut leaves, which are stitched together. They use, however, a kind of dish about a foot in diameter to melt butter, in which they dip the rice with their fingers when eating, and a small ladle for the melted butter, which is drunk as we drink a glass of Spanish wine after a repast.

2. The annual rath yatra, Francois Bernier[17]

In the town of *Jagannat,* situated on the Gulf of *Bengale,* and containing the famous temple of the idol of that name, a certain annual festival is held, which continues, if my memory fail not, for the space of eight or nine days. At this festival is collected an incredible concourse of people, as was the case anciently at the temple of *Hammon,* and as happens at present in the city of *Meca.* The number, I am told, sometimes exceeds one hundred and fifty thousand. A superb wooden machine is constructed, such as I have seen in several other parts of the *Indies,* with I know not how many grotesque figures, nearly resembling our monsters which we see depicted with two heads, being half man and half beast, gigantic and horrible heads, satyrs, apes, and devils. This machine is set on fourteen or sixteen wheels like those of a guncarriage, and drawn or pushed along by the united exertions of fifty or sixty persons. The idol, *Jagannat,* placed conspicuously

in the middle, richly attired, and gorgeously adorned, is thus conveyed from one temple to another.

The first day on which this idol is formally exhibited in the temple, the crowd is so immense, and the press so violent, that some of the pilgrims, fatigued and worn out in consequence of their long journey, are squeezed to death: the surrounding throng give them a thousand benedictions, and consider them highly favoured to die on such a holy occasion after travelling so great a distance. And while the chariot of hellish triumph pursues its solemn march, persons are found (it is no fiction which I recount) so blindly credulous and so full of wild notions as to throw themselves upon the ground in the way of its ponderous wheels, which pass over and crush to atoms the bodies of the wretched fanatics without exciting the horror or surprise of the spectators. No deed, according to their estimation, is so heroic or meritorious as this self-devotion: the victims believe that *Jagannat* will receive them as children, and recall them to life in a state of happiness and dignity.

BANARAS

Among the most famous, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[18]

I come to the pagoda of Benares, which, after that of Jagannath, is the most famous in all India, and of equal sanctity, being built on the margin of the Ganges, and in the town of which it bears the name. The most remarkable thing about it is that from the door of the pagoda to the river there is a descent by stone steps, where there are at intervals platforms and small, rather dark, chambers, some of which serve as dwellings for the Brahmans, and others as kitchens where they prepare their food. For after the idolaters have bathed, and have gone to pray and make their offerings in the pagoda, they prepare their food without anyone but themselves touching it, through the fear they have lest anyone who approached it might be unclean. But above all things, they ardently desire to drink the water of the Ganges, because, as soon as they have drunk it, they believe, as I have said, that they are cleansed from all their sins…

The building, like all the other pagodas, is in the figure of a cross, having its four arms equal. In the middle a lofty dome rises like a kind of tower with many sides terminating in a point, and at the end of each arm of the cross another tower rises, which can be ascended from outside. Before reaching

the top there are many niches and several balconies, which project to intercept the fresh air; and all over the tower there are rudely executed figures in relief of various kinds of animals. Under this great dome, and exactly in the middle of the pagoda, there is an altar like a table, of 7 to 8 feet in length, and 5 to 6 wide, with two steps in front, which serve as a footstool, and this footstool is covered with a beautiful tapestry, sometimes of silk and sometimes of gold and silk, according to the solemnity of the rite which is being celebrated.

The altar is covered with gold or silver brocade, or some beautiful painted cloth. From outside the pagoda this altar faces you with the idols upon it; for the women and girls must salute it from the outside, as, save only those of a certain tribe, they are not allowed to enter the pagoda. Among the idols on the great altar one stands 5 or 6 feet in height; neither the arms, legs, nor trunk are seen, only the head and neck being visible; all the remainder of the body, down to the altar, is covered by a robe which increases in width below. Sometimes on its neck there is a rich chain of gold, rubies, pearls, or emeralds. This idol has been made in honour and after the likeness of Bainmadou [Vishnu], formerly a great and holy personage among them, whose name they often have on their lips. On the right side of the altar there is also the figure of an animal, or rather of a chimera, seeing that it represents in part an elephant, in part a horse, and in part a mule. It is of massive gold, and is called Garou [Garuda], no person being allowed to approach it but the Brahmans. It is said to be the resemblance of the animal which this holy personage rode upon when he was in the world, and that he made long journeys on it, going about to see if the people were doing their duty and not injuring anyone. At the entrance of the pagoda, between the principal door and the great altar, there is to the left a small altar upon which an idol made of black marble is seated, with the legs crossed, and about two feet high. When I was there, near it, on the left, sat a small boy, son of the chief priest, and all the people who came there threw him pieces of taffeta, or brocade like handkerchiefs, with which he wiped the idol and then returned them to the owners. Others threw him chains made of beads like small nuts, with a naturally sweet scent, which these idolaters wear on their necks and use to repeat their prayers over each bead. Others threw chains of coral or yellow amber, others fruits and flowers. Finally, with everything which is thrown to the chief Brahman’s child he wipes the idol and makes him kiss it, and afterwards, as I have just said, returns it to the

people. This idol is called Morli Ram [Muralidhara], that is to say, the God Morli, brother of the idol on the great altar.

MATHURA

A grand temple, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[19]

At Cheki-sera there is one of the grandest pagodas in India with an asylum for apes, both for those commonly in the place and those from the neighbouring country, where the Banians provide them with food. This pagoda is called Mathura; formerly it was held in much greater veneration by the idolaters than it is at present, the reason being that the Jumna then flowed at the foot of the pagoda, and the Banians, both those of the place and those who came from afar in pilgrimage to perform their devotions there, were able to bathe in the river before entering the pagoda, and after coming out of it before preparing to eat, which they must not do without bathing; besides, they believe that by bathing in running water their sins are more effectually removed. But for some years back the river has taken a northerly course, and flows at a good coss distance from the pagoda; this is the reason why so many pilgrims do not visit it now.

AYODHYA

1. Brahmins keep records of pilgrims, William Finch[20]

Ajodhya]…a citie of ancient note, and seate of a Potan king, now much ruined; the castle built foure hundred yeeres agoe. Heere are also the ruines of Ranichand[s] [Rama Chandra, the reference is to the mound known as Ramkot, fort of Rama] castle and houses, which the Indians acknowled[g]e for the great God, saying that he tooke flesh upon him to see the tamasha [show or spectacle] of the world. In these ruines remayne certaine Bramenes, who record the names of all such Indians as wash themselves in the river running thereby; which custome, they say, hath continued foure lackes of yeeres (which is three hundred ninetie foure thousand and five hundred yeeres before the worlds creation). Some two miles on the further side of the river is a cave of his with a narrow entrance, but so spacious and full of turnings within that a man may well loose himselfe there, if he take no better heed; where it is thought his ashes were buried. Hither resort many from all parts of India, which carry from hence in remembrance certaine graines of rice as blacke as gun-powder, which they say have beene

reserved ever since. Out of the ruines of this castle is yet much gold trayed. Here is great trade, and such abundance of Indian asse-horne [rhinoceros horn] that they make hereof bucklers and divers sorts of drinking cups. There are of these hornes, all the Indians affirme, some rare of great price, no jewell comparable, some esteeming them the right unicornes horne.

2. Girls' pagoda at Ayodhya, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[21]

In this country there is another pagoda, well-built and very ancient, and ornamented within and without with many figures, which are representations of girls and women only. Men never go there to worship, and on that account it is called the girls' pagoda. It has an alter in the middle like the other pagodas, and upon this altar there is an idol of massive gold about 4 feet high, which represents a girl, standing, whom they call Ram-Marion [actually it is Ram Narayan, the defied Rama of Ayodhya]. She has on her right an image of a child, standing, made of massive silver, and nearly 2 feet in height, and it is said that this girl living a holy life, the infant was taken to her by the Brahmans to learn her creed and how to live well; but at the end of three or four years, during which the child had dwelt with the girl, it became so clever and accomplished that all the Rajas and Princes of the country wished for it, and, at last, one of them carried it off one night and it has not since been seen. This idol has on her left, at the base of the altar, another idol representing an old man, whom they say had been the servant of Ram-Marion and the child, and the Brahmans pay great reverence to this idol. They come to it only once a year for worship, and it is necessary for them to arrive on a prescribed day, which is the first day of the moon in November, because the pagoda is only opened at full moon. During the fifteen days which intervene all the pilgrims, both men and women, must fast at times, and bathe three times every day, without leaving a single hair on their bodies, all being easily removed by the use of a certain earth with which they rub themselves [use of lime and arsenic and depilatories].

RAMESHWARAM

1. Coconuts offered, Giovanni Careri[22]

He [a Portuguese gentleman] told me further, That near the Island of *Ceylon,* there is another small Island call'd *Ramanacor,* with a *Pagod* of the same Name; at the Entrance whereof is a Trough of black Stone, and in it a

Statue of Metal, with the Eyes made of Rubies; and that the *Gentils* break over it Coconuts full of Water; and lay Figs there, to Eat them afterwards, as if they were Sanctify'd, and Drink that Water, as Holy. Within the further part of this *Pagod,* is another which they open once a Year; and the they adore a Brazen Idol call'd *Lingon,* which is a very lewd Figure, the Parts of Man and Woman appearing join'd together. Some *Gentils* wear it hanging about their Necks, out of Devotion, as the God of Nature.

2. Even desecrated temples full of devotees, Niccolao Manucci[23]

In this realm of India, although King Aurangzeb destroyed numerous temples, there does not thereby fail to be many left at different places, both in his empire and in the territories subject to the tributary princes. All of them are thronged with worshippers; even those that are destroyed are still venerated by the Hindus and visited for the offering of alms.

D. Worship at other Sites

1. Hindus pray frequently, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[24]

They doe keepe and obserue their Ceremonies and Superstitions with great deuotion, for they neuer goe forth without praying when they trauell by the way. They haue on every Hill, Cliffe, Hole, or Denne their *Pagodes* and Idols in most deuilish and deformed shapes cut and hewed out of the stones and rockes, with their Furnaces hard by them, and a Cisterne not farre from them, which is alwaies full of water, and euery one that passeth by, washeth their feet therein, and so fall downe before their Idoll, some setting before him for an offering Fruits, Rice, Egges, Hennes, &c., as their deuotions serue, and then commeth the Bramene their Priest and taketh it away and eateth it, making the common people beleeue that the Pagoda hath eaten it.

2. Worship by king of Calicut, Ludovico di Varthema[25]

…And the king of Calicut keeps this Deumo [the image he worships, Devil, according to Varthema] in his chapel in his palace, in this wise; this chapel is two paces wide in each of the four sides, and three paces high, with doors covered with devils carved in relief. In the midst of this chapel there is a devil made of metal, placed in a seat also made of metal. The said devil has a crown made like that of the papal kingdom, with three crowns; it has also four horns and four teeth with a very large mouth, nose, and most terrible eyes. The hands are made like those of a flesh-hook and the large feet like those of a cock; so that he is a fearful object to behold. All the pictures around the said chapel are those of devils, and on each side of it there is a Sathanas seated in a seat, which seat is placed in a flame of fire, wherein are a great number of souls, of the length of half a finger and a finger of the hand. And the said Sathanas holds a soul in his mouth with the right hand, and with the other seizes a soul by the waist.

3. Worship at Banaras, Ralph Fitch[26]

Here…they have their images standing, which be evill favoured, made of stone and wood, some like lions, leopards, and monkeis; some like men and women, and peacocks; and some like the devil with foure armes and four hands…And in divers places there standeth a kind of image…they call Ada…This Ada hath foure hands with clawes…They have in some of these

houses their idoles standing. Many of them are blacke and have clawes of brasse with long nayles, and some ride upon peacocks…

4. Beautiful temples in Merta, William Finch[27]

…three faire Pagodes richly wrought with inlayd works, adorned richly with jewels..

5. Nagarkot temple, where people cut their tongue for offering, William Finch[28]

Negercoat [Nagarkot, now Kangra], 80 c. from Lahor and as much from Syrinan [Sirhind]; in which city is a famous pagod called Je or Durga [the temple of Bajreswari Devi], unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue and, throwing it at the idols feet, have found it whole the next day (able to lye, I am afraid; to serve the father of lyes and lyers, how ever); yea, some out of impious piety heere sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats and presently recovering. The holyer the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed; some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe a day in paine before the divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents or lost by themselves; which, having made their offerings, by dreames in the night receive answere, not one departing discontented. They report this pagan deity to have beene a woman (if a holy virgin may have that name); yea, that shee still lives (the divell shee doth) but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this peer [Persian *pir*, a saint].

6. An exquisite [Jain?] temple at Cambay, idols carry message of philosophy, Pietro Della Valle[29]

…we saw in the City a Temple of Idols, one of the best which the Gentiles have in *Cambaia.* The form of it is a perfect square, with walls round about supporting a flat roof, which is also upheld in the middle by four pillars dispos'd in a square too; within which, upon the little space remaining, is advanc'd somewhat higher then the roof, and yet of a square form, a kind of *Cupoletta,* or little Chappel. In the principal part of this Temple stand in three great *Nieches* so many great Idols, made of white Marble, and naked, (as the Indians paint all their Idols). They are in a sitting posture, yet after the manner of the East, as they use to sit upon the ground with the Legs

gather'd under; but they sit in a place somewhat higher then the floare, as it were upon a large Pedestal. These *Nieches* are inclos'd with doors made with lattices, that so the Idols may be seen without opening them; but they are open'd upon occasion for any that are minded to go in; they were so for us, but we entred not, because the *Nieches* are so small that we saw everything well enough from the doors.

The principal Idol in this Temple is that which stands in the middle *Nieche,* call'd *Mahavir,* from whom the Temple is denominated. Who this *Mahavir* is, and whether he be all one with *Mahadeu,* as I have some suspicion, I do not yet know…

Before the Idol without the *Nieche* hung a Bell, (as 'tis the custom in all their Temples) which…all those who come to make their prayers ring at their first entrance. Within this and the other *Nieches* on the sides were one or two lighted Candles. In the other sides of the Temple, something higher then the pavement, were in the wall certain little *Nieches,* in each of which stood an Idolet, or little Idol, some in the shape of Men, others of Women. One there was which had many Arms on a side, and many Faces, and this they said was call'd *Brachma* [Brahma], one of their chief false Deities. Another had the head of an Elephant, and was call'd *Ganescio*: They say, he is the Son of *Mahadeu,* who finding him one day with Parveti his wife, but his own Mother, and not knowing who he was, kill'd him out of jealousie, cutting off his Head; but afterwards understanding that he was his own Son, he repented him of his error, and resolv'd to bring him to life again. Wherefore meeting with an Elephant, (as he had purpos'd to do with what he first happen'd upon) he cut off his Head, and plac'd it on his dead Son's Shoulders. Whereupon *Ganescio* reviv'd, and thenceforward liv'd immortal with an Elephant's Head. But behold another delusion! One there is with the Head, I know not whether of a Tyger or Lyon, probably 'tis that *Narosinha* [Narasimha] which I formerly writ that I saw in *Combru,* in the maritime parts of *Persia.*

Some of these Idolets sat upon Sundry Animals, as Tygers and the like, and even upon Rats; of which things the foolish and ignorant Indians relate ridiculous stories. But I doubt not that, under the veil of these Fables, their ancient Sages (most parsimonious of the Sciences, as all Barbarians ever were) have hid from the vulgar many secrets, either of Natural or Moral Philosophy, and perhaps also of History: and I hold for certain that all these

so monstrous figures have secretly some more rational significations, though express'd in this uncouth manner; as we know in ancient time among the Gentiles of our Countries there was in the figures of quadrifronted *Janus,* of Jupiter Ammon with the Head of a Ram, of *Anubis* with the Head of a Dog, and many other extravagances, not onely of the *Grecians* and *Ægyptians,* but also of the *Romans.*

7. Famous Mahadev temple at Ahmadabad attracts huge crowds, Gymnosophists, Pietro Della Valle[30]

…we went to see a famous Temple of *Mahedeu,* to which there is hourly a great concourse of people, and the street which leads to it is always full, not onely of goers and comers to the Temple, but also of beggars who stand here and there asking Alms of those that pass by. The building of this Temple is small, the Entrance narrow and very low, almost under ground; for you descend by many steps, and you would think you were rather going into a *Grotto* than into a Temple, and hence there is always a great crowd there. On high hung a great number of Bells, which are rung every moment with great noise by those who come to worship.

Ancient gymnosophists

Within the Temple continually stand many naked *Gioghi* [jogis], having onely their privities (not very well) cover'd with a cloth; they wear long Hair dishevel'd, dying their Fore-heads with spots of Sanders [sandal], Saffron, and other colours suitable to their superstitious Ceremonies. The rest of their bodies is clean and smooth, without any tincture or impurity; which I mention as a difference from some other *Gioghi,* whose Bodies are all smear'd with colours and ashes as I shall relate hereafter. There is no doubt but these are the ancient Gymnosophists so famous in the world, and, in short, those very Sophists who then went naked and exercis'd great patience in sufferings, to whom *Alexander* the Great sent *Onesicritus* to consult with them, as *Strabo* reports from the testimony of the same *Onesicritus.*

8. Temple of Vratis [Jains?] at Cambay, Peitro Della Valle[31]

…we saw in one of the Suburbs or Hamlets near the City, call'd *Causari,* a Temple of the *Gentiles,* peradventure the goodliest that I have seen, with certain *Cupola's,* and high Balconies of tolerable Architecture, but no great model. This Temple belongs to the Race of *Indians* who shave their heads

(a thing unusual to all others, who wear long hair like Women), and such are called *Vertia.* The Idol in it sate on high over an Altar at the upper end, in a Place somewhat dark, ascended by stairs, with lamps always burning before it. When I went in there was a Man at his Devotions, and burning Perfumes before the Idol.

9. Brahma temple at Nagra, formerly chief city of kingdom of Cambay, Pietro Della Valle[32]

…in the Temple dedicated to Brahma in the Town of Naghra, which is little considerable for building, but in great Veneration for ancient Religion, there are many Idols of white Marble. The biggest is the Chief and hath the worthiest place; in the middle is the Statue *Brahma,* or *Pythagoras,* with many Arms and Faces, as they, ordinarily pourtray him, namely three Faces, for I could not see whether there were a fourth or more behind; 'tis naked, with a long picked Beard, but ill cut as well as the rest of the figure, which for its bigness hath a very great Belly, I know not whether through the Artificers fault, who seem to have been little skilful, or else because the *Indians,* as I have also heard of the people of Sumatra, account it a great Beauty and perfection to have a great Belly. This figure of *Brahma* stands upright, and at his Feet two other less carv'd figures, which, as they, say, are his two sons, *Sunnet* and *Sunnatan.* On each side of *Brahma* stand likewise two Statues of Women, somewhat less than *Brahma* himself, and they call them his Wives, *Savetri* and *Gavetri.* On the left side of this narrow Temple, stand two other figures of the same bigness, being two naked Men with long Beards, whom they pretend to have been two religious persons, I know not whether Doctors, or Disciples of *Brahma* or *Pythagoras;* one is call'd *Chescuer,* the other *Ciavan de Chescuer.* On the same side downwards are many other Idolets, as one with an Elephants Head, and divers others formerly by me mention'd. All which Idols are serv'd, ador'd, perfum'd, offer'd to and washed every day as for delight (for the *Indians* account it delight to wash often) by the *Brachmans,* who assist at their service with much diligence.

10. Hanuman temple at ghat near Garsopa, Pietro Della Valle[33]

…a Temple of *Hamant,* who is one of those two *Scimiones* [Italian for apes] who were employ'd by *Ramo* for recovering his Wife *Sita,* as their Fables relate; for which good work and their other miracles the *Indians* adore them. Here I saw his Statue in the Temple with burning lights before it, and

a consecrated Silver Hand hung up by some devout person, perhaps cur'd of some evil of his Hands.

Below this place where we lodg'd, amongst the little Valleys of the Hill, is a fair and large Cistern, or Receptacle of water, which falls thereinto from a River descending from the Mountain, the over-plus running into the lower Valleys. At night we heard Musick at the Gate of the above-mention'd Temple, divers barbarous Instruments sounding, and amongst the rest certain great Horns of Metal, fashion'd almost into a semicircle. I ask'd the reason of this Festival, and they told me the Idol was to go presently, accompany'd with a great number of Men and Women, in pilgrimage to a place of their devotion near *San Tome,* a moneth's journey and more; and that it was to be carry'd in a *Palanchino,* as the custom is, and in procession with sundry sounds and songs, almost in the same manner as amongst us Christians the Bodies, or Images, of Saints are carry'd in procession when any Community, or Fraternity, go in pilgrimage to *Loreto,* or *Rome,* in the Holy year.

11. Temple at Honelli, Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle[34]

…we ended this day's journey in the onely considerable and populous Town we had hitherto met, which is call'd *Ahineli* [Honelli]. We lodg'd in the Porches of a Temple of Idols, low after their manner, with very large caves supported by great Posts; the Pavement rais'd high and dung'd, but not lately; the walls white, sprinkled in the corners and ends with a sort of rosy pigment, ill colour'd; for so is their custom, always in their Religious Structures. The Idol was call'd *Virena Deuru* [lingam], the latter of which words signifies *God,* or rather *Lord,* being attributed also to Men of quality; he stood at the upper end in a dark place with Candles before him; of what figure he was I could not see well, by reason of the darkness, but they told me 'twas a Man. In the body of the Temple were many other wooden Statues of less Idols, plac'd about in several places, as 'twere for ornament; some of which were figures of their Gods, others not of Gods, but for ornament, of several shapes...

Of Gods there was a *Brahma* with five Heads and three Arms on a side, sitting astride a Peacock, which in their Language they call *Nau Brahma,* that is *the Peacock of Brahma;* another God was call'd *Naraina,* with four Arms on a side: another with an Elephant's Head and two Hands to an Arm, whom they call *Ganesu,* and others *Bacra-tundo,* that is *Round-mouth;* for

one and the same God hath divers names. Another, call'd *Fuena,* had the shape of a Man, holding a naked Sword in his right Hand and a Buckler in his left. Another had a Man under his Feet, upon whose Head he trampled; and so many others of various sorts.

I observ'd that all these Idols had the same cover of the Head high, with many peaks, all ending in one long peak, a strange and majestical Diadem not used now in *India;* it might have been of wreath'd Linnen, or Gold, or other solid matter; wherefore I imagine that it is a very ancient covering, at this day disus'd; unless haply it be some ensign of Divinity, which I rather think, because I remember to have seen at *Rome* almost the same Diadems upon the Heads of some *Ægyptian* Statues, (and, if I forget not, they were called *Tutuli,* and the Idols *Tutulati),* as amongst us the Diadems of the Saints, or, as some make it, three Crowns one upon another, like the *Regno,* or Pontifical Crown, of our Pope.

In the middle of the Temple, between the chief entrance and the inner shrine, was another darker inclosure, separated from the chief entrance, but not to the same extent as was the inner shrine, that is to say about half-way between the two, wherein stood, fastned in the ground, certain slender staves, with others across them in two rows, making a little Stockade, or Palisade, of a long form; and these were to hang Lamps and Tapers upon; at more solemn dayes and hours…

Within the circuit of this Temple, but on one side of the Court as you go in, were three other little cells, separate from the body of the great Temple, two of which were empty, perhaps not yet well prepared, but in the other was an Idol of an Ox, which our Barber knew, and said was also of his Country and that they call it *Basuana;* it was half lying, or rather sitting, upon the floor, with the Head erect; like which Ox, or *Basuana,* stood another in the upper part of the Temple, before the Tribunal of the Idol *Virena,* as if it stood there for his guard.

In the Evening the Ministers of the Temple ring a kind of Bell or Shell, which was within the Temple, striking it with a staff; and it made a tolerable sound, as if it had been a good Bell: at which sound, some from without assembling together, they begin to sound within the Temple very loudly two Drums, and two Pipes, or Flutes, of metal; after which, many Tapers being lighted, particularly, at the Stockade above-mentioned, and a little quilt being put in order, with a Canopy of rich stuff above it which is alwayes

ready in the Temple for carrying the Idol, they put the principal Idol *Virena* on it, (not that one of ordinary wood in the middle of the Temple, but the other at the upper end, which was of the same bigness, about two spans round the body) and ornaments about it, but all painted with various colours, gilded, and deck'd with white Flowers. Then one of the Ministers march'd first, sounding a Bell continually as he went, and after him others, and at length two with lighted Tapers, after which follow'd the Idol in his Canopy, with a Minister before him, carrying a Vessel of Perfumes, which he burnt; and thus they carry'd him in Procession: first into the Court without the Temple, going out of it on the left Hand, as you enter, which to them as they came out was the right, and returning by the other opposite. After which, going out of the Gate of the Court into the street, they went in the, same manner in Procession, (still sounding their Bells) I know not whither, but 'tis likely they went to some other Temple to perform some kind of ceremony; for in the Town there was more than one. Being at length return'd, and the procession reentering the Court with a great train of Men and Women of the Town, they went thrice about the inside of the Court, as they had done once, before they went out….

…one of the Ministers distributed to all the by-standers a little quantity of certain Fitches, mingled with small slices of Indian Nut, which, I conceive, had been offer'd to the Idol; and they took and ate the same with signes of Devotion and Reverence…

12. Aghoreshwar [Mahadev] temple at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle[35]

At night, walking in the City, I saw in the Piazza of the great Temple (which I understood was dedicated to an Idol caII'd *Agore Scuara,* who, they say, is the same with *Mahadeu,* although they represent him not in the in the same shape, as that I saw of *Mahadeu* in *Cambaia,* but in the shape of a Man, with but one Head and Face and sixteen Arms on each side (in all thirty-two); which is not strange, since our Antients call'd many of their Idols by names sufficiently different and pourtray'd them in several shapes; and wherein also I understood there was an Idol of *Parveti,* who *is* the wife of *Mahadeu,* though the Temple be not dedicated to her): I saw, I say, in the Piazza one of their Fryers, or *Giangami* [Lingayats], clad all in white, sitting in an handsome *Palanchino,* with two great white Umbrellas held over him, one on each side, (which two were for the more gravity) and a Horse led behind, being follow'd by a great train of other *Giangami,* clad in

their ordinary habits. Before the *Palanchino* march'd a numerous company of Souldiers and other people, many Drums and Fifes, two strait long Trumpets and such brass Timbrels as are used in *Persia,* Bells and divers other Instruments, which sounded as loud as possible, and amongst them was a troop of Dancing-women adorn'd with Girdles, Rings upon their Legs, Neck-laces and other ornaments of Gold, and with certain Pectorals, or Breast-plates; almost round, in the fashion of a Shield and butting out with a sharp ridge before, embroyder'd with Gold and stuck either with Jewels, or some such things, which reflected the Sun-beams with marvellous splendor; as to the rest of their bodies they were uncover'd, without any Veil, or Head-tire. When they came to the Piazza the *Palanchino* stood still, and, the multitude having made a ring, the Dancing-women fell to dance after their manner; which was much like the Moris-dance of *Italy,* onely the Dancers sung as they' danc'd, which seem'd much better. One of them who, perhaps, was the Mistress of the rest danc'd along by herself, with extravagant and high jumpings, but always looking towards the *Palanchino.* Sometimes she cower'd down with her haunches almost to the ground, sometimes, leaping up, she struck them with her feet backward, (as *Coelius Rhodiginus* relates of the ancient dance call'd *Bibasi)* continually singing and making several gestures with her Hands; but after a barbarous manner and such as amongst us would not be thought handsome. The Dance being ended, the *Palanchino* with all the train went forward, the Instruments continually playing before them. I follow'd to see the end, and found that they went into the chief street and so out of the City by the Gate which leads to *Sagher,* stopping in divers places of the street to act the same, or the like, dances over again; and particularly in the Entrance of the said Gate, where, amongst many Trees and Indian Canes which make the City-Wall, there is a small Piazza, very even and shaded about like a Pastoral Scene and very handsome. At last the *Giangamo* with his *Palanchino* and train enter'd into certain Gardens without the Gate where his House stood; and after the last dance he remain'd there and the rest went away. They told me this honor was done him because they had then cast water upon his Head and perform'd some other Ceremony, equivalent to our ordaining one *in Sacris,* or creating a Doctor…

13. Dancing priest at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle[36]

The same Evening Lights being set up in all the Temples, and the usual Musick of Drums and Pipes sounding, I saw in one Temple, which was none of the greatest, a Minister, or Priest, dance before the Idol all naked, saving that he had a small piece of Linnen over his Privities, as many of them continually go; he had a drawn Sword in his Hand, which he flourish'd as if he had been fencing; but his motions were nothing but lascivious gestures. And, indeed, the greatest part of their Worship of their Gods consists in nothing but Musick, Songs & Dances, not only pleasant but lascivious, and in serving their idols as if they were living Persons; namely in presenting to them things, to eat, washing them, perfuming them, giving, them *Betle-leaves,* dying them with Sanders, carrying them abroad in Procession, and such other things as the Country-people account delights and observances…

14. Temple procession at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle[37]

…I went to the great Temple, where, as it is the principal, I thought to see the greatest and most solemn Ceremonies. After the people were call'd together by the sounding of several Trumpets a good while without the Temple they began to make the usual Procession within the Yard, or Inclosure, with many noises of their barbarous instruments, as they are wont to do here every evening: which after they had done as often as they pleas'd they went forth into the street, where much people expected them, carrying two Idols in procession, both in one *Palanchino,* one at each end, small and so deck'd with Flowers and other Ornaments that I could scarce know what they were. Yet I think that in the back-end was *Agoresouer,* to whom the Temple is dedicated, and the other *Parveti,* or some other Wife of his. First march'd the Trumpets and other instruments of divers sorts, continually sounding, then follow'd amongst many Torches a long train of Dancing-women, two and two, bare-headed, in their dancing dress and deck'd with many Ornaments of Gold and Jewels. After them came the *Palanchino* of the Idols, behind which were carry'd many Lances, Spears with silken Streamers, and many Umbrellas garnish'd with silken tufts and fringes round about, more stately than those used by others, even the King himself; for these are commonly the Ensignes of Grandeur. On each side of the *Palanchino* went many rows of Women, either publick Dancers, or prostitutes; but because these were not to dance they went bare-fac'd indeed, (as the Pagan Women here little care for covering their Faces) but

with a cloth bound about their Heads and hanging down behind upon their Shoulders and before upon their Breasts. Some of them next the *Palanchino* carryed in their Hands certain little Staves, either of Silver, or Silver'd over; at the end of which hung thick, long and white tufts of the hair of Horses tails, with which (as 'tis the custom of great Persons in India to use them) they went fanning the Air, and either drove away the Flies from the Idols in the *Palanchino,* or at least performed this Office as a piece of Grandeur, as with us the same is done to the Pope, with fans made of the tails of white Peacocks, when he goes abroad in *Pontificalibus.* Neither were there wanting about the Idols many of their Priests, or Ministers, of the Temple who accompany'd them; particularly one who seem'd the chief and *Archimandrita* of the rest; besides abundance of Torches whose light dispell'd the darkness of the Moon-less night. In this order they came into the Piazza, and there, after they had made a large ring, the dancing began; first two Dancing-women, one from one side of the circle, and another from another, yet both with their Faces always turn'd towards the Idols, walk'd three steps forward, and then three backward; and this they did innumerable times. I suppose it was a way of saluting the Idols. After the said two Dancers alone had done thus two others from the several sides joyn'd with them, and they did the same again, three and three. This Salutation, or Preamble of the Ballet, being many times repeated, they began to dance, namely two that danc'd better than the rest, one on the right side of the circle, and the other on the left, both with their Faces, never with their backs, towards the *Palanchino* of the Idols, though often in the Dance they retir'd backwards as well as went forwards. Their dancing was high, with frequent leapings and odd motions, sometimes inclining their haunches as if they meant to sit down, sometimes rising very high and causing the skirt wherewith they are cover'd from the girdle downwards to fly out, and always holding one Arm stretch'd out before them, wherewith they now and then made as if they were thrusting, or fencing; besides other mad gestures; which were all accompany'd with words which they sang, and sometimes with cries more apt to give horror than delight. Hence, while all the other Dancing-women (that is those who were uncover'd and loosed for dancing) danced all in a company together further distant from the Idols, striking their little sticks and singing, being guided by a Man who danced with them and was their Master, the other Dancers who were cloth'd stood about the Idols, but danced not, nor ever moved from their place; onely they

accompany'd the Show, very fine with Ornaments of Gold and Jewels, and some of them having Flowers, others leaves of *Betle,* or other Odoriferous Herb, in their Hands.

This Dance being ended, the Procession went forwards with the same Pomp and a numerous Train of Men and Women of all sorts. They went not round the great Piazza in front of the Temple but within the outermost walls of the Temple, which is surrounded by very large streets, inhabited for the most part by the said Dancers, or publick Strumpets. The circuit of the Procession began from the right Hand as you come out of the Temple, which comes to be the left as you enter in; and in the same manner I saw the Procession begin at the Temple of the Town *Ahinela,* which I have described above; so that it must needs be one of their usual Ceremonies. This procession stop'd at several places in the streets through which it past; and at every such stopping, the above-mention'd Dancings, Perambulations and other performances were again repeated; whence the Show lasted a good while and concluded at length with the last Dance in the Piazza before the Temple-Gate; which ended, the Procession with the Idols re-enter'd the Temple, where it being replaced according to their accustomed Ceremonies, the solemnity ended and all the people departed.

I was told by one of the spectators that this Ceremony was practised every *Monday* at night and at every New and Full Moon, as also upon certain other extraordinary solemnities, with more or less Pomp proportionably to the Festivals: and he added that the night following there would be a greater solemnity than this, because the New Moon and another of their Feasts were then coincident, and that the King himself would be there; wherefore I resolved with my self to see it.

15. The temple and town illuminated at Ikkeri [Diwali?], king visits temple, Pietro Della Valle[38]

November the one and twentieth. This night an infinite number of Torches and Candles were lighted, not onely in all the Temples but also in all the Streets, Houses and Shops of *Ikkeri,* which made a kind of splendour over all the City. In each of the Temples was its Idol, which in some was a Serpent; and they had adorned the outward Porches not onely with lights, but also with certain contrivances of paper, on which were painted Men on Horse-back, Elephants, people fighting and other odd figures; behind which papers lights were placed in certain little Arches, like those which we make

in our Sepulchres; these with other gay Ornaments of Silk hung round about made a sufficiently prety Show. In the great Temple not onely the inside, in the middle whereof is a very high and slender Cupola, (which appears without too) but also all the outer walls and all those round about the Piazza which lies before it, as also the Houses on the adjacent sides, were all full of lights. The concourse of people of all sorts and degrees, both Men and Women, was very great; and they appeared to go about visiting all the Temples. When it was very late the King came to the great Temple, accompanied onely by his two grandsons…The King stay'd in the Temple about an hour, being entertain'd with Musick, Dancing and other things which I could not see because I was without. At length he came forth, and with the same company, and running in as much haste as he came return'd home; the like did all the other people of whom the Piazza was full, some on one side, some on the other.

16. Hermitage at Kadiri [near Mangalore], Pietro Della Valle[39]

On the edge of the Plain, where the ascent of the Hill begins, is a great Cistern, or Lake, from which ascending a flight of stairs, with the face turn'd towards the North, you enter into a Gate, which hath a cover'd Porch, and is the first of the whole inclosure, which is surrounded with a wall and a ditch like a Fort. Having enter'd the said Gate, and going straight forward through a handsome broad Walk, beset on either side with sundry fruit trees, you come to another Gate, where there are stairs and a Porch higher than the former. This opens into a square *Piazza,* or great Court, in the middle whereof stands a Temple of indifferent greatness, and for Architecture like the other Temples of the Indian *Gentiles*; onely the Front looks towards the East, where the Hill riseth higher, and the South side of the Temple stands towards the Gate which leads into the Court. Behind the Temple, on the side of the Court, is a kind of Shed, or Pent-house, with a Charriot in it, which serves to carry the Idol in Procession upon certain Festivals. Also in two, or three, other places of the side of the Court, there are little square Chappels for other Idols. On the North Side of the Court is another Gate opposite to the former, by which going out and ascending some steps you see a great Cistern, or Lake, of a long form built about with black stone, and stairs leading down to the surface of the water; in one place next the Wall 'tis divided into many little Cisterns, and it serves for the

Ministers of the Temple to wash themselves in and to perform their Ceremonies.

The Gate of the Temple, as I said, looks Eastward, where the Hill begins to rise very high and steep. From the Front of the Temple to the top of the Hill are long and broad stairs of the same black stone, which lead up to it, and there the place is afterwards plain. Where the stairs begin stands a high, strait and round brazen Pillar, ty'd about in several places with little fillets; 'tis about 60 Palms high, and one and a half thick from the bottom to the top, with little diminution. On this Pillar are plac'd about seventeen round brazen wheels, made with many spokes round about like stars: they are to support the lights in great Festivals, and are distant about three Palms one from another. The top terminates in a great brazen Candlestick of five branches, of which the middle-most is highest, the other four of equal height. The foot of the Pillar is square, and hath an Idol engraven on each side: the whole structure is, or at least seems to be, all of one piece.

The Temple, to wit the inner part where the Idol stands, is likewise all cover'd with brass. They told me that the walls of the whole Inclosure, which are now cover'd with leaves, were sometimes covered with large plates of brass; but that *Venk-tapa Naieka* carry'd the same away when, in the war of *Mangalor,* his Army pillag'd all these Countries: which whether it be true, or no, I know not. The walls of a less Inclosure (wherein, according to their custom, the Temple stands) are also surrounded on the outside with eleven wooden rails up to the top, distant one above the other little more than an Architectural Palm; these also serve to bear Lights on Festival occasions; which must needs make a brave Show, the Temple thereby appearing as if it were all on fire. This Temple is dedicated to an Idol call'd *Moginato* [probably Parasnath]. Of what form it is I know not, because they would not suffer us to enter in to see it.

17. Martand temple in Kashmir, Francois Bernier[40]

... we no sooner arrived in the city of *Kachemire* than my *Navaab, Danechmend-kan,* sent me to the further end of the country, three short journeys from the capital, that I might witness the 'wonders,' as they are called, of a certain fountain [the sacred spring at Bawan or Matan, near Srinagar; and the temple dedicated to Martand, the sun-god].

I was accompanied by a native, and escorted by one of my *Navaab's* troopers. The 'wonders' consist in this: in the month of May, when the melting of the snows has just taken place, this fountain, during the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and ebbs three times a day, – when the morning dawns, at noon, and at night. Its flow generally continues three quarters of an hour, and is sufficiently abundant to fill a square reservoir ten or twelve feet deep, and as many in length and breadth. After a lapse of fifteen days, the supply of water becomes less copious and regular, and at the expiration of a month the spring ceases to run, unless in the time of heavy and incessant rains, when it runs with the ebb and flow of other fountains. The *Gentiles* have a small temple on the side of the reservoir dedicated to *Brare,* one of their deities; and hence this spring is called *Send-brary,* or water of *Brare.* Pilgrims flock from all parts to this temple, for the purpose of bathing and purifying themselves in the sacred and miraculous water. Numberless fables are founded on the origin of this fountain, which, not having a shadow of truth, would be little entertaining in the recital. The five or six days that I remained in the vicinity of *Send-brary* were employed in endeavours to trace the cause of the 'wonder:' I paid considerable attention to the situation of the mountain, at whose foot is found this supernatural spring. With much labour and difficulty I reached the top, leaving no part unexplored, searching and prying at every step. I remarked that its length extends from north to south, and that though very near to other mountains, yet it is completely detached from any. Its form resembles an ass's back; the summit is of extreme length, but the greatest breadth is scarcely one hundred paces. One side of the mountain, which is covered with nothing but green grass, has an eastern aspect; but the sun, being intercepted by the opposite mountains, does not shine upon it before eight O'clock in the morning. The western side is covered with trees and bushes.

Having made these observations, it occurred to me that this pretended wonder might be accounted for by the heat of the sun, combined with the peculiar situation and internal disposition of the mountain.

18. Cochin, the temple of swearing, Jean de Thevenot[41]

…The Idolaters tell a false story at *Cochin,* which they would have no body to doubt of, because of the extraordinary respect they have for a certain Reservatory, which is in the middle of one of their Pagods. This great Pagod stands upon the side of a River, called by the *Portuguese Rio Largo* [the

Periyar river], which runs from *Cochin* to *Cranganor,* it goes by the name of the Pagod of Swearing; and they say, that the Reservatory or *Tanquie,* which is in that Temple, has Communication under ground with the River, and that when any one was to make Oath judicially about a matter of importance, he that was to Swear, was brought to the *Tanquie,* where a Crocodile was called upon, which commonly kept there, that the Man put himself upon the back of the Creature when he swore, that if he said truth, the Crocodile carried him from one end of the Reservatory to the other, and brought him back again sound and safe to the place where it took him up; and if he told a lie, that the Beast having carried him to one side of the *Tanquie,* carried him again into the middle, where it dived under water with the Man; and though at present there be no Crocodile in that Reservatory, yet they confidently affirm that the Story is true.

19. Sun temple at Multan, Jean de Thevenot[42]

…[In] *Multan* [there is] a Pagod of great consideration [the famous Sun temple, destroyed in the 11th century, rebuilt and again destroyed after Thevenot's visit, by Aurangzeb], because of the affluence of People, that came there to perform their Devotion after their way; and from all places of *Multan, Lahors,* and other Countries, they come thither in Pilgrimage. I know not the name of the Idol that is Worshipped there; the Face of it is black, and it is cloathed in red Leather: It hath two Pearls in place of Eyes; and the *Emir* or Governour of the Countrey, takes the Offerings that are presented to it.

20. Temple at Sitanagar, Jean de Thevenot[43]

That Pagod is called *Chitanagar* [Sitanagar, city of Sita]: It is an oblong square Temple, forty-five Paces in length, twenty-eight in breadth, and three Fathom high; it is built of a Stone of the same kind as the *Theban.* It hath a Basis five Foot high all round, charged [loaded] with Bends and Wreaths, and adorned with Roses and Notchings, as finely cut, as if they had been done in *Europe.* It hath a lovely frontispiece, with its Architrave, *Cornish* and *Fronton*; and is Beautified with Pillars, and lovely Arches, with the Figures of Beasts in relief, and some with Figures of Men. Then we viewed the inside; the contrivance of that Temple is like that of *Elora,* it hath a Body, a Quire [nave], and a Chappel at the end. I could perceive nothing in the Body and Quire, but the four Walls; though the Lustre of the Stones they are built of, renders the prospect very agreeable: The Floor is of the

same Stone, and in the middle of it there is a great Rose well cut. This place like the other Pagods, receives light only by the door: On each side of the Wall of the Quire, there is square hole a foot large, which slopes like a Port-hole for a Piece of Od'nance, and in the middle of the thickness of it, a long Iron skrew, as big as ones Leg, which enters Perpendicularly into the Wall like a Bar, and I was informed, that these Irons served to fasten Ropes to, for supporting of those who performed voluntary Abstinence for seven days or longer. In the middle of the Chappel at the end, there is an Altar of the same Stone as the Walls are of; it is cut into several Stories, and Adorned all over with Indentings, Roses, and other Embellishments of Architecture, and on each side below, there are three Elephants Heads. There hath been a Pedestal prepared of the same Stone the Altar is of, to set the Idol of the Pagod upon; but seeing the building was not finished, the Idol hath not been set up…

The Temple and Palace are called *Chitanagar*, that is to say, the Lady *Chita*, because the Pagod is Dedicated to Chita the Wife of *Ram*: I learnt that both had been begun by a Rich *Raspoute*, who dying, left the Temple and House imperfect. After all, I observed, as well in the Ancient, as Modern Buildings of the *Indies*, that the Architectors make the Basis, Body, and Capital of their Pillars, of one single piece.

E. Worship of trees and animals

1. Undying fig tree at Prayag, William Finch[44]

In this moholl is a tree which the Indians call the tree of life (beeing a wilde Indian figge tree), for that it could never bee destroyed by the Potan kings and this mans ancestors, which have sought to doe it by all meanes, stocking it up and sifting the very earth under it to gather forth the sprigs; it still springing againe, insomuch that this king lets it alone, seeking to cherish it [*Akshaivat,* undying fig tree]. This tree is of no small esteeme with the Indians. In the waters side within the moholl are divers large devoncans, where the King with his women often passe their times in beholding Gemini paying his tribute to Ganges.

2. Banyan tree and its worship at Surat, Pietro Della Valle[45]

On an other side of the City, but out of the circuit of the houses, in an open place, is seen a great and fair Tree, of that kind which I saw in the sea coasts of *Persia,* near Ormuz, called there *Lul* but here *Ber*. The Gentiles of the Country hold it in great veneration for its greatness and age, riting [performing rites] and honoring it often with their superstitious ceremonies, as dear and dedicated to a Goddess of theirs call'd Parveti, whom they hold to the Wife of *Mahadeu*, one of their greatest Deities. On the trunk of this tree a little above the ground, they have rudely engraven a round circle, which really hath not any feature of a humane countenance, but according to their gross application represents that of their Idol. This face they keep painted with a bright Flesh-colour, and this by a sacred rite of Religion; as the Romans also dy'd the face of Jupiter with Vermillion, as Pliny testifies…

…Those flowers and leaves about the Idol's face carv'd in the Tree, are frequently chang'd, and fresh constantly supply'd; and those which at times are taken away are given as a sacred thing to the people, who come from all parts to visit it. In the same rude sculpture of a humane face they have put certain eyes of Silver and Gold with some jewels, which were given by some persons, who foolishly believ'd themselves cur'd of maladies of the eyes by virtue of the Idol…

3. Banyan called tree of Baniyas, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[46]

…The Franks call it the tree of the Banians, because, in places where there are any of these trees, the idolaters sit under them and cook their food there. They reverence them specially, and generally build their pagodas either under or close to one of these great trees...

4. Kusa grass "destroyer of enemies," Jon Olafsson[47]

About a mile and a half from our fortress was a very fair garden. Mighty often did we go thither, though the Indians liked our coming little, chiefly on account of our trampling. Among many and various plants, one grows there very strange in shape and colour; they call it devil's grass, and it is there held in great esteem. They burn it into powder or dust, and declare that this powder or ashes has the wonderful property that when it is strewn the evil spirit at once leaves the spot, and for this reason it is the custom every spring in every town of the Narsinga kingdom to strew this plant's ashes along the streets and outside the gates.

COW WORSHIP

5. Cow worship in Daman, Ralph Fitch[48]

They have a very strange order among them. They worshippe a cowe, and esteeme much of the cowes doung to paint the valles of their houses.

6. Cow's urine, dung regarded holy, Niccolao Manucci[49]

Although these people hold it an abomination to eat of the cow, they believe, however, that it is a venerable thing, and one worthy of all praise, to drink that animal's urine, and to smother their faces with it. It is in pursuance of this opinion that the most noble and the most gallant among them rise betimes in the morning, and holding a cow's tail, worship the spot covered thereby. The reason they give is that this is Lakshmi, mother of their god, Vishnu, and goddess of prosperity. Their worship over, they hold out their two hands and receive the cow's urine, of which they take a drink. Then, turning the tail into a sort of holy-water sprinkler, they immerse it in the said liquid, and with it they daub their faces. When this ceremonial is over, they declare they have been made holy.

To obtain plenary indulgence for all their sins, they say it is necessary to obtain a beverage composed of milk, butter, cow-dung and cow's urine. With this medicament not only is all sin driven away, but all infamy. In this the Brahmans intervene, for it is they alone who can secure this 'jubilee'. It

is obligatory when marrying for the first time, when women arrive at puberty, and on unlucky day. Even the cleverest men, those who look down on the rest of the world, have their houses rubbed with cowdung before they eat, and then, without other ceremony, have their food brought, and eat it.

7. King of Tanjore has special apartment for cow, Jon Olafsson[50]

The Indian King, whose royal title is Nica de Regnate [Raghunath, nayak of Tanjore] worships a horned cow, which lives her life and has her residence in an especially handsomely furnished apartment, with her own proper attendants. She is all decorated with gilded finery and precious stones, and embroidery and bedecked with brocaded gold cloth set with the most precious jewels. The King goes to her morning and evening to do obeisance and (by your leave) washes his hands and face with her water and also his mouth, and finally pours it over the crown of his head.

MONKEYS VENERATED

8. Food placed on terraces for them on Tuesdays and Fridays, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[51]

The Banians have a great veneration for monkeys, and they even feed them in some pagodas where they go to worship…

It should be stated that on every Tuesday and Friday all the monkeys in the neighborhood of Ahmadabad, of their own instinct, come in a body to the town, and ascend the houses, each of which has a small terrace where the occupants sleep during the great heat. On each of these days they do not fail to place upon these little terraces rice, millet, sugarcanes in their season, and other similar things; for if by chance the monkeys did not find their food on the terraces, they would break the tiles with which the rest of the house is covered, and cause great damage…

Baniyas threaten to leave service in Dutch Company over killing of a monkey

I have said that the Banians have an especial veneration for the monkey, and this is an example in point among several others, which I could quote. One day at Ahmadabad, at the Dutch House, a young man of that nation, who had arrived but a few days before to serve in the office, and was ignorant of the customs of the country, perceiving a large monkey on a tree in the court-

yard, wished to give an example of his skill, or rather as it turned out, of his youth, by shooting it. At the time I was at table with the Dutch Commander, and we had scarcely heard the shot before there was a great uproar among the Banians in the service of the Dutch Company, who came to complain bitterly against him who had slain the monkey. They all wished to resign, and it was with much trouble and many apologies that they were appeased and induced to remain.

9. Monkeys reared at temples, those at Mathura migrate to Rana territory on destruction of temple, Niccolao Manucci[52]

Usually at these temples the Brahmans rear a number of monkeys, which live on the offerings brought by the devout, and they are well fed through the care that the Brahmans take of them. They are at liberty, and wander through the village and the bazaars asking for alms. The Hindus never refuse to give them what is necessary as a matter of charity. At night-fall they retire to the temple, where they take up quarters in the storehouses, the window-sills, and the rooms, some attending to their family affairs, others picking lice from each other. Each one has a female, and no one else may approach her. If perchance any other of them has the temerity to touch another's female, the whole body join and bite him to death. When the Brahman gives them their food, the largest and oldest approach first, and when their belly is full they withdraw and allow room for the others to eat. Should any of the small ones come up while the big ones are feeding, they are fallen upon, and given a lesson in politeness.

All the devout who visit the temples carry with them in their hands some food or fruit, and as they pass near the monkeys throw it down before them.

SNAKE WORSHIP

10. A solemn festival for snakes, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[53]

At the March full moon there is a solemn festival for the idol in the form of a serpent…This festival lasts nine days, and while it lasts both men and beasts remain idle; the majority of the latter are ornamented with circles of vermilion around the eyes, with which the horns are also painted, and when any animal is specially loved leaves of tinsel are added. Every morning the idol is worshipped, and the girls dance round it for an hour to the sound of flutes and drums, after which all eat together and enjoy themselves till the

evening, when they worship the idol again and dance round it a second time.

Contrary to the usual custom of the idolaters who consume no kind of drink, during this festival they drink palm wine, and, in villages far removed from the great routes, a spirit is made from this wine, because Musalman governors do not allow them to distil it, or to sell wine brought from Persia or elsewhere.

11. Cobras kept at special places in temples, Niccolao Manucci[54]

In some of these temples they also rear cobras, for whom they have a special house with various hiding-places and holes, *et cetera.* The Brahmans see that they are fed, calling them by striking a rod on the ground. The food is rice cooked in milk and sweetened. Usual foods are also eggs, butter, curds, *et cetera.* I have also seen in some of these temples, engraved on stone, the sun and a cobra, and the cobra in the act of swallowing the sun. The Hindus do this to show that, as they say, an eclipse of the sun proceeds from a great serpent attempting to swallow it. Thus, to rescue it, it is the custom in India during an eclipse to make a great noise with gongs, drums, and other instruments, added to shouts and cries. They also distribute alms. All this they do, so they say, for two reasons. The first, as to the noise, is to disturb the cobra so that he shall be unable to swallow the sun; the second reason for the alms they give, is that their charity may make the snake compassionate. All the Hindus and many Mahomedans have faith in these superstitions.

12. When Muslim members of Fray Sebastian Manrique's party killed peacocks, regarded sacred by the Hindus[55]

…He [the shiqdar, Mughal official] then asked which of my attendants had committed the outrage on the peacocks…[He] then turned to the offender and said, 'Art thou not, as it seems, a Bengali and a Mussalman…? How then didst thou dare in a Hindu district to kill a living thing?

F. Ahimsa, love for animals,

1. Even flea and lice not killed, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[56]

And if they take a Flea or a Louse, they will not kill it, but take or put into some hole or corner in the wall and so let it goe, and you can doe them no greater injurie then to kill it in their presence, for they will never leave intreating and desiring with all curtesie not to kill it, and that man should not seeme to commit so great a sinne, as to take away the life of that, to whom God had given both Soule and Bodie: yea, and they will offer much money to a man to let it liue, and goe away.

2. Pots of water and grain kept on ground for birds and animals, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[57]

They have a custome in *Cambaia,* in the High-wayes, and Woods, to set Pots with water, and to cast Corne, and other Granie upon the ground to feed Birds and Beasts withall…

3. A late sixteenth account of the extreme reverence for animal life[58]

…in Goa I have seen them ransom from the hands of the Portuguese boys birds, dogs and cats which the boys, so as to extract money from them, had pretended to want to kill.

4. Sale of meat forbidden on certain days, Edward Terry[59]

The supply of meat, such as we have in Holland, is ample, but it is cheaper than with us. There are sheep, goats, fowls, geese, ducks, deer and other game; and the supply is so large that it is little valued, and prices are low. Oxen and cows are not slaughtered, as they have to work while they are young, doing everything that is done by horses in Holland; and besides, their slaughter is strictly forbidden by the King on pain of death, though buffaloes may be freely killed. The King maintains this rule to please the Hindu rajas and banians, who regard the cow as one of the most veritable gods or sacred things. They also occasionally obtain by bribery a general order from the King, or from the Governor of a particular city, that no one shall catch any fish for several days, or for as long a period as they can secure; and, occasionally, that for some days no meat of any description, whether goat, sheep, or buffalo, shall be sold in the market. Such orders are

extremely inconvenient for ordinary people, but the rich slaughter daily in their own houses. This would be a desirable country if men might indulge their hunger or appetite as they do in our cold lands; but the excessive heat makes a man powerless, takes away his desire for food, and limits him to waterdrinking, which weakens or debilitates his body.

5. Hospital for birds and mice at Cambay maintained by public alms, Pietro Della Valle[60]

The people of *Cambaia* are most part Gentiles; and here, more than elsewhere, their vain superstitions are observed with rigor. Wherefore we, who came particularly to see these things, the same day of our arrival, after we had din'd and rested a while, caus'd ourselves to be conducted to see a famous Hospital of Birds of all sorts, which for being sick, lame, depriv'd of their mates, or otherwise needing food and care, are kept and tended there with diligence; as also the men who take care of them are maintain'd by the publick alms; the Indian Gentiles, who, with *Pythagoras* and the ancient *Ægyptians* (the first Authors of this opinion according to *Herodotus)* believe in the Transmigration of Souls, not onely from Man to Man, but also from Man to brute beast, conceiving it no less a work of Charity to do good to beasts then to Men. The House of this Hospital is small, a little room sufficing for many Birds: yet I saw it full of Birds of all sorts which need tendance, as Cocks, Hens, Pigeons, Peacocks, Ducks and small Birds, which during their being lame, or sick, or mateless, are kept here, but being recover'd and in good plight, if they be wild they are let go at liberty; if domestick they are given to some pious person who keeps them in his House. The most curious thing I saw in this place were certain little Mice, who being found Orphan without Sire or Dam to tend them, were put into this Hospital, and a venerable Old Man with a white Beard, keeping them in a box amongst Cotton, very diligently tended them with his spectacles on his nose, giving them milk to eat with a bird's feather, because they were so little that as yet they could eat nothing else; and, as he told us, he intended when they were grown up to let them go free whither they pleas'd.

6. Hospitals for animals at Cambay, Muslim thief with amputated hands also given refuge, Pietro Della Valle[61]

The next Morning, going about the City, we saw another Hospital of Goats, Kids, Sheep and Wethers, either sick or lame, and there were also some

Cocks, Peacocks and other Animals needing the same help, and kept altogether quietly enough in a great Court; nor wanted there Men and Women lodg'd in little rooms of the same Hospital, who had care of them. In another place, far from hence, we saw another Hospital of Cows, and Calves, some whereof had broken Legs, others more infirm, very old, or lean, and therefore were kept here to be cur'd. Among the beasts there was also a Mahometan Thief, who having been taken in Theft had both his hands cut off. But the compassionate Gentiles, that he, might not perish miserably now he was no longer able to get his living, took him into this place, and kept him among the poor beasts, not suffering him to want anything. Moreover, without one of the Gates of the City, we saw another great troop of Cows, Calves and Goats, which being cur'd and brought into better plight, or gather'd together from being dispers'd and without Masters, or being redeem'd with Money from the Mahometans who would have killed them to eat, (namely, the Goats and other Animals, but not the Cows and Calves) were sent into the field to feed by neat-herds, purposely maintain'd at the publick charge; and thus they are kept till being reduc'd to perfect health 'tis found fitting to give them to some Citizens, or others who may charitably keep them. I excepted Cows and Calves from the Animals redeem'd from slaughter, because in *Cambaia* Cows, Calves and Oxen, are not killed by any, and there's a great prohibition against it, by the instance of the Gentiles, who upon this account pay a great sum of Money to the Prince, and should any, either Mahometan or other, be found to kill them, he would be punish'd severely, even with death.

7. Shedding blood greatest sin, Pietro Della Valle[62]

The greatest sin in the world they account shedding of blood, especially that of men; and then, above all, the eating of humane flesh, as some barbarous Nations do, who are therefore detested by them more then all others. Hence the strictest among them, as the *Brachmans,* and particularly the '*Boti,* not onely kill not, but eat not, any living thing; and even from herbs tinctur'd with any reddish colour representing blood they wholly abstain. Others of a larger conscience eat onely fish. Others, the most ignoble and largest of all, though they kill not, nevertheless eat, all sorts of Animals good for food, except Cows; to kill and eat which all in general abhor, saying that the Cow is their Mother…

8. Rare values, Sir Thomas Herbert, early seventeenth century visitor[63]

[The religion of Brahmins is] rare and wonderful, beyond apprehension… They will not feed on aught has bloud and life.

9. Non-violence pronounced among Brahmins and Baniyas, Giovanni Careri[64]

Of all the Tribes here mention'd, only the *Brachmans* and *Banians* are so Precise about killing of all Creatures; that even those that are Venemous may Bite them without receiving any Harm from them; but the others in this Case kill them.

G. Ritual Bathing, Eclipses

1. Bathing in the Ganges at Banaras, Ralph Fitch[65]

And by breake of day and before, there are men and women which come out of the towne and wash themselves in Ganges. And there are divers old men which upon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they give the people three or foure strawes, which they take and hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselves; and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they have in a cloth a little rice, barlie, or money, which, when they have washed themselves, they give to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they go to divers of their images, and give them of their sacrifices.

2. Ganga worship in Bengal, Fray Sebastian Manrique[66]

To the Ganga river, which they name Gonga, they assign, in their books, great virtues and excellences, holding it as indisputable, that whoever bathes in it is at once absolved from all the pains and penalties of sin. So those who inhabit its banks, immediately on rising in the morning, bathe in its stream, and even if it is raining and is very cold, they will not omit to do this.

3. Bathing festival at Hardwar, nothing comparable in Asia, Thomas Coryat[67]

In this city of Agra where I am now, I am to remaine about six weekes longer, to the end to expect an excellent oportunity which then will offer it selfe unto me to goe to the famous river Ganges, about five daies journy from this, to see a memorable meeting of the gentle people of this country, called Baieans [Banians, meaning Hindus], whereof about foure hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shave themselves in the river, and to sacrifice a world of gold to the same river, partly in stamped mony, and partly in massy great lumpes and wedges, throwing it into the river as a sacrifice, and doing other strange ceremonies most worthy the observation [reference to the annual bathing festival at Hardwar held on the first day of the Hindu sidereal year; in 1617 this would fall about the end of March]. Such a notable spectacle it is, that no part of all Asia, neither this which is called the Great Asia nor the Lesser, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be seen. This shew doe they make once every yeere, comming

thither from places almost a thousands miles off, and honour their river as their God, Creator, and Saviour; superstition and impiety most abominable in the highest degree of these brutish ethnicks, that are aliens from Christ and the common-wealth of Israel.

4. River festival at Goa, Pietro Della Valle[68]

On the seventeenth of *August* the *Gentile Indians* kept a kind of Festival, to which a great number of them came to a place in *Goa,* which they call *Nave,* or, as the vulgar corruptley speak, *Narva,* as it were for pardon or absolution, and many came in pilgrimage from far Countries to wash their bodies here, plunging themselves into the Arm of the Sea, Men and Women together all naked, without any respect at all, even persons of quality, and casting Fruits, Perfumes and, other things into the water, as it were in Oblation to the Deity of the water in this place, with other Ceremonies, Devotions and the like…This Feast, and their Devotion, last two days, but the first day is the most remarkable.

5. Sacrifice to the sea, Jean de Thevenot[69]

As all the People of that coast [Dabul to Goa] are much given to Seafaring, so the Gentiles offer many times Sacrifices to the Sea, especially when any of their Kindred or Friends are abroad upon a Voyage. Once I saw that kind of Sacrifice, a Woman carried in her hands a Vessel made of Straw, about three Foot long, it was covered with a Vail [cloth]; three Men playing upon the Pipe and Drum accompanied her, and two others had each on their head a Basket full of Meat and Fruits; being come to the Sea-side, they threw into the Sea the Vessel of Straw, after they had made some Prayers, and left the Meat they brought with them upon the Shoar, that the poor and others might come and eat it.

The Gentiles offer another at the end of September [coconut day, nariali purnima, to keep the sea calm], and that they call to open the Sea, because no body can Sail upon their Seas from May till that time; but that Sacrifice is performed with no great Ceremonies, they only throw *Coco's* into the Sea and everyone throws one. The only thing in that Action that is pleasant, is to see all the young Boys leap into the Water to catch the *Coco's;* and whilst they strive to have and keep them, shew a hundred tricks and feats of Agility.

6. Sangam at Allahabad, Jean de Thevenot[70]

Thither comes at certain times an incredible concours of People, in Pilgrimage from all parts of the *Indies;* and they are drawn thither by the belief they have, that *Adam* and *Eve* were created there: But before they approach that place (which they look upon to be holy) they throw themselves stark naked into the *Ganges* to be purified, and they have (shave) their Beards and Hair, that they may merit the Honour of being introduced. That Province hath a great mant good Towns…but the People are so extravagant in point of Religion, that hardly any thing is to be understood of it: They are taken with every thing they see, and approve all the Actions of those that make any shew of Devotion, never minding whether it be true or false. It many times happens that a *Banian* will give a *Faquir* considerable Sums of Money, because he has the boldness to place himself near his Shop, and to protest that he'll kill himself if he be not supplied with what he demands: The *Banian* promises fair, and brings it him; but because the fantastical *Faquir* understands that several have contributed to that Charity, he openly [haughtily] refuses it, and goes about to execute what he hath threatned, if the *Banian* alone furnish not the Sum; and the *Banian* knowing that some *Faquirs* have been so desperate as to kill themselves upon the like occasion, is so much a fool as to give it out of his own Purse, and to give the others back again what they had contributed.

7. Eclipse witnessed in Bengal, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[71]

The Brahmans possess much knowledge of astrology, and know how to predict eclipses of the sun and moon for the people. On the 2nd of July 1666 at one o'clock p.m. an eclipse of the sun was visible at Patna, a town of the Kingdom of Bengal. It was a wonderful sight to watch the multitude of people, men, women, and children, who came from all quarters to bathe in the Ganges. But they must begin this bathing three days before they see the eclipse, during which time they remain day and night on the banks of the river preparing all kinds of rice, milk, and sweetmeats to throw to the fishes and crocodiles. Immediately when the Brahmans give the word, and they know it is the fortunate hour, whichever kind of eclipse it may be, of the sun or moon, the idolaters break all the earthen vessels used in their households, and leave not one piece whole – this causes a terrible noise in a town.

Every Brahman has his book of magic, in which there are a number of circles and semi-circles, of squares and triangles, and many other kinds of figures. They draw divers figures on the ground, and when they perceive

that the fortunate hour has arrived they all cry aloud to the people to throw food into the Ganges. Then a terrible noise is made with drums, bells, and large disks made of a metal similar to that of our cymbals, which they strike one against the other; and as soon as the food is thrown into the river all the people should enter and continue rubbing themselves, and bathing until the eclipse is over. As this eclipse appeared at a time when the Ganges is usually very low, after the end of the rains, which last from the month of July to the end of October, for more than 3 leagues above and below the town, and as many as the river extends in width, nothing was to be seen but heads in the water. As for the Brahmans, they remain on land to receive the richest pilgrims and those who give them most, dry their bodies, and give them fresh clothes to cover their waists. Then they make them sit in chairs, at a place where the richest of the idolaters have brought abundance of Indian corn, rice, and all kinds of vegetables, with milk, butter, sugar, flour, and wood. Before each chair the Brahman makes a very clean place about 5 or 6 feet square, after which he takes cattle droppings steeped in a great dish of yellow pigment, to rub over all the place, through fear lest some ant might come there and be burnt [actually to preserve the purity of the enclosure]. If possible their ceremonies are conducted without burning any wood, and for cooking their food they generally use cattle dropping.

8. Solar eclipses in France and Delhi, Francois Bernier[72]

I have witnessed two solar eclipses which it is scarcely possible I should ever forget. The one I saw from France in the year 1654, the other from Dehli in the Indies in 1666. The sight of the first eclipse was impressed upon my mind by the childish credulity of the French people, and by their groundless and unreasonable alarm; an alarm so excessive that some brought drugs as charms to defend themselves against the eclipse; some kept themselves closely shut up, and excluded all light either in carefully-barred apartments or in cellars; while thousands flocked to their respective churches; some apprehending and dreading a malign and dangerous influence; others believing that the last day was at hand, and that the eclipse was about to shake the foundations of the world. Such were the absurd notions entertained by our countrymen, notwithstanding the writings of Gassendi [Pierre Gassendi1592-1655], Roberval [Gilles Personne de Roberval 1602-1675, the great French mathematician], and other celebrated astronomers and philosophers, which clearly demonstrated that the eclipse

was only similar to many others which had been productive of no mischief; that this obscuration of the sun was known and predicted, and was without any other peculiarity than what might be found in the reveries of ignorant or designing astrologers.

The eclipse of 1666 is also indelibly imprinted on my memory by the ridiculous errors and strange superstitions of the *Indians.* At the time fixed for its appearance I took my station on the terrace of my house, situated on the banks of the *Gemna,* when I saw both shores of the river, for nearly a league in length, covered with *Gentiles,* or-idolaters, who stood in the water up to the waist, their eyes riveted to the skies, watching the commencement of the eclipse, in order to plunge and wash themselves at the very instant. The little boys and girls were quite naked; the men had nothing but a scarf round their middle, and the married women and girls of six or seven years of age were covered with a single cloth. Persons of rank or wealth, such as *Rajas (Gentile* sovereign princes, and generally courtiers in the service and pay of the King), *Serrafs* or money-changers, bankers, jewellers, and other rich merchants, crossed from the opposite side of the river with their families, and pitching their tents fixed *kanates* or screens in the water, within which they and their wives washed and performed the usual ceremonies without any exposure. No sooner did these idolaters perceive that the obscuration of the sun was begun than they all raised a loud cry, and plunged the whole body under water several times in quick succession; after which they stood in the river, lifted their eyes and hands toward the sun, muttered and prayed with seeming devotion, filling their hands from time to time with water, which they threw in the direction of the sun, bowing their heads very low, and moving and turning their arms and hands, sometimes one way, sometimes another. The deluded people continue to plunge, mutter, pray, and perform their silly tricks until the end of the eclipse. On retiring they threw pieces of silver at a great distance into the *Gemna,* and gave alms to the *Brahmens,* who failed not to be present at this absurd ceremony. I remarked that every individual on coming out of the water put on new clothes placed on the sand for that purpose, and that several of the most devout left their old garments as presents for the *Brahmens.*

In this manner did I observe from the roof of my house the solemnisation of the grand eclipse-festival, a festival which was kept with the same external

observances in the *Indus,* in the *Ganges,* and in the other rivers and *Talabs* (or tanks of the *Indies),* but above all in that one at *Tanaiser* [the sacred tank at Thaneswar, Karnal district, an ancient place of Hindu pilgrimage], which contained on that occasion more than one hundred and fifty thousand persons, assembled from all parts of the empire; its waters being considered on the day of an eclipse more holy and meritorious than those of any other.

The Great *Mogol,* though a *Mahometan,* permits these ancient and superstitious practices; not wishing, or not daring, to disturb the *Gentiles* in the free exercises of their religion. But the ceremony I have described is not performed until a certain number of *Brahmens,* as deputies from their fellows, have presented the King with a *lecgue* of *roupies,* equal to about fifty thousand crowns; in return for which he begs their acceptance only of a few vests and an old elephant.

9. Earthen vessels broken before eclipse, Giovanni Careri[73]

Three Days before an Eclipse happens, the *Brachmans* having Notice of it, break all the Earthen Vessels, to use new Ones afterwards; and run all of them to the River to boil Rice, and other Things, and throw it in for the Fishes, and Crocodils, when they find the fortunate Hour is come…

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Chapter 9
Sciences

A. Astronomy and Time-reckoning

B. Diseases and Cures

C. Hindu Physicians

D. Drugs and stones used for cure

A. Astronomy and Time-reckoning

1. The Gentile tables, Francois Bernier[1]

In regard to astronomy, the *Gentiles* have their tables, according to which they foretell eclipses, not perhaps with the minute exactness of *European* astronomers, but still with great accuracy, They reason, however, in the same ridiculous way on the lunar as on the solar eclipse, believing that the obscuration is caused by a black, filthy, and mischievous *Deuta,* named *Rach,* [Rakshasas, creatures of darkness], who takes possession of the moon and fills her with infection. They also maintain, much on the same ground, that the moon is four hundred thousand coses, that is, above fifty thousand leagues, higher than the sun; that she is a luminous body and that we receive from her a certain vital liquid secretion, which collects principally in the brain, and, descending thence as from its source into all the members of the body, enables them to exercise their respective functions. They believe likewise that the sun, moon, and stars are all so many *deutas;* that the darkness of night is caused by the sun retiring behind the *Someire* [Sumeru, or Mount Meru], an imaginary mountain placed in the centre of the earth, in form like an inverted sugar loaf, and an altitude of I know not how many thousand leagues: so that they never enjoy the light of day but when the sun leaves the back of this mountain.

2. Four Yugas, Francois Bernier[2]

I then turned the conversation to the subject of chronology, and my company soon showed me a far higher antiquity than ours. They would not say that the world was without a beginning; but the great age they gave it sounded almost as if they had pronounced it eternal. Its duration, said they, is to be reckoned by four *Dgugues* [Yugas], or distinct ages; not ages composed, as with us, of an hundred years, but of one hundred *lecques,* that is to say, of an hundred times one hundred thousand years. I do not recollect exactly the number of years assigned to each *Dgugue,* but I know that the first, called *Sate-Dgugue* [Satya Yuga], continued during a period of five-and-twenty *lecques* of years; that the second, called *Trita* [Treta], lasted above twelve *lecques;* the third, called *Duapor* [Dwapara], subsisted, if I mistake not, eight *lecques* and sixty-four thousand years; and the fourth, called the *Kale-Dgugue* [Kali Yuga], is to continue I forget how many *lecques* of years. The first three, they said, and much of the fourth, are

passed away, and the world will not endure so many ages as it has done, because it is destined to perish at the termination of the fourth *Dgugue,* when all things will return to their first principles. Having pressed the *Pendets* to tell me the exact age of the world, they tried their arithmetical skill over and over again; but finding that they were sadly perplexed, and even at variance as to the number of *lecques,* I satisfied myself with the general information that the world is astonishingly old…

3. Hindu beliefs about the planets, Niccolao Manucci[3]

These people accept the twelve celestial signs, and with them the twenty-seven fixed stars, to which they give proper names in their language.

They assert in their astronomical treatises that the sun moves above the earth at a distance of six hundred and twenty-five thousand leagues, and the moon is raised above the sun a similar distance. This is the reason, so they say, that eclipses are not caused by the interposition of the moon between the earth and the sun. But here follows what they declare to be the cause.

When the gods and the giants were removing the butter from the milky ocean, Vishnu, when he interfered with the giants, gave a feast at which this nectar was served out to all the gods invited by him. But the snake Sesham, whom they call one of the principal gods, was not present at this banquet. Sun and Moon, whom they style the most luminous of the gods, were most greedy, and ate the snake's portion. On his subsequent arrival the snake missed his share. The other gods informed him that the Sun and Moon had eaten it, when the snake, filled with rage and wrath, swore to make them find it a bitter morsel; when he found it convenient, he meant to swallow them and punish them for their greediness.

If he spoke well, he acted still better. When he swallows the sun, that planet is in eclipse: and when it is the moon he swallows, the moon is eclipsed. But in order that the world be not left in an unending night, the gods, the Brahmans, and others, never fail to bathe at these conjunctures, and offer up prayers, not only with fasting, but with the shedding of many tears. They ardently implore the snake that he be pleased to release the sun or the moon, according to which of them is in eclipse.

Such is their persistence, in these prayers, that for one day before the completion of the eclipse they neither eat nor drink, they cook nothing, and allow no food to be in their houses. They declare that the eclipse only ends

because the snake Sesham, being effected by so many prayers, releases those two great planets that he had already swallowed.

With regard to time, they divide it into four parts, which they call Nerutavigam (Krita-yugam), Duabraingam (Dwaparayugam), Terridasugam (Treta-yugam), and Calvigam (Kaliyugam). Their belief is that the first three ages of the world have passed, and that those were true golden ages, not only in length, but in their nature, owing to the good fortune and the pleasant lives which all the world had and enjoyed. In the third age lived a king, the father of Rama, of whom I spoke in the life of Vishnu. This man lived sixty thousand years without having issue. Then in his old age and decrepitude he had a son. This *vingano* (yugam), or age of the world, has not had, according to my authors, any beginning or end, nor do they state any principle of its age or being.

As for the fourth age, the one now in existence, it is, they say, an iron age, both for the misfortunes and hindrances men undergo in it, and for the short duration of their lives. They suppose that this age began four hundred thousand four hundred and forty-eight years ago. In spite of the lapse of such a long period, there are still many more years to come than the number already past before it will come to an end. They say that what has passed is in comparison with what is to come, as is a mustardseed to a pumpkin. In this fabulous account the Hindus are divided into two contrary opinions. Some say that at the end of this fourth age of the world there will be no subsequent age. The others assert that the world is to endure for ever, and on the conclusion of this iron age, the vanished golden ages will arise anew and begin their course once more.

Although the four ages spoken of above are celebrated among these idolaters, they relate also, in a book they call the ‘Chronicles of the World’, that preceding these four ages there had been fourteen others.

B. Diseases and Cures

1. Native cures for fevers, catarrh, wounds, Tome Pires[4]

When they are ill the patients do not eat meat; and have a diet of fish alone. The chief remedy is to play the kettle-drum and other instruments to the patients for two or three days – and they say this does good. If they have fever they eat fish and keep washing themselves; if they vomit they wash their heads with cold water and it is good, and it stops; and if they have catarrh they drink *lanha* water – *lanha* is the young coconut – and it stops at once; if they want to purge themselves they take the crushed leaves, or the juice or the seeds of the *figueira do inferno* [castor oil plant], and they are well purged, and they wash themselves; if they are badly wounded, they let warm coconut oil run over the wound twice a day for an hour or two, and they are cured. Our people when they have fevers eat fat chickens and drink wine and are cured.

2. Elephantiasis in Malabar, Tome Pires[5]

Many people in Malabar, Nayars as well as Brahmans and their wives – in fact about a quarter or a fifth of the total population, including the people of the lowest castes – have very large legs, swollen to a great size; and they die of this, and it is an ugly thing to see. They say that this is due to the water through which they go, because the country is marshy. This is called *pericaes* in the native language, and all the swelling is the same from the knees downward, and they have no pain, nor do they take any notice of this infirmity.

3. Cholera epidemic in Goa in 1543, Gaspar Correia[6]

This winter there was in Goa a mortal pain which the people of this country call morxy, which affects all type of people from early childhood to the old age of 80 and also animals and domesticated birds... For this disease our physicians did not find any cure so that the patient survived only one day or at the most one night, so that of one hundred patients less than ten survived and some of those who survived did so because they were treated quickly by medicines of little substance which were known to the native physicians. So high was the mortality during the winter that the whole day the Church bells were pealing; each day 12, 15 and 20 dead were buried; then the

Governor ordered that ringing of bells in Churches should stop in order not to frighten the people…

4. A case study of cholera as described by Garcia da Orta[7]

Ruano: How do the native physicians cure this disease?

Orta: They give the patients rice water to drink, with pepper and cummin seed, which they call Canje. They cauterize the feet in the way I ordered to be done to that gentleman. They also throw long pepper into the eyes to try its strength. For the cramp they fasten up the head, arms, and legs with very strong bands down to the knees, and from the knees to the feet. They give him their betel to eat. All these things are not wanting in reason, though they are done roughly.

5. Native treatment of dysentery, Garcia da Orta[8]

Although this medicine [given by Orta for dysentry] is good, and often succeeded with it, yet I feel bound to confess that it does not act so quickly nor its action is so certain as that of the herb which the Malabaris give.

…This is what I know about these medicines, and I will take you to see patients being cured by Malabaris and Canarins, so that you may know it all more thoroughly.

6. Examples of patients afflicted with dysentery cured by native doctors, Garcia da Orta[9]

…a very honorable gentleman, whose name is well known in Spain,[who] had a regard for a Mallayalim who had saved his life in a difficult case of dysentery. [Then, there is the case of the daughter of] an old Portuguese, who had been a long time in the country…who had been ill with dysentery for a year [and who was restored to health by one of the native doctors].

7. Advice on use of turbit for inflammation from Malupa, a Hindu physician, Garcia da Orta[10]

Ruano: How is it that the black [turbit] is worthless and the white is good? What are the conditions of its goodness?

Orta: The custom of the native druggists, who are called Gandhis, is to dry it in the sun. They say that it turns black if it is dried in the shade. Then they bring it to our druggists, and they have learnt this way of drying this medicine from experience. It may be that which becomes black from being

dried in the shade is the best, but up to the present time I have not tried the experiment.

Ruano: Do the Indian doctors use this turbit to reduce inflammation?

Orta: Yes, sir, and on this point I wish to call in a native doctor who seems to me to be the best, that I may question him in presence of your worship….

Orta: Malupa, tell this gentleman who is a doctor, how the turbit is used in this country, if it is mixed with ginger, and from what part the best comes.

Malupa: Yes, we use it to reduce inflammation, sometimes mixing ginger with it when there is no fever. We also mix ginger with other purgative medicines, but we also give them without ginger. The best turbit is that of Cambaia, whence it is brought to other parts of India. I have shown the turbit to this gentleman here present. I may tell you that we sometimes cure with that grown at Goa, but not unless it is gathered near the sea. They tell me that it is at Bisnagar, but not good.

8. Use of minerals for cure, Garcia da Orta[11]

Orta:…the Indian doctors know the use of mineral substances in medicine. I have seen them melting and pulverizing metals such as steel, iron and mercury. The king of Cranganore in Malabar was given pulverized mercury to drink for a long time....

Ruano: Do they use ours? (meaning European medicine)

Orta: Very often. But most of them not correctly. For they say there is bleeding, and they never bled before we were in the land; but they used cupping glasses, scarification (carrafar) and leeches. According to what I knew from the physicians of Sultan Bahadur Nizamoxa, they were never accustomed to look at waters, except by watching what we do, and copying like apes. Whence it happens that when they see the urine white they take it for a good sign, and when it is red and thick, they look upon it as bad. These and many other things I had from their own lips; and why not from those who know so little should there not be something good?

Ruano: Do they give syrups or distilled waters, and is the custom ancient among them?

Orta: They do not use them in Balgate, but I know those here who practise, and they say that they give violet syrup, lambedor water, against flux, plantain or barley, cordial slices, sugar rose and almond water, but none of

these things was it the custom to use before we came.... They did not distil water before we came, but they had the custom of giving boiled water of legumes and seeds to drink, and juice of herbs roughly prepared. They walk along one street curing all out of one flask that they carry.

C. Hindu Physicians

1. On what he learnt from the *Gentios,* Garcia da Orta[12]

Yes, many things. But first, I try the medicine of my doctors, and when I find that it is not giving result I take the medicine prescribed by the Brahmans of the land…they cure the dysentery well, can tell whether there is fever or not from the pulse, and whether it is weak or strong, and what is the humour that offends, whether it is blood or heat or phlegm, or melancholy; and they give a good remedy for obstruction.

2. Travelling with Sultan Bahadur, in company with Dom Martim Afonso de Sousa, when the latter was taken ill with a fever, Garcia da Orta[13]

The King sent for me and asked me how I would cure Dom Martim. I told him…He replied that the Portuguese did not know so well as the Gujaratis how to cure fever; for that the Gujaratis did not cure in any other way than to give nothing to eat... He confessed to me that the Portuguese were very good physicians for other infirmities but they did not know so much about fevers as Gujaratis.

3. Hindu physicians at Goa treat Portuguese, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[14]

There are in *Goa* many Heathen Physicians which obserue their grauities with Hats carried ouer them for the Sunne, like the *Portugalls*, which no other Heathens doe, but onely Ambassadors, or some rich Merchants. These Heathen Physicians doe not onely cure their owne Nations and Countrimen, but the *Portugalls* also, for the Viceroy himselfe, the Arch-bishop, and all the Monkes and Friers doe put more trust in them then in their owne Countrimen, whereby they get great store of money, and are much honoured and esteemed.

4. Native remedies successful in Hindustan, Francois Bernier[15]

On physic they have a great number of small books, which are rather collections of recipes than regular treatises. The most ancient and the most esteemed is written in verse. I shall observe, by the way, that their practice differs essentially from ours, and that it is grounded on the following acknowledged principles: a patient with a fever requires no great

nourishment; the sovereign remedy for sickness is abstinence; nothing is worse for a sick body than meat broth, for it soon corrupts in the stomach of one afflicted with fever; a patient should be bled only on extraordinary occasions, and where the necessity is most obvious – as when there is reason to apprehend a brain fever, or when an inflammation of the chest, liver, or kidneys, has taken place.

Whether these modes of treatment be judicious, I leave to our learned physicians to decide; I shall only remark that they are successful in *Hindoustan,* and that the *Mogol* and *Mahometan* physicians, who follow the rules of *Avicenna* and *Averroes,* adopt them no less than do those of the *Gentiles,* especially in regard to abstinence from meat broth. The *Mogols,* it is true, are rather more given to the practice of bleeding than the *Gentiles;* for where they apprehend the inflammations just mentioned, they generally bleed once or twice, not in the trifling manner of the modern practitioners of *Goa* and *Paris,* but copiously, like the ancients, taking eighteen or twenty ounces of blood, sometimes even to fainting; thus frequently subduing the disease at the commencement, according to the advice of *Galen,* and as I have witnessed in several cases.

It is not surprising that the *Gentiles* understand nothing of anatomy. They never open the body either of man or beast, and those in our household always ran away, with amazement and horror, whenever I opened a living goat or sheep for the purpose of explaining to my *Agah* the circulation of the blood, and showing him the vessels, discovered by *Pecquet* [Jean Pecquet 1622-1674], through which the chyle is conveyed to the right ventricle of the heart. Yet notwithstanding their profound ignorance of the subject, they affirm that the number of veins in the human body is five thousand, neither more nor less; just as if they had carefully reckoned them.

5. Cured with a concoction of herbs, cow's urine and dung administered by Hindu servants, Abbe Carre[16]

I had hardly arrived [Aigale, Belgaum district], when I felt very ill with giddiness, which turned into a violent headache, then to sickness and a collapse that lasted for four hours and reduced me to extremity. I could not move, as I had lost my strength and was almost unconscious. All my servants tried to look after me as best they could. The Christians were especially unhappy at seeing me in this state, and not knowing what remedies to apply, they asked me to try the medicines of my Hindu

servants, in the hope that I might thus get some relief. On account of the miserable and feeble condition I was in, I consented to let them do all they wished, so that, while some went to get certain herbs and simples of which they knew, the others began their operations by binding my head, the middle of my body, and my hands behind my back, with my turban and belt. They then placed me face downwards, and the most powerful of them, putting his feet on my back, pulled on the silk belts, with which I was bound in three places, with all his strength. He made all my limbs crack, so that I thought he would drag them off. After having given me this treatment five or six times running, he filled my eyes, ears, mouth, and nose, with a composition of water and pounded pepper, cardamoms, and other drugs, so strong that it drew a yellow liquid from all these parts of the head: in my astonishment I thought this must be a little of my brains that had melted on account of the intense heat I had suffered in crossing the burning plains.

That being finished, they all withdrew to a corner of the garden in which we were, and set about making a medicine. It was composed of cows' urine, horses' dung, the juice of some herbs, and other drugs. After doing nearly half an hour's quack ceremonies over this drink, they brought it to me, muttering some words which I did not understand, and in presenting it to me to drink, told me to shut my nose and my eyes, so that the smell and sight of their medicine might not disgust me. They wanted me to swallow it in one dose; but as I never drink anything without seeing what is, I took this medicine in my hand to look at it. I then realised how right they were in wanting to stifle both sight and smell, which were quite sufficient to take away any wish to taste it. I looked at this thick green and yellow mixture, with the most awful odour in this world, when one of my servants, seeing I was hesitating to swallow their remedy, took it out of my hands and, pouring some of it into a cup, drank it before me with as much avidity as I would a glass of Spanish wine. It did him no harm, and as I was so anxious to cure my illness, I drank some of the brew, and feeling a little better for it, I took the rest in several doses…

6. Baniya physicians of Kabul, Jean de Thevenot[17]

This Countrey supplies the rest of the *Indies* with many Physicians, who are all of the caste of *Banians:* Nay, and some of them are very skilful, and have many secrets in Medicine; and amongst other Remedies, they often make use of burning.

D. Drugs and stones used for cure

1. Letter to King Manuel of Portugal on drugs found in India, Tome Pires [only the names have been listed][18]

From Cochin. 27 Jan., 1516

From TOME PIRES, apothecary

TO THE KING OUR LORD.

ABOUT THE DRUGS AND WHERE THEY GROW.

Sir

A list was received here asking for certain drugs. Order has been given to look for them and they will go next year. Here I will give an account of where each of them grows, and also of some things which have gone there [to Portugal].

- WORMWOOD
- RHUBARB
- CASSIA FISTOLA
- INCENSE
- OPIUM
- TAMARIND
- GALANGAL
- TURPETH
- MYROBALANS
- ALOES
- SPIKENARD
- ESQUINANTHUS
- FETID GUMS
- BDELLUM, MYRRH
- THINGS LACKING – Scammony, senna…
- MUMMY – is not human flesh…is an exudation from corpses…

• SPODIUM

• TINCAL, TRANGACANTH, SARCOCOL – Tincal, sarcocol, tragacanth come form the kingdom of Mandu and from Dehi.

• BETEL – *Folio Indo* is betel. The best here is from the kingdom of Goa.

• RUBIES – The mine for the highly coloured rubies appreciated in our parts is in the kingdom of *Capelagua,* bordering on the kingdom of Arakan and on Pegu, on the heathens' mainland…

• ZEDOARY – Zedoary, *calamo aromatico* (*Acorus calamus* Linn.), cassia lignea (cinnamonum) are found in Malabar (?), plenty in Mangalore, and in other parts cassia lignea…

• LIQUID STORAX

• STORAX

PEARLS

2. Opium, Tome Pires[19]

…it grows in Aden, in Cambay, in the kingdom of Cous, which is on the Bengal mainland. This is a great merchandise and it is customary to eat it in these parts – the kings and lords in portions as big as a hazel-nut; the lower classes eat less because it is expensive. If on top of it they drink anything sour or stimulating, or oil, or coconut water, it kills forthwith. Men accustomed to eat it become drowsy and confused, their eyes go red, and they go out of their senses. They use it because it provokes them to lewdness…

3. A tree with poisonous roots but fruit that cures, Duarte Barbosa[20]

There are in this country [Delhi] some trees whose roots known as Brachaga are so poisonous that anyone who eats them is killed: the fruit of the same tree known as Miralexi possesses such a virtue that it kills all poison, and gives life to any poisoned man who eats it, even if he eats the roots or any other strong poison.

4. Bezoar, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[21]

Bezoar comes from a district of the Kingdom of Golkonda, towards the north-east. It is found in the fodder in the paunches of goats which browse

on a tree, the name of which I have forgotten. This plant bears little buds, about which, and also on the tips of the branches, which the goats eat, the bezoar concretes in the bellies of these animals. It assumes a form according to the shape of the buds and the ends of the branches, and this is why one finds it in so many different shapes. The peasants, by feeling the belly of the goat, know how many bezoars it contains, and they sell the goat for a price in proportion to the number which are therein. In order to ascertain this, they run both hands under the belly of the goat and beat the paunch along both sides, so that all the stones fall to the middle, and they then estimate exactly, by touch, how many bezoars are in it. The value of bezoars depends on the size, although the small possess no less virtue than the large.

5. Porcupine stone, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[22]

There is still another much esteemed stone which is called the porcupine stone, which this animal has in its head, and is more efficacious against poison than bezoar. When it is placed to steep in water for a quarter of an hour, the water becomes so bitter that there is nothing in the world to equal it in bitterness. This animal has also sometimes in its belly, a stone which is of the same nature and equally good as that which comes from the head, except with this difference, that it loses nothing of its weight or size by steeping in water, while there is diminution of the other…

6. Snake-stones against poison tested by Archbishop of Goa, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[23]

I shall finally make mention of the snake-stone, which is nearly of the size of a double [doubloon? a Spanish gold coin], some of them tending to an oval shape, being thick in the middle and becoming thin towards the edges. The Indians say that it grows on the heads of certain snakes, but I should rather believe that it is the priests of the idolaters who make them think so, and that this stone is a composition which is made of certain drugs. Whatever it may be, it has an excellent virtue in extracting all the poison when one has been bitten by a poisonous reptile. If the part bitten is not punctured it is necessary to make an incision so that the blood may flow; and when the stone has been applied to it, it does not fall off till it has extracted all the venom which is drawn to it. In order to clean it it is steeped in woman's milk, or, in default of it, in that of a cow; and after having been steeped for ten or twelve hours, the milk, which has absorbed all the venom,

assumes the colour of matter. One day, when I dined with the Archbishop of Goa, he took me into his museum, where he had many curiosities. Among other things he showed me one of these stones, and in telling me of its properties assured me that but three days since he had made trial of it, and then he presented it to me. As he traversed a marsh on the island of Salsette, upon which Goa is situated, on his way to a house in the country, one of his pallankeen bearers, who was almost naked, was bitten by a serpent and was at once cured by this stone. I have bought many of them; it is only the Brahmans who sell them, and it is that which makes me think that they make them. You employ two methods to ascertain if the snake-stone is good, and that there is no fraud. The first is by placing the stone in the mouth, for then, if good, it leaps and attaches itself immediately to the palate. The other is to place it in a glass full of water, and immediately, if it is genuine, the water begins to boil, and small bubbles ascend from the stone which is at the bottom, to the top of the water.

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Chapter 10
Social Organisation

A. Varna and Caste

B. Brahmins

C. Rajputs, Kshatriyas, Nairs

D. Baniyas, Khatris

E. Shudras

F. Untouchables

A. Varna and Caste

1. Origin of varna as stated in the Vedas, Francois Bernier[1]

The *Hindous* then affirm that God, whom they call *Achar,* the Immovable or Immutable, has sent to them four books, to which they give the name of *Beths,* a word signifying science, because, according to them, these books comprehend all the sciences. The first of the books is named *Atherbabed;* the second *Zagerbed;* the third *Rek-bed;* and the fourth *Samabed.* These books enjoin that the people shall be divided, as in fact they are most effectually, into four tribes [Tribus]: first, the tribe of *Brahmens,* or, interpreters of the law; secondly, the tribe of *Quetterys,* or warriors; thirdly, the tribe of *Bescue,* or merchants and tradesmen, commonly called *Banyanes;* and fourthly, the tribe of *Seydra,* or artisans and labourers. These different tribes are not permitted to intermarry, that is to say, a *Brahmen* is forbidden to marry a *Quettery,* and the same injunction holds good in regard to the other tribes.

2. Castes in Calicut, Ludovico Di Varthema[2]

The first class of pagans in Calicut are called Brahmins. The second are Naeri [Nairs], who are the same as the gentlefolks amongst us; and these are obliged to bear sword and shield or bows or lances. When they go through the street, if they did not carry arms they would no longer be gentlemen. The third class of pagans are called Tiva [Tiyan], who are artisans. The fourth class are called Mechua [Mukkuvan], and these are fishermen. The fifth class are called Poliar [Pulayan], who collect pepper, wine, and nuts. The sixth class are called Hirava [Vettuvan], and these plant and gather in rice. These two last classes of people, that is to say, the Poliar and Hirava, may not approach either the Naeri or the Brahmins within fifty paces, unless they have been called by them, and they always go by private ways through the marshes. And when they pass through the said places, they always go crying out with a loud voice, and this they do in order that they may not meet the Naeri or the Brahmins; for should they not be crying out, and any of the Naeri should be going that way and see their fruits, or meet any of the said class, the above mentioned Naeri may kill them without incurring any punishment; and for this reason they always cry out.

3. Heredity and caste, Edward Terry[3]

As anciently among the Jewes, their priesthood is hereditarie; for every Bramins sonne is a priest, and marries a Bramins daughter. And so among all the Gentiles the men take the daughters of those to bee their wives which are of their fathers tribe, sect, and occupation; for instance, a merchants sonne marries a merchants daughter. And every mans sonne that lives by his labour marries the daughter of him that is of his owne profession; by which meanes they never advance themselves.

4. Multiplicity of castes, Pietro Della Valle[4]

The whole Gentile-people of *India* is divided into many sects or parties of men, known and distinguisht by descent or pedigree, as the Tribes of the Jews sometimes were; yet they inhabit the Country promiscuously mingled together, in every City and Land several Races one with another. 'Tis reckon'd that they are in all eighty four; some say more, making a more exact and subtle division. Everyone of these hath a particular name, and also a special office and Employment in the Commonwealth, from which none of the descendants of that Race ever swerve; they never rise nor fall, nor change condition: whence some are Husbandmen; others Mechanicks, as Taylers, Shoemakers and the like; others Factors or Merchants, such as they whom we call *Banians,* but they in their Language more correctly *Vania*; others, Souldiers, as the *Ragiaputi;* and thus every one attends and is employ'd in the proper Trade of his Family, without any mutation ever hapning amongst them, or Alliance of one Race contracted with another. *Diodorus* and *Strabo* (almost with the same words, as if the one had transcrib'd the other) affirm that anciently the Races of the Indians were seven, each addicted to their proper profession; and for the first of all they place that of the Philosophers, who, no doubt, are the Brachmans. Into seven kinds of men with their particular, and by Generation perpetuate, Offices, *Herodotus* in like manner writes, (and *Diodorus* confirms it, though he disagrees in the number) the people of *Ægypt* was divided in those days; whereby 'tis manifest what correspondence there was between *Ægypt* and *India* in all things. Nor do I wonder at the division into seven Races onely, because what is observ'd at this day must then also have hapned, namely that the so many Races which they reckon are reduc'd to four principal, which, if I mistake not, are the Brachmans, the Souldiers, the Merchants and the Artificers; from whom by more minute subdivision all the rest are

deriv'd, in such number as in the whole people there are various professions of men.

5. All castes profess same religion but ceremonies differ, Jean de Thevenot[5]

In this Province of *Becar,* and in the two former, there are of all the Castes and Tribes of the *Indians,* which are reckoned in all to be fourscore and four in number. Though all of them profess the same Religion, yet the Ceremonies of everyone of these Castes, nay, and of the private Persons of each Caste, are so different, that they make an infinite number of Sects. The People of every one of these Tribes follow a Trade; and none of their Off-spring can quit it, without being reckoned infamous in his Tribe…

Anciently there were no more Tribes but these four; but in succession of time, all those who applied themselves to the same Profession, composed a Tribe or Caste, and that's the reason they are so numerous. The *Colis* or Cotton-dressers have made a distinct Caste: The *Teherons* or Travellers Guards, have theirs: The *Palanquin-bearers* have also made one, and they are called *Covillis* [Kahars or Kolis]: Bow-makers and Fletchers have also made another; as also the Hammer-men, such as Goldsmiths, Armorers, Smiths and Masons. They who work in Wood, as Carpenters, Joyners and Bill-men, are all of one Caste: Publick Wenches, Tumblers, Vaulters, Dancers and Baladins, are of another. And it is the same with Taylors, and other Sheersmen, with Coach-makers and Sadlers: The *Bengiara* [Banjaras, nomadic grain dealers and carriers], who are Carriers, Painters and (in a word) all other Trades-men (artisans)….

6. Freedom of worship to all castes, Jean de Thevenot[6]

All the Castes or Tribes go to their Devotions at the same time; but they adore what Idol they please, without addressing themselves solely to him, to whom the Temple is dedicated, unless their Devotion invite them to do so, in so much that some carry their Idols along with them, when they know that he whom they Worship is not there.

7. Hierarchical order, Jean de Thevenot[7]

The eighty-four Tribes, observe among themselves an Order of Subordination. The *Banians* yield to the *Courmis* [Kurmis, a caste of cultivaters, derived from Sanskrit *krishi*, cultivation], the *Courmis* to the *Rajpoutes* or *Catrys,* and these (as all the rest do) to the *Bramens;* and so

the *Bramens* are the chief and most dignified of the Gentiles. And therefore it is, that a Bramen would think himself prophaned, if he had eaten with a Gentile of another Caste than his own, though those of all other Castes may eat in his House. And so it is with the other Tribes in relation to their inferiours.

8. Castes at Madras, Abbe Carre[8]

There are also on this coast many other kinds of natives, such as Talliars, Malabars (Tamils), Pariahs, Cheriperes, and other castes too numerous to mention. The Talliars, as I have already shown, are bandits, who live quite apart from other men. The Malabars, who are mostly Christians, work on the land and gardens and cultivate trees such as cumquot [a miniature orange], arrack, etc. They are a docile people, hard workers, and very useful to the country. The Pariahs are poor people who do the lowest and hardest work, and are put to all sorts of employment. Besides these there is still a lower caste, the Cheriperes, who are so much beneath the others that they dare not enter into a house, and have no dwellings for themselves and their wives and children but under trees, a little way off in the country. They live, like dogs, on all sorts of things, eating dead beasts and filth of the town thrown into the gutters. The seafaring people are also of two kinds – one called Patnavars, who own large boats called piphlis, used to load merchandise on board ships, the others, called Tuacouas, have only catamarans, which are three pieces of wood tied together; in these two nude men spend all the day in the open sea to catch fish, which abound, on this coast.

Hindus are also distinguished among themselves according to their business and employment. The Chettys are the most important of all merchants. The Comtis are shopkeepers, who sell all sorts of grain, vegetables, spices, butter, oil, and other similar articles. The Pallis are painters, who do the designing and tracing of the first lines in the manufacture of printed calicoes and stuffs. Gavarais are the weavers, who work only with the right hand, and are more esteemed than the other callings, such as the goldsmiths, carpenters, and blacksmiths, who work with the left hand. These last, as well as the Chettys, have an inveterate habit that, if one of them is offended or wronged, all the others shut their shops and abandon all their work and business. Moors are not numerous here and do not mix much with the others. They have lived on this coast only since they chased out the

Portuguese [actually they lived on the Coromondel coast at least from the early 14th century], and they are not liked by the natives of the country, as they are by nature and inclination quite opposed to the Hindu manner of life.

9. Expulsion and re-admission, Giovanni Careri[9]

When anyone is to be Expell'd the Tribe of the *Brachmans, Banians,* or *Bangasclines,* for some heinous Crime, they take away his Line thus. All that are of the Tribe in that Place meet before the *Boto,* or Priest, and accuse the Criminal of such a Crime. He replies, and if his Defence be not good, the *Boto* takes away his Line, wipes off the *Tilla,* or Colour on his Forehead. Then all the Company falls to chewing of *Betelle,* eating of *Coconuts,* and smoaking Tabacco, without giving the Criminal any; only out of Pity they throw him down on the Ground a Leaf of Tabacco.

If he desires to be again admitted into the Tribe, he must go from House to House, begging Pardon and Absolution of those that Voted, making them sensible of his Resignation, and soothing the *Boto* with the Present of a Cow. This done, he gives all the Tribe a Treat, who receive him again, and the Priest gives him the Line and *Tilla.*

B. Brahmins

1. Brahmins of Malabar, strict vegetarians, bear no arms, wives chaste, Tome Pires[10]

Brahmans are priests who wear a cord hanging from the left shoulder and under the right arm. This cord is composed of twenty-seven threads, made in three. The best of these people are the Kshatriyas *(Chatrias);* then come the Pattars *(Patadares)* and after these the Nambutiris *(Nambuderis),* and lowest of all come the Nambutiris *(Namburis)*. These Brahmans are of very ancient birth. They are of purer blood than the Nayars. It is their duty to be in the *turucois* [temple] praying. They are well versed in the things of their faith. The most important of these Brahmans are the king of Malabar. They are men who do not eat anything which has been living (flesh and) blood; and for this reason the ancients said of them that no person in Malabar should have the power to eat beef on pain of death, and that this would be a great sin... None of them bears arms or goes to war; nor are they ever put to death for any reason whatever. They go freely wherever they like, even if there is war...

2. Brahmin kings of Malabar, Tome Pires[11]

The kings of Malabar are all Brahmans with these threads, some of them of more noble birth than others; because it is the custom in Malabar that the king's son does not succeed to the kingdom, but his brother or nephew; and because they are Brahmans and cannot marry Nayars, since that is forbidden, they choose the most honoured Brahmans of that generation to mate with the [king's] sisters, so that the eldest [son] may succeed; and thus the Brahmans sleep with the king's sisters and from them come the kings of Malabar. As the king of Cochin is of pure blood and there is no one on earth whom he can marry, if there are Brahman *Patamares* of Cambay – who were related of old to the Brahman king…these are chosen for the act of generation…

All the Brahmans are married. Their sons inherit their property. The Brahman women are chaste and do not lie with any man but their husbands; and the Brahman woman always remains a Brahman and her children are of unmixed race.

3. The Heathen called Bramenes at Vijayanagar, Duarte Barbosa[12]

Among them is another class of people whom they call Bramenes, who are priests and rulers of their houses of worship. These eat nothing subject to death, they marry only one wife, and if she dies, do not marry again (and their sons inherit all their goods). As a mark of their dignity they wear over their shoulder three linen threads [the sacred thread]. Among them all these men hold the greatest liberties and privileges and are not liable to death for anything whatsoever which they do. The king, the great Lords and men of rank give them much alms on which they live; also many of them have estates while others live in the houses of worship, as in monasteries, which possess good revenues, some are great eaters and never work except to feed well; they will start at once on a "six days' journey" (twenty or twenty-four miles, Ramusio; eight leagues, Spanish) only to get a good bellyful. Their honey and butter, rice, sugar, "stews of" pulse and milk.

4. Brahmins of Gujarat, Duarte Barbosa[13]

These *Bramenes* and Heathen have in their creed many resemblances to the Holy Trinity, and hold in great honour the relation of the Triune Three, and always make their prayers to God, whom they confess and adore as the true God, Creator, and maker of all things, who is three persons and one God, and they say that there are many other gods who are rulers under him, in whom also they believe. These *Bramenes* and Heathen wheresoever they find our churches enter them and make prayers and adorations to our Images, always asking for Santa Maria, like men who have some knowledge and understanding of these matters; and they honour the Church as in our manner, saying that between them and us there is little difference.

5. Brahmans in charge of temples learned men, Domingo Paes[14]

These Brahmans are like friars with us, and they count them as holy men – I speak of the Brahman priests and the lettered men of the pagodas –because although the king [of Vijayanagar] has many Brahmans, they are officers of the towns and cities and belong to the government of them; others are merchants, and others live by their own property and cultivation, and the fruits which grow in their inherited grounds. Those who have charge of the temples are learned men, and eat nothing which suffers death, neither flesh nor fish, nor anything which makes broth red, for they say that it is blood.

Some of the other Brahmans whom I mentioned, who seek to serve God, and to do penance, and to live a life like that of the priests, do not eat flesh or fish or any other thing that suffers death, but only vegetables and butter and other things which they make of fruit, with their rice.

Brahmin wives beautiful and retiring

They are all married, and have very beautiful wives; the wives are very retiring, and very seldom leave the house. The women are of light colour, and in the caste of these Brahmans are the fairest men and women that there are in the land; for though there are men in other castes commonly of light complexion, yet these are few. There are many in this country who call themselves Brahmans, but they lead a life very different from those of whom I have spoken, for these last are men to whom the king pays much honour, and he holds them in great favour.

6. Brahmins acute and of much talent, Fernao Nuniz[15]

And in this kingdom of Bisnaga there is a class of men, natives of the country, namely Brahmans, who the most part of them never kill or eat any live thing, and these are the best that there are amongst them. They are honest men, given to merchandise, very acute and of much talent, very good at accounts, lean men and well-formed, but little fit for hard work. By these and by the duties they undertake the kingdom is carried on. They believe that there are Three Persons and only One God, and they call the Persons of the Most Holy Trinity '*Tricebemca*' [Trimurti, Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh; Vishnu called 'Triyambaka']. There is another class who are Canarese [the people of Canara, that is, residents of the west-coast] who have pagodas in which are (images of?) monkeys, and cows, and buffaloes, and devils, to whom they pay much honour, and these idols and monkeys which they adore they say that in former times this land belonged all to the monkeys [an allusion to Ramayana, Hampi is said to be the birth place of Hanuman and in Ramayana this place along with its surrounding area was ruled by two monkey kings Valin and his younger brother Sugriva], and that in those days they could speak. They have books full of fine stories of chivalry, and many foolish tales about their idols, such as it is out of reason for men to believe. But because of this neither in the kingdom of Bisnaga nor in all the land of the heathen are any moneys killed and there are so many in this country that they cover the mountains...

King and Brahmins

The King of Bisnaga is a Brahman [here the word 'brahman' denotes 'cultured or learned'; every day he hears the preaching of a learned Brahman, who never married nor even touched a woman; He urges in his preaching (obedience to) the commandments of God, that is to say, that one must not kill any living thing, nor take anything belonging to another, and as with these so with the rest of the commandments. These people have such devotion to cows that they kiss them every day, some they say even on the rump – a thing I do not assert for their honour – and with the droppings of these cows they absolve themselves from their sins as if with holy water. They have for a commandment to confess their sins to the Brahman priests, but they do not do it, except only those who are very religious *(amiguos de Dios)*. They give in excuse that they feel a shame to confess themselves to another man, and say that it is sufficient to confess themselves alone after approaching God, for he who does not do so does not acquire grace; thus they fulfil the command in one way or another. But they do it so seldom (in reality that) they (may be said to) neglect this command to confess.

7. Brahmins difficult to convert, Francis Xavier in a letter to The Society of Jesus dated 31 December 1543[16]

We have is in these parts a class of men among the pagans who are called Brahmins. They keep up the worship of the gods, the superstitious rites of religion, frequenting the temples and taking care of the idols. They are as perverse and wicked a set as can anywhere be found, and I always apply to them the words of the holy David, "From an unholy race and a wicked and crafty man deliver me, O Lord." They are liars and cheats to the very backbone. Their whole study is how to deceive most cunningly the simplicity and ignorance of the people…All the time I have been here in this country I have only converted one Brahmin…

8. Brahmins cause of non-conversion, Francis Xavier[17]

If it were not for the Brahmins, we should have all the heathens embracing our faith.

9. Brahmins in Satgaon, Bengal, Ralph Fitch[18]

In these countries they have many strange ceremonies. The Bramanes, which are their priests, come to the water and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade up water with both their hands,

and turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be never so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water or in warme. These Gentiles will eate no flesh nor kill any thing. They live with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat and eate it naked, and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth, and rise up and turne themselves about 30 or 40 times, and use to heave up their hands to the sunne, and to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Every time they lie downe, they make a score on the ground with their finger, to know when their stint is finished. The Bramanes marke themselves in the foreheads, eares, and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, and every morning they do it. And they have some old men which go in the streetes with a boxe of yellow pouder, and marke men on their heads and necks as they meet them. And their wives do come by 10, 20 and 30 together to the water side singing, and there do wash themselves, and then use their ceremonies, and marke themselves in their foreheds and faces, and cary some with them, and so depart singing. Their daughters be maried at or before the age of 10 yeres. The men may have 7 wives. They be a kind of craftic people, worse then the Jewes. When they salute one another, they heave up their hands to their heads, and say Rame, Rame [*Ram*].

10. Great esteem of Brahmins, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[19]

The *Bramenes* are the honestest and most esteemed Nation among all the *Indian Heathens*: for they doe alwaies serue in the chiefest places about the King, as Receivers, Stewards, Ambassadors, and such like Offices. They are likewise the Priests and Ministers of the *Pagode,* or deuilish Idols. They are of great authoritie among the *Indian* people, for that the King doth nothing without their counsell and consent, and that they may bee knowne from other men, they weare vpon their naked bodie, from the shoulder crosse under the arm over their bodie downe to the girdle, or the cloth that is wrapped about their middle, three or foure strings like sealing thread, whereby they are knowne: which they neuer put off although it should cost them their liues, for their Profession and Religion will not permit it. They goe naked, sauing onely that they have a cloth bound about their middles. They weare sometimes when they goe abroad, a thinne cotton linnen Gowne called *Cabaia*, lightly cast ouer their shoulders, and hanging downe

to the ground like some other *Indians,* as *Benianes Gusarates,* and *Decanyns.* Vpon their heads they weare a white cloth, wound twice or thrice about, therewith to hide their haire, which they neuer cut off, but weare it long and turned vp as the women doe. They haue most commonly round rings of gold hanging at their eares, as most of the *Indians* have. They eate not any thing that hathlife, but feed themselues with herbes and Rice, neither yet when they are sick will for any thing be let bloud, but heale themselues by herbes and ointments, and by rubbing their bodies with Sanders, and such like sweet woods. In Goa and the Sea coasts there are many *Bramenes*, which commonly doe maintayne themselues with selling of Spices and other Apothecarie ware, but it is not so cleane as others, but full of garbish and dust. They are very subtile in writing and casting accounts, whereby they make other simple Indians beleeue what they will.

11. Brahmins highly esteemed, Rev. Samuel Purchas[20]

They are of such estimation, that if Merchants trauell among theeues and robbers, one Bramene in the companie secureth them all: which Bramene will eate nothing of another mans dressing; and would not become a Moore for a Kingdome.

12. Jesuits think them of the tribe of Israelis, Rev. Samuel Purchas[21]

The Iesuites conceiue that these Bremenes are of the dispersion of the Israelites, and their Books (called *Samescretan*) doe somewhat agree with the Scriptures, but that they vnderstand them not.

13. Brahmins and philosophy, Edward Terry[22]

Some Bramins have told me how that they acknowledge one God, whom they describe with a thousand hands, with a thousand feete, and as many eyes, thereby expressing his power. They talke of foure books, which about six thousand yeeres since were sent them from God by their prophet Ram; whereof two were sealed up and might not be opened; the other to be read onely by themselves. They say that there are seven orbes, above which is the seate of God: that God knowes not petie things, or, if He doe, regards them not. They circumscribe God unto place, saying that He may be seene, but as in a mist afarre off, not neere. They beleeve that there are devils, but so bound in chaines that they cannot hurt them. They call a man Adam [Hind. *admi*], from our first father Adam, whose wife, tempted with the

forbidden fruit, tooke it (as they say) and eate it downe; but as her husband swallowed it, the hand of God stopped it in his throat; whence man hath a bunch there, which women have not, called by them Adams apple.

14. Brahmins good at astronomy, Francisco Pelsaert[23]

Some of the brahmans are very ingenious, good astronomers, familiar with the course of the stars, and usually prepared to foretell the weather. They reckon eclipses very clearly, and they also do a great deal of fortune-telling. There are usually one or two such men with a great reputation in the city; indeed the present King generally kept one at Court, whose prophecies, or most of them, proved quite accurate. The brahmans have consequently secured a great reputation, and they have now acquired such influence over the great men, and then over all the Moslems, that they will not undertake a journey until they have enquired what day or hour is auspicious for the start; and when they return from a journey, or come to take up an appointment, they will not enter the city until the suitable day or hour has been predicted, and then they wait until the exact moment has arrived: The result is that many of this rabble now frequent the streets, book in hand, to tell men their fortune, and, though their predictions have little value, they are believed by the poor, for they always get excellent measure, and their questions are met with ambiguous replies.

15. Brahmins at Cambay and Pythagoras, Pietro Della Valle[24]

After having seen the Temple of *Mahavir* we went to visit an old Brachman, accounted very learned amongst them, with whom we discours'd as well as we could by an interpreter, because he understood no other Language but the *Indian.* We found him amongst many Scholars, to whom he was giving a Lecture. He shew'd us his Books written in an antique Character, which is the learned amongst them, not common to the vulgar, but known onely to the learned, and us'd by the Brachmans, who, in distinction from other vulgar Characters us'd variously in sundry Provinces of *India,* call it *Nagheri.* I have and shall carry with me two small Books of it which I sometime bought in *Lar* [capital of Laristan in Persia]. This Brachman is call'd *Beca Azarg;* of which words *Beca* is his proper Name and *Azarg* his Title of Honour.

Amongst other Books he shew'd us that of their sect, in which, though it was bound long ways, as 'tis the fashion of their Books, yet the lines were

written across the paper, after the manner of some of our Musick-Books. He affirm'd to us for certain that it was a work of *Pythagoras,* which well agreeth with what *Philostratus* saith that *Jarchas* told *Apollonius,* namely that the Indians believ'd the same concerning the soul which *Pythagoras* had taught them, and they the *Ægyptians;* which is quite contrary to what I said before was my opinion as to which of these two Nations first taught the other. But *Diogenes Laertius* [lived around 200A.D.], who writes *Pythagoras's* Life copiously enough, making mention of his going into Aegypt, and how he convers'd likewise with the *Chaldaens* and *Magi,* yet speaks not a word that ever he went into *India,* or had communication with the Brachmans. Wherefore, if *Pythagoras* taught anything to the *Indians,* as *Jarchas* said, he did it not in person, but by his books, which possibly were carry'd into *India.* Moreover *Beca Azarg* added that their *Brachma,* esteemed one of the chief among their false Gods, (from whom they are denominated Brachmans) is all one with *Pythagoras:* a curious notion indeed, and which perhaps would be news to hear in *Europe,* that *Pythagoras* is foolishly ador'd in *India* for a God. But this, with *Beca Azarg's* good leave, I do not believe; either he did not expressly speak thus, and by the fault of the Interpreters we did not understand him aright; or, if he did affirm it, perhaps he came to be mistaken by having heard *Pythagoras* nam'd by some Europeans for the author of that foolish opinion of the Transmigration of Souls. Be it as it will, I cannot believe that *Pythagoras* and *Brachma* are all one; because though *Pythagoras* be very ancient, for he flourished in the Consulship of *Brutus* who expell'd the Kings out of *Rome,* yet I hold the Rites and opinions of the Brachmans much more ancient. For when *Diodorus* relates the contest of the two Wives of *Ceteus,* an Indian Captain in the Army of *Eumenes,* each of whom would be burnt with her Husband slain in battel, speaking of the Laws, Customs and Rites of the *Indians,* he calls them, even at that time, Ancient things. And though *Pythagoras* and the Consulship of *Brutus* may precede not onely *Eumenes,* who was one of *Alexander* the Great's successors, but *Alexander* himself, by about two ages, according to the Chronology of *Bellarmine,* which to me seems good enough, yet the space of two hundred years, or somewhat more, is not such as that those things may be call'd Ancient which had their beginning within so short a term; as it should be infallibly if *Pythagoras,* whom they take to be their *Brachma,* were the first

Author to the Indians of their Learning, and consequently of their Rites, Customs and Laws.

16. Brahmins bear no ill will towards other faiths, Pietro Della Valle[25]

'Tis true the Brachmans, who amongst the Indians, in my opinion, much resemble the Levites of the Jews, are divided too into several sorts, one more noble than another, and, according to nobility, more rigorous also in manner of eating, and in their other superstitious Ceremonies; for some of them are Astrologers, some Physicians, some Secretaries of Princes; and so of other sorts of scholars which I know not well; but the most esteem'd and most sublime amongst the Brachmans, and consequently the most rigorous of all in point of eating and other observances, are those who perform the Office of Priests, whom they call *Boti.* Ordinarily they never admit into their Sect any man of another Religion; nor do they think that they do ill herein, or contrary to the zeal of saving Souls, since, believing the Transmigration, they conceive it not necessary to Salvation to change Religion, although one be of a false Sect, but judge that if this Soul shall be worthy to have pardon from God, it shall after death, and after being purg'd sundry ways, pass into and be born in the body of some Indian amongst them, and live excellently, and so by this way at last arrive at Paradise and live with God, although in the beginning it was in the world in the body of the worst sinner and miscreant what ever. With people of other Religion they never eat nor will have any communication of food, and as much as possible they avoid even to touch them; conceiving themselves polluted by communication with others…

17. Jesuit debate on the sacred thread, Pietro Della Valle[26]

There was a long dispute in *India* between the Jesuits and other Fathers, whether this fillet, which the *Portugals* call *Linha,* was a badge of Religion, or onely an ensign of piety, and whether it was to be permitted or not to Indian Converts, who were very loth to lay it aside. Much hath been said and with great contest by both parties, and at length the cause is carried to *Rome,* and I was inform'd of it two or three years ago in *Persia.* For I remember Sig. *Matteo Galvano Gudigno,* a Canon and Kinsman to the then Archbishop of *Goa,* passed by *Spahan,* and continu'd there many days; being sent by the same Archbishop, who favour'd the side contrary to the Jesuits, purposely to *Rome* with many writings touching this affair, which

he out of courtesie communicated to me. I know not whether the final determination of it be yet come from *Rome;* some say it is, and in favour of the Jesuits: but at *Goa* we shall know these things better. The truth is, the Jesuits prove, (on one side) that the honour of wearing this Ribbon is frequently granted not onely to the Indians, but also to strangers of different Nation and Sect; as to Mahometans, who (by condescension of that King who among the Indians hath authority to do it, as Head of their Sect in Spirituals) have in recompence of great and honourable services enjoy'd this priviledge, without becoming Gentiles, or changing their Religion, but still persisting to live Mahometans; which indeed is a strong Argument.

On the other side, they prove that many Brachmans and others of the Race priviledg'd to wear it, intending to lead a stricter life, and abandon the world by living almost like Hermits, amongst other things, in humility lay aside this Ribban, being a token of Nobility; which 'tis not likely they would do if it were a Cognizance of Religion; yea, they would wear it the more.

18. Brahmins cultured, Philipp Baldaeus[27]

[They are] as modest in their deportment as could be wished…sober, alert, clean, civil, and friendly and very moderate in eating and drinking and never touch any strong drink.

19. Brahmins most noble of all, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[28]

The first caste is that of the Brahmans, the successors of the ancient Brahmanes or philosophers of India, who specially studied astrology. Their ancient books, in the reading of which the Brahmans generally occupy themselves, still exist and they are so skilled in their observations that they do not make a mistake of a minute in foretelling eclipses of the sun and moon. In order to preserve this science among themselves, they have a kind of university in a town called Benares, where they study astrology principally, but they also have doctors who teach the Law, which is observed with very great strictness. This caste is the most noble of all, because it is from among the Brahmans that the priests and ministers of the law are selected. But as they are very numerous and cannot all study in their university, the majority of them are ignorant and consequently very superstitious, those who pass as the most intellectual being the most arrant sorcerers.

20. Brahmins at Banaras, fill Ganges water in small pots to take away, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[29]

Every day large numbers of these Brahmans are to be seen going to the clearest part of the river to fill round, small-mouthed, earthen pots, which hold about a bucketful, with this water. When they are full they are taken to the chief priest, who directs the mouth to be covered with a very fine cloth of fire-colour, in three or four folds, upon which he applies his seal. The Brahmans carry this water at the end of a stick, flat like a lath, from which hang six small cords, and to each of them one of these pots is attached. They rest themselves by changing the shoulder frequently, and they sometimes travel three or four hundred leagues of country with this load, and then sell it, or make a present of it, but only to the richest persons, from whom they expect a liberal reward. Some of these idolaters, when they celebrate any festival especially when their children are married drink this water at a cost of 400 or 500 ecus. It is drunk only at the end of the repast, as we drink hypocras or muscat in Europe, each guest receiving a cup, or two, according to the liberality of the host.

21. Brahmins and Vedas, Abraham Roger[30]

[The main prerogative of the brahmins is reading the Veda] which is the pagans' book of the law, which includes, in itself, all they must believe and all the rituals they must observe. This book is written in the samscortam language: all the mysteries of paganism are written in this language, and the Brahmans, who have no intention of involving themselves in commerce, learn it.

22. Brahmins as cooks, Niccolao Manucci[31]

The Brahmans, according to their view, are the noblest family of all mankind, and the one most venerated, not merely as superiors, but as gods. Other castes cannot wait on them or fetch them water, nor cook for them. They must wait upon each other for these two purposes, or do it each for himself. With all that, however, they may carry water and cook for the other castes, which appears a moral contradiction, for if it dishonors them to be served by others, how can they be servants to others?

When Brahmans cook for another caste they act as follows: after having cooked the food, they bring it in brass or copper vessels to the house where it is to be eaten – that is, of the man who have given the order. Not being a

Brahman, he cannot enter the kitchen, nor inspect the pots in which the food is being cooked. The food having been brought, it is laid out upon leaves, or on copper or brass vessels made like dishes. Having helped the food, the Brahmans do the waiting until the end of the repast. Then they and the master and his guests, if any, come out, and the Brahmans throw water over the eaters' hands and feet; but they do not clear away what has not been eaten, for that would be a dishonor and a disgrace beyond repair. To remove the unused food it is necessary to have another man who is not a Brahman, and if there is none such, he who has eaten must himself remove the leavings, along with the leaf or dish from which he has eaten, and afterwards cleanse the house in the way already described.

23. Brahmins of Malabar, Manuel Godinho[32]

As priests and monks of the gentiles, the brahmins are dedicated to the cult and service of their idols and, hence, they are highly regarded by all. They live in palm groves and in cool woods which abound in India. They eat neither meat nor fish nor anything that has the colour of blood. That is why they do not eat red spinach as it releases a red liquid. They live on herbs, butter, milk, rice and legumes and their normal meals consist of a diet which makes them healthy and seldom ill. They never bleed themselves even if necessary in case of illness, but take the bleeding in the mouth, doing *langana,* which means pure abstinence, until the fever leaves them. In the mornings, at dinner and supper times they wash their whole body, and without this ablution they will not eat anything. For this reason they never put to sea and those who do so belong to a caste called Bangassali, held in lesser account, but even these at the appropriate times draw water from the sea and wash themselves with sea water, since neglecting these ablutions is considered a great sin.

They carry around their necks a string of beads, made of some rugged fruits, without a cross at the end, and when counting the beads they only say Rama, Rama, which is the name of their most beloved idol. They carry no weapon, either offensive or defensive, since they neither kill, nor injure, nor draw blood of any living thing, but, on the contrary, they are bound at all cost to protect the life of any animal who runs the risk of losing it. Hence it happens that some boys catch a bird and go with it to the brahmin and say to him: if you do not give me this much I will kill this bird. The brahmin, fearing that he may be held responsible for the bloodshed, gives the boy

what he wants and leaves the bird to fly away. There will never be a cat in a brahmin's house, lest it may kill a rat. There are in India some brahmin doctors, called pundits, who, since they treat the Portuguese in our fashion, prescribe a diet of chicken, whenever necessary, but at the end of the year they go to their most famous temples, in order to atone for their sins, with large sums of money which they give to the brahmins of those temples. If they fail to go or to give, they are considered as murderers and homicides and perhaps turned out of the caste which is the greatest punishment... If a brahmin cannot escape death without killing the snake which is about to bite him, he must rather die than kill it.

Brahmin intellect

In sharpness of intellect, they are superior to all other types of people in the East. There is hardly any nobleman or a prince, both Hindu and Muslim, who does not rule through a brahmin, always having him by his side as a favourite. They are the tutors of princes, squires of noblemen and confidants of kings. Nowhere else in India are they as respected or so powerful as in Malabar, which has not yet been dominated by the Muslims and where all the realms are of the gentiles who venerate the brahmins. Many of them are monarchs like the rulers of Porakad, Cochin, Marta and Alengad and several others in the hinterland of Malabar, on the mountains called the Ghats.

24. Brahmins and Gymnosophists, Jean de Thevenot[33]

The *Bramens,* who are properly the *Brahmanes* or *Sages* of the Ancient *Indians,* and the *Gymnosophists* of *Porphyrius* [a Greek neo-Platonist of the 3rd century A.D], are the Priests and Doctors of the Heathen in India. Besides Theologie (which they profess) they understand Astrology, Arithmetick and Medicine; but they who are actually Physicians, pay yearly a certain Tribute to their Caste, because Physick ought not to be their Profession. All these Gentiles have a respect for the *Bramens;* and they believe them in all things, because they have been always told that God sent the four *Bets* [Vedas] to them, which are the Books of their Religion, and that they are the keepers of them.

25. Brahmins and Janaeu, Giovanni Careri[34]

The Priesthood among them is Hereditary, as it was formerly among the *Jews*; for, as was said before, when a *Brachman* Marries, he must take the

Daughter of another *Brachman.* They are distinguishable from all other Gentils, by a String or Rope made of three Threads of new Cotton, which they wear hanging about their Neck, and wound about the left Arm. It is put upon Boys of Nine, or Ten Years of Age with great Solemnity, but never upon Girls. This String or Line is to signify the Unity of God in three Persons, which they call *Brama, Vistu,* and *Mayessu.* They will never Eat a Bit without they have it on; and some of them have been known to Fast several Days, because their Rope broke before they could get another of the Priests.

C. Rajputs, Kshatriyas, Nairs

1. Reverence for Rana of Mewar, William Finch[35]

...the…Rana [is] a very powerfull Rajaw, whom neither Potan [Pathan] or the Acabar [Akbar] himselfe could ever subdue; which comes to passe by reason that all India hath beene Gentiles and this prince hath bin and still is esteemed in like reverence by them as the Pope of Rome by the Papists. And for this cause the Rajaws which have been sent against him frame some excuses that they may not indamage much his territories, which extend hence alongst Amadaver way an hundred and fifty great corses, and in breadth toward Ougen [Ujjain] 200 c., inclosed for the most part with inaccessible mountaines and fortified well by art in places accessible.

2. Rajputs feared as soldiers, Francisco Pelsaert[36]

Another class of Hindus is named Rajput. These men live in the hill-country, and are excellent soldiers, but many of them have nevertheless been brought into subjection by this King and his father, owing to the fact that the land is divided into small portions, and each Raja or King has only a small territory, so that continuous hard fighting went on among themselves. Each Raja had only a single fort or city, which protected the open country belonging to him. They are bold and courageous people, determined and loyal. The men are short in stature and ugly. Mounted or on foot, they have no weapon other than a short spear, with shield, sword, and dagger, but they are slow to retreat in a fight, and are obstinate in attack, because the quantity of opium they eat excites them, and causes them to care little for their lives. They eat all kinds of meat except beef and drink wine. In war time the race is much esteemed, and is feared by the other classes of soldiers, but during peace they get the cold shoulder, because in palaces or camps they make less show or display than the Moguls or Hindustanis.

3. Lack of unity made them Mughal subordinates, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[37]

The second caste is that of the Rajputs or Ketris, i.e. warriors and soldiers. These are the only idolaters who are brave, and distinguish themselves in the profession of arms. All the Rajas, of whom I have often spoken, are of this caste. They are like so many petty kings, whose disunion has made

them tributaries to the Great Mogul; but as the majority are in his service, they are highly recompensed for the small tribute which they pay him by the large and honourable salaries which they receive from him. These Rajas, and the Rajputs their subjects, are the most firm supports of the Great Mogul's kingdom; and it was the Rajas Jaisingh and Jaswantsingh who placed Aurangzeb on the throne. But it should be remarked that this second caste does not exclusively consist of people who follow arms as a profession. It is only the Rajputs who go to war, and who are all cavaliers; but as for the Ketris they have degenerated from the bravery of their ancestors, having quitted arms for merchandise.

4. Mewar Ranas belong to the race of Porus, Jean de Thevenot[38]

The Town of *Chitor* is very famous also, but it is almost ruined; it belonged to *Raja-Ranas,* who deduced his Genealogie from King *Porus* [they claimed descent from Lord Rama]; though that *Raja* had considerable Territories, and strong, by reason of the Mountains that almost encompassed them; yet could he not avoid the misfortune of other Princes, but fell (as they did) under the power of the *Moguls,* in the Reign of King *Ecbar.*

NAIRS

5. Fighters, Tome Pires[39]

There must be a hundred and fifty thousand Nayars *(Naires)* in Malabar. They are fighters, with sword and buckler, and archers. They are men who adore their king, and if by chance the king dies in battle they are obliged to die, and if they do not they go against the custom of their country and they are made a reproach for ever. The Nayars are loyal and not traitors. Before a king of Malabar fights with another, he has first to let him know, so that he may prepare himself. That is their custom. No Nayar, when he is fit to take up arms, can go outside his house unarmed even if he be a hundred years old, and when he is dying he always has his sword and buckler by him, so close that if necessary he can take hold of them.

6. Do not marry, Tome Pires[40]

None of the Nayars has either father or son. They do not marry. The more lovers the Nayar woman has, the more important she is. So if a Nayar woman has a daughter, or two or three, she chooses a Nayar for her while

she is a virgin, and he marries her. For the deflowering they make a feast, for which the Nayar pays according to his means; and he stays with her for four days, and as a sign that he has deflowered her he places a small piece of gold round her neck, worth about thirty *reis,* called *quete.* This man goes, and other Nayars come; and they arrange among themselves – one gives her one thing, and one another, and the more she has the more honoured she is. And the Nayars are also put to expense with other women. For the most part the Nayars do not eat in the women's houses. And that is why no Nayar has ever had father or son, because each woman has from two to ten known (lovers), which is accounted a merit in her. There are also Nayars who sell oil and fish, and many are craftsmen.

7. Nairs claim descent from Sun, Jean de Thevenot[41]

These *Naires* or Gentlemen we have been speaking of, have a great conceit of their Nobility, because they fancy themselves descended from the Sun; they give place to none but the *Portuguese*, and that precedency cost Blood...

The *Naires* have several degrees Nobility amongst them, and the inferior make no difficulty to give place to those that are above them.

8. Nairs consult deity before battles, Giovanni Careri[42]

These *Naires* are great Wizards, nor do they ever Expose themselves to any Feats of Arms, without first consulting the Devil. To this purpose they let their Hair fly, and draw some Blood out of their Forehead with a Knife; then Dancing to the Musick of a Drum, they call him aloud, and he comes to Advise them whether they had best engage their Enemy. But when the Enemy repents he gave the Challenge, and makes a Sign to beg Peace, they easily grant it.

D. Baniyas

1. Baniyas of Gujarat, extreme commitment to Ahimsa, Duarte Barbosa[43]

This people eats neither flesh nor fish, nor anything subject to death; they slay nothing, nor are they willing even to see the slaughter of any animal; and thus they maintain their idolatry and hold it so firmly that it is a terrible thing. For often it is so that the Moors take to them live insects or small birds, and make as though to kill them in their presence, and the *Baneanes* buy these and ransom them, paying much more than they are worth, so that they may save their lives and let them go. And if the King or a Governor of the land any man condemned to death, for any crime which he has committed, they gather themselves together and buy him from justice, if they are willing to sell him, that he may not die. And divers Moorish mendicants as well, when they wish to obtain alms from this people, take great stones wherewith they beat upon their shoulders and bellies as though they would slay themselves before them, to hinder which they give them great alms that they may depart in peace. Others carry knives with which they slash their arms and legs, and to these too they give large alms that they may not kill themselves. Others go to their doors seeking to kill rats and snakes for them, and to them also they give much money that they may not do so. Thus they are much esteemed by the Moors.

When these *Baneanes* meet with a swarm of ants on the road, they shrink back and seek for some way to pass without crushing them. And in their houses they sup by daylight, for neither by night nor by day will they light a lamp, by reason of certain little flies which perish in the flame thereof; and if there is any great need of a light they have a lantern of varnished paper or cloth, so that no living thing may find its way in and die in the flame. And if these men breed many lice they kill them not, but when they trouble them too much they send to certain men, also Heathen, who live among them, also Gentiles and whom they hold to be men of a holy life; they are like hermits living with great abstinence through devotion to their gods. These men louse them, and as many lice as they catch they place on their own heads and breed them on their own flesh, by which they say they do great service to their Idol. Thus one and all they maintain with great self-restraint their law of not killing.

2. Skilled bankers, traders, merchants, teach business early to their children, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[44]

The third caste is that of the Banians who attach themselves to trade, some being Shroffs, i.e. money-changers or bankers, and the others brokers, by whose agency the merchants buy and sell. The members of this caste are so subtle and skilful in trade that, as I have elsewhere said, they could give lessons to the most cunning Jews. They accustom their children at an early age to shun slothfulness, and instead of letting them go into the streets to lose their time at play, as we generally allow ours, teach them arithmetic, which they learn perfectly, using for it neither pen nor counters, but the memory alone, so that in a moment they will do a sum, however difficult it may be. They are always with their fathers, who instruct them in trade, and do nothing without at the same time explaining it to them. These are the figures which they use in their books, both in the Empire of the Great Mogul, as well as in other parts of India, although the languages may vary. If anyone gets in a rage with them they listen with patience, without replying, and withdraw coldly, not returning to see him for four or five days, when they anticipate his rage will be over. They never eat anything which has enjoyed sentient life, and they would rather die than slay the least animal, not even excepting an insect or vermin, being in this respect very zealous observers of their Law. It is sufficient to add that they never strike one another, and that they never go to war, and can neither eat nor drink in the houses of the Rajputs, because they slay animals and eat meat, with the exception of that of the cow, which is never eaten.

3. Baniyas of Surat, abstemious existence, Manuel Godinho[45]

They sleep on the ground, on the bare earth, without any bedding; throughout their lives they subsist only on rice and butter and do not touch either fish or meat; they wear coarse saffron coloured cloth which covers only a part of their bodies; barefooted, bareheaded and with a staff in hand, they are always found in pairs, like monks. They remain chaste, live on alms, accompany the dead and adopt this way of life for a few years. Twice a day they go to the river together, as a community, each with a pot full of water which they consider holy. The rest of the time they spend praying in their fashion and recounting their fables to those willing to listen to them. They are controlled by their provincials and other local superiors.

4. Baniyas of Multan, operate on low profit margins, Jean de Thevenot[46]

They are all Merchants and Broakers, and are so expert in business, that hardly any body can be without them, They give them commissions of all kinds though it be known that they make their profit of every thing, yet Men chuse rather to make use of them, than to do their business themselves; and I found often by experience, that I had what they bought for me, much cheaper, than what I bought myself, or made my servants buy. They are of a pleasing humour, for they reject no service, whether honourable or base, and are always ready to satisfie those who employ them; and therefore everyone hath his *Banian* in the *Indies,* and some persons of Quality intrust them with all they have, though they be not ignorant of their Hypocrisie and Avarice. The richest Merchants of the *Indies* are of them and such I have met with in all places where I have been in that Country. They are commonly very Jealous of their Wives, who at *Multan* are fairer than the Men, but still of a very brown complexion, and love to Paint.

5. Khatris of Multan, Jean de Thevenot[47]

At *Multan* there is another sort of Gentiles, whom they call *Catry* [Khatri]. That Town is properly their Country, and from thence they spread all over the *Indies*...

6. Baniyas of Surat, J. Ovington[48]

Next to the *Moors* the *Bannians* are the most noted Inhabitants at *Suratt*, who are Merchants all by Profession, and very numerous in all parts of *India*. They are most innocent and obsequious, humble and patient to a Miracle; sometimes they are heated into harsh Expressions to one another, which is seldom; and this Tongue-Tempest is term'd there a *Bannian* Fight, for it never rises to Blows or Blood-shed…

They are mainly addicted to prosecute their Temporal Interest, and the amassing of Treasure; and therefore will fly at the securing of a Pice, tho' they can command whole Lacks of Roupies. I know those among them computed to be worth an Hundred Thousand Pounds, whose Service the Prospect of Sixpence Advantage will command to traverse the whole City of *Suratt*. For they are always upon the Thoughts of increasing their Wealth, and plodding for Gain, which they lat hold on upon the least occasion, tho' by never so minute and inconsiderable Advantage.

7. Baniyas live to a good age, quick of thought, J. Ovington[49]

Under their abstemious mortifying Diet, the *Bannians* maintain as good a Habit of Body, are as comly and proportionable as other People, and live to reckon as many Years as those that pity their spare Food. But in their Thoughts they are often more quick and nimble, by that course of living they chuse to delight in, which renders their Spirits more pure and subtle, and thereby greatly facilitates their Comprehension of things. Besides, this Religious abstinence very much disingages their Affections to the World, disintangles their fears of Death, and Passions for these momentary things; it sets their Spirits upon the Wing, ready without reluctance to quit this Life, in expection of a better; and makes many of them pass as chearfully into the invisible World, as they would take a Journey from their own Kingdom to another Country.

8. Wealth of Baniyas, J. Ovington[50]

Their Wealth consists only in Cash and Jewels…and that they preserve as close and private as they can, lest the *Mogul's* Exchequer shou'd be made their Treasury. This curbs them in their Expenses, and awes them to great secresie in their Commerce, especially in their receiving, or Payments of Money, for which they either make use of the darkness of the Night, or of the obscurity of the Morning, in conveying it to the place of Payment.

9. Baniya women richly attired, J. Ovington[51]

Their main Cost is expended upon their Women, who ambitiously affect a Gayety in their Dress and Cloathing. Jewels and Ornaments are the very joy of their Hearts, (as they usually call them) with which they are deckt from the Crown of the Head to the very feet.

E. Shudras

Serve as foot soldiers, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[52]

The fourth caste is called Charados or Soudra. Like that of the Rajputs, it occupies itself with war; but with this difference, that the Rajputs serve on horse, and the Sudras on foot. Both glory in dying in battle, and a soldier, whether of the cavalry or foot, is esteemed for ever infamous if, in the moment of combat, he runs away. It is regarded as an eternal disgrace in his family…

F. Untouchables

1. Poleaa, Beituaas, Mainates, Yravas, Canjares, Canacos, Irava and Pareos of Malabar, son inherits father's property, each man has one wife, Tome Pires[53]

The lowest caste are the Parayans (*pareos*) who eat cows' flesh. They are lettered men and sorcerers. The Pulayans work in the fields and so do the Vettuvans (*beituaas*); the Vannathamars (*mainates*) are washermen; the Yravas are stone-masons; the Pulayans play music in the *turucoes* or at feasts; the *Canjares* dance in the temples and pagodas; the Mukkuvans are fishermen; the Kaniyans (*canacos*) make salt; and in addition to these there are carpenters, goldsmiths and craftsmen of all kinds; and then there are the *Irava* men who make wine. None of these may go along the roads frequented by the Nayars…in case of need – such as war or sickness – and in fencing and jousts for sword and lance, the Nayars and the King may touch them, and wash themselves and be clean... In all these castes the son inherits his father's property, and each man is married to one woman.

2. Panchamas engage in mechanical work, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[54]

The remainder of the people, who do not belong to either of these four castes, are called Pauzecour. They all occupy themselves with mechanical arts, and do not differ from one another except in the trades which they follow from father to son; so that a tailor, although he may be rich, is unable to advance his children, except in his own calling, nor to marry them, be it a son or a daughter, to others than those of his trade. So also when a tailor dies all those of his calling go to the place where his body is burnt, and the same custom is observed among all the other artisans.

Among the special castes there is one that is called Halalkhor, who engage only in cleaning houses, each house paying them something monthly; according to its size. If a man of quality in India, whether a Musalman or an idolater, has fifty servants, not one of them will use a broom to clean the house, for he would consider himself contaminated by it, and one of the greatest insults that one can do to a man in India is to call him Halalkhor. It is proper to remark here that each of these servants has his own special duty, the one to carry the vessel of water for drinking by the way, another to

have the pipe of tobacco ready, and if the master asks one to perform the service for which the other is employed, that service will not be performed, and the servant remains as though he were immovable. As for slaves, they have to do whatever their master orders. As the caste of Halalkhors is only occupied in removing the refuse from houses, it gets the remains of what the others eat, of whatever caste they may be, and it does not make any scruple about eating indifferently of all things. It is the people belonging to this caste alone, who make use of asses, to carry the sweepings from the houses to the fields; while all other Indians will not touch this animal. It is otherwise in Persia, where asses are used both for baggage and for riding. It is also the Halalkhors in India who alone feed pigs and use them for food.

3. Pariahs, Dhed, Halalkhor in Berar, Jean de Thevenot[55]

The least esteemed of all the eighty four Tribes, are the *Periaves* [Pariahs] and the *Der* [Dhed, scavenger], or *Halalcour* [Halalkhor, sweepers, they deemed every food halal, lawful], because of their nastiness (dirtiness) and they who touch them, think themselves unclean. The *Periaves* are employed in taking off, and carrying away the Skins of Beasts, and some of them are Curriers [leather-workers]. The *Halalcour* are the Gold-finders of the Towns [scavengers]; they make clean the publick and private Houses of Office, and are payed for it Monthly; they feed on all sort of Meats prohibited or not prohibited; they eat others leavings without considering what Religion or Caste they are of: And that's the reason why those who only speak *Persian* in the *Indies,* call them *Halalcour,* (that's to say) He that takes the liberty to eat what he pleases; or according to others, He that eats what he has honestly got. And they who approve this last Application, say, that heretofore the *Halalcour* were called *Haramcour,* eaters of prohibited Meats: (But that a King one day hearing his Courtiers Jear them, because of their nasty [dirty] Trade, said to them, since these People gain their Bread better than you, who are lazy lubbards, their name of *Haramcour* ought to be given to you, and to them that of *Halalcour).* And that they have retained that name.

4. Poleas at Calicut, Jean de Thevenot[56]

The *Poleas* cry incessantly when they are abroad in the Fields *Popo* [go, go], to give notice to the *Naires* who may be there, not to come near. If a *Naire* hear the word *Popo,* he answers (crying) *Coucouya* [hoi, hoi], and then the *Poleas* knowing that there is a *Naire* not far from him, turns aside

out of the way, that he may not meet him. Seeing these *Poleas* cannot enter into Town, if any of them need any thing, they are obliged to ask for it without the Town, crying as loud as they can, and leaving Money for it in a place appointed for that Traffick; when they have left it and told so, they are to withdraw, and a Merchant fails not to bring what they demand; he takes the true value of his Commodity, and so soon as he is gone, the *Poleas* comes and takes it, and so departs.

5. The Parianes, Friar Domingo Navarrete[57]

There are three ranks or degrees of People in that Country: the Benianes are the Nobility and Gentry, they are great Fasters, and abstain from Flesh all their lifetime; their ordinary Food is Rice, sour Curds, Herbs, and the like [the word 'Banyan' was often applied by travellers to Hindus generally]. Others are called Parianes, these neither eat nor drink anything that another has touched, nor out of a vessel that another has touched, tho there be many Clothes over it. . .. Among these Parianes, there is one sort who are look'd upon by the rest as base and vile People. These on the Roads, when they see one of the others, step aside and give them the way: In Towns they come not to anybody's Door but their Equals; in the Streets so soon as ever they see a Man that is not of their own Rank, they run or hide themselves. They are despis'd and hated by all Men, and look'd upon as leprous and contagious Persons. I heard say, they had been formerly the noblest People in that Country and that for a piece of Treachery they committed, they were so cast down; in so much that the others will not admit of them as Servants or Slaves; and if it were made out that one of them had been within the House of one of the others, he would immediately pull down the whole Structure.

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Chapter 11
Women

A. Four Sorts of Women

B. Women force in Vijayanagar

C. Women Rulers

D. Marriage

E. Wives

F. Widows

G. Sati

H. Devadasis

A. Four sorts of women

Hindus divide women into four categories, Niccolao Manucci[1]

I have stated in my history that the Hindus know no higher delight in the world than consorting with women. To that I think it appropriate to add what they say about that sex. They hold that in this world there are four kinds of women. The first they call Padmani *(Padmini),* the second Chaterni *(Chitrini),* the third Asteni *(Hastini),* the fourth Sengueni *(Sankhini)*. The first means 'Perfection', as much in body as in mind; for, so they say, such women are liberal, love their husbands, and are invincibly faithful to them. They have much wit, are of a sweet and peaceable disposition; in short, they possess all the perfections that God and Nature can bestow upon a mortal. Those of the second class are also most beneficent and have lovable qualities, but do not approach the perfection of the first class. Those of the third class are of a very bad disposition, and do not maintain the fidelity they owe to their husbands; and when they get their five fingers into any place, they never fail to clear it of everything to be found there. The women of the fourth class are of such a nature that they do not keep their word, they love noise, they sow discord wherever they can, and are very ill-bred in their mode of life.

B. Women force in Vijayanagar

1. Women in the palace, Duarte Barbosa[2]

The king has in his palace many women of position, daughters of great lords of the realm, and others as well, some as concubines, and some as handmaids. For this purpose the fairest and most healthy women are sought throughout the kingdom, that they may do him service with cleanliness and neatness, for all the service is carried out by women, and they do all the work inside the gates, and hold all the duties of the household. They are all gathered inside the palaces, where they have in plenty all that they require, and have many good lodgings. They sing and play and offer a thousand other pleasures as well to the king.

2. Over four thousand strong, dance, wrestle, cook, maintain accounts, also serve as astrologers, bailiffs and watchmen, Fernao Nuniz[3]

This King has also within his gates more than four thousand women, all of whom live in the palace; some are dancing-girls, and others are bearers who carry the King's wives on their shoulders, and the King also in the interior of the palace, for the King's houses are large and there are great intervals between one house and another. He has also women who wrestle, and others who are astrologers and soothsayers; and he has women who write all the accounts of expenses that are incurred inside the gates, and others whose duty it is to write all the affairs of the kingdom and compare their books with those of the writers outside, he has women also for music, who play instruments and sing. Even the wives of the King are well versed in music.

The King has other women besides. He has ten cooks for his personal service, and has others kept for times when he gives banquets; and these ten prepare the food for no one save for King alone. He has a eunuch for guard at the gate of the kitchen, who never allows any one to enter for fear of poison. When the King wishes to eat, every person withdraws, and then come some of the women whose duty it is and they prepare the table for him; they place for him a three-footed stool, round, made of gold, and on it put the messes. These are brought in large vessels of gold, and the smaller messes in basins of gold, some of which are adorned with precious stones.

There is no cloth on the table, but one is brought when the King has finished eating, and he washes his hands and mouth. Women and eunuchs serve him at table. The wives of the King remain each in her own chamber and are waited on by maid-servants. It is said that he has judges, as well as bailiffs and watchmen who every night guard the palace, and all these are women.

C. Women Rulers

1. Women rulers of Garsopa [Gerusappe], Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle[4]

[W]e came to *Garsopa* and there lodg'd. This place was sometimes a famous City, Metropolis of the Province and Seat of a Queen: in which State, as likewise in many others upon the Coast of *India,* to this day a Woman frequently hath the sovereignty; Daughters, or other nearest kinswomen, begotten by whatever Father, succeeding the Mothers; these *Gentiles* having an opinion (as 'tis indeed) that the Issue by the woman-side is much more sure of the blood and lineage of the Ancestors than that by the Man-side [reference to custom prevalent among Nairs, the ruling group in these parts].

2. Queen of Olala [Ulala, near Mangalore], Pietro Della Valle[5]

…the Queen of Olala, whose Dominion and Residence are contiguous to *Mangalor,...* is Sovereign of those parts, (a thing not ordinary in other Countries) and a Princess famous in our dayes, even in the Indian Histories of the *PortugaIs,* as because she is a *Gentile* in Religion, as like wise all her Subjects are…

(a) Appearance of queen akin to a kitchen-wench, Pietro Della Valle[6]

Having landed, and going towards the *Basar* to get a Lodging in some House, we beheld the Queen coming alone in the same way without any other Woman, on foot, accompany'd onely with four, or six, foot Souldiers before her, who all were naked after their manner, saving that they had a cloth, over their shame, and another like a sheet, worn across the shoulders like a belt; each of them had a Sword in his hand, or at most a Sword and Buckler; there were also as many behind her of the same sort, one of whom carry'd over her a very ordinary Umbrella made of Palm-leaves. Her Complexion was as black as that of a natural Æthiopian; she was corpulent and gross, but not heavy, for she seem'd to walk nimbly enough; her Age may be about forty years, although the Portugals had describ'd her to me as much older. She was cloth'd, or rather girded at the waist, with a plain piece of thick white Cotton, and bare-foot, which is the custom of the Indian *Gentile* Women, both high and low, in the house and abroad; and of Men too the most, and all the most ordinary, go unshod; some of the more grand

wear Sandals, or Slippers; very few use whole Shoes covering all the Foot. From the waist upwards the Queen was naked, saving that she had a cloth ty'd round about her Head, and hanging a little down upon her Breast and Shoulders. In brief, her aspect and habit represented rather a dirty Kitchen-wench, or Laundress, than a delicate and noble Queen; whereupon I said within myself, Behold by whom are routed in *India* the Armies of the King of *Spain,* which in *Europe* is so great a matter! Yet the Queen shew'd her quality much more in speaking than by her presence; for her voice was very graceful in comparison with her Person, and she spoke like a prudent and judicious Woman. They had told me that she had no teeth, and therefore was wont to go with half her Face cover'd ; yet I could not discover any such defect in her, either by my Eye, or by my Ear; and I rather believe that this covering of the Mouth or half the Face, as she sometimes doth, is agreeable to the modest custom which I know to be common to almost all Women in the East. I will not omit to state that though she was so corpulent, as I have mention'd, yet she seems not deform'd, but I imagine she was handsome in her Youth; and, indeed, the Report is that she hath been much of a Lady, of majestic beauty, though stern rather than gentle.

Interview with queen

As soon as we saw her coming we stood still, lay'd down our baggage upon the ground and went on one side to leave her the way to pass. Which she taking notice of, and of my strange habit, presently ask'd, Whether there was any among us that could speak the Language? Whereupon my Brachman, *Narsu,* step'd forth and answer'd, Yes; and I, after I had saluted her according to our manner, went near to speak to her, she standing still in the way with all her people to give us Audience.

She ask'd who I was, (being already inform'd, as one of her Souldiers told me, by a *Portugal* who was come about his business before me from *Mangalor* to *Manel,* that I was come thither to see her). I caus'd my Interpreter to tell her that I was "Un Cavaliero Ponentino"*, (A Gentleman of the West)* who came from very far Countries; and, because other *Europeans* than *Portugals* were not usually seen in her Dominions, I caus'd her to be told that I was not a *Portugal* but a *Roman,* specifying too that I was not of the *Turks* of *Constantinople,* who in all the East are styl'd and known by the Name of *Rumi;* but a Christian of *Rome,* where is the See of the Pope who is the Head of the Christians. That it was almost ten years since my first

coming from home and wandering about the world, and seeing divers Countries and Courts of great Princes; and that being mov'd by the fame of her worth, which had long ago come to my Ears, I was come into this place purposely to see her and offer her my service. She ask'd, What Countries and Courts of Princes I had seen? I gave her a brief account of all; and she, hearing the Great Turk, the Persian, the Moghol, and *Venk-tapa Naieka* [one of the Keladi chiefs who began their career as a vassal of the king of Vijayanagar and subsequently moved their capital to Ikkeri and later to Bednur] nam'd, ask'd, What then I came to see in these Woods of hers? intimating that her State was not worth seeing after so many other great things as I said I had seen. I reply'd to her that it was enough for me to see her Person, which I knew to be of great worth; for which purpose alone I had taken the pains to come thither, and accounted the same very well imploy'd.

After some courteous words of thanks she ask'd me, If any sickness, or other disaster, had hapned to me in so remote and strange Countries, how I could have done, being alone, without any to take care of me? (a tender affection, and natural to the compassion of Women). I answer'd that in every place I went into I had God with me, and that I trusted in him. She ask'd me, Whether I left my Country upon any disgust, the death of any kindred, or beloved person, and therefore wander'd so about the world, (for in *India*, and all the East some are wont to do so upon discontents, either of Love, or for the death of some dear persons, or for other unfortunate accidents…)…

Many other questions she ask'd, which I do not now remember, talking with me, standing a good while; to all which I answer'd the best I could. At length she bid me go and lodge in some house, and afterwards she would talk with me again at more convenience. Whereupon I took my leave, and she proceeded on her way, and, as I was afterwards told, she went about a mile off to see a work which she had in hand of certain Trenches to convey water to certain places whereby to improve them…

Name of queen

The name of the Queen of *Olala is Abag-devi-Ciautru* of which words *Abag* is her proper name; *Devi* signifies as much as Lady, and with this word they are also wont to signifie all their gods…

But to return to our purpose, they told me the word *Ciautru,* (the last in the Queen of *Olala's* Name) [probably Kshatriya] was a Title of Honour peculiar to all the Kings and Queens of *Olala,* and therefore possibly signifies either Prince, or King and Queen, or the like.

Succession through female line

As to this Country being subject to a Woman, I understood from intelligent persons of the Country, that in *Olala* Men were, and are always, wont to reign, and that 'tis a custom receiv'd in *India* amongst the greatest part of the *Gentiles,* that the Sons do not succeed their Fathers, but the Sons of their Sisters; they accounting the Female-line more certain, as indeed it is, than the Male. Yet the last King of *Olala* having neither Nephews nor other Legitimate Heirs, his Wife succeeded him; and she, also dying without other Heirs, left this *Abag-devi,* who was her Sister, to succeed her…

Married life of queen

Not to conceal what I know of the History of this Queen, I shall add that, after her Assumption of the Throne upon the death of her Sister, she was married for many years to the King of *Banghel,* who now is a fugitive, depriv'd of his Dominions, but then reign'd in his own Country which borders upon hers. Yet, though they were Husband and Wife, (more for Honor's sake than any thing else) they liv'd not together, but apart, each in their own Lands: on the confines whereof, either upon Rivers, where they caus'd Tents to be erected over boats, or in other places of delight, they came to see and converse with one another; the King of *Banghel* wanting not other Wives and Women who accompany'd him wherever he went. 'Tis reported that this Queen had the Children, which she hath, by this King of *Banghel,* if they were not by some other secret and more intimate Lover; for, they say she wants not such.

Divorce and war with husband

The Matrimony and good Friendship having lasted many years between the King of *Banghel* and the Queen, I know not upon what occasion discord arose between them, and such discord that the Queen divorc'd him, sending back to him, (as the custom is in such case) all the Jewels which he had given her as his Wife. For this, and perhaps for other causes, he became much offended with the Queen, and the rupture proceeded to a War: during which it so fortun'd that one day as she was going in a boat upon one of

those Rivers, not very well guarded, he sending his people with other boats in better order, took her and had her in his power: yet with fair carriage and good words she prevail'd so far that he let her go free and return to her Country. In revenge of this injury she forthwith rais'd War against the King of *Banghel,* who relied upon the aid of the neighbouring *Portugals* because he was confederate with them, and (as they say of many Royolets of *India*) Brother in Arms to the King of *Portugal.* The Queen, to counterpoise that force, call'd to her assistance against the King of *Banghel,* and the *Portugals* who favour'd him, the neighbouring King *Venk-tapa Naieka,* who was already become very potent and fear'd by all his Neighbours, and under his protection and obedience she put her self. *Venk-tapa Naieka* sent a powerful Army in favour of the Queen, took all the King of *Banghel's* Territories and made them his own, destroying the Fort which was there…

This was the war of *Banghel,* in which the Queen got the better of the King and the *Portugals,* of which she was very proud; yet, withall, her Protector, *Venk-tapa Naieka,* who is very rapacious and little faithful, sufficiently humbled her, and she got not much benefit by him, saving quiet living; for, besides his subjecting her to his obedience in a manner, she was necessitated, whether by agreement, or violence, I know not, to resign to him *Berdrete,* which is the best and richest City she had, together with much Land on the confines of *Venk-tapa,* and of the inner part of her Country, which amounted to a good part of her Dominions; however at present she lives and governs her Country in Peace, being respected by all her Neighbours….

(b) Dutiful ruler, comparable to Shah Abbas of Persia, Pietro Della Valle[7]

…the Queen…was little at home, but, rising at break of day, went forthwith to her Works and there stayed till dinner; and as soon as dinner was done return'd thither again and remain'd there till night. By which action I observ'd something in her of the spirit of *Sciah Abbas* King of *Persia,* and concluded it no wonder that she hath always shew'd herself like him, that is, active and vigorous in actions of war and weighty affairs. Moreover they said that at night she was employ'd a good while in giving Audience and doing Justice to her Subjects…

3. Queen of Carnate [Karnata, or the Kanarese country] offers her entire wealth to defend her realm, Pietro Della Valle[8]

I prepar'd myself to go to *Carnate* to see that Queen whose Territory and City is, as I have said elsewhere, two, or three, Leagues distant from *Mangalor,* upon the Sea-coast towards the North. The City stands upon a River which encompasses it, and over-flowes the Country round about. It was wont to be very strong both by Art and situation; but, during the war of *Mangalor, Venk-tapa Naieka,* coming with a great army to subdue and pillage all these Countries, sent for this Queen to come and yield Obedience to him. The Queen, who, as I have heard, is a Lady of much Virtue and Prudence, being unwilling to render herself to *Venk-tapa,* summoned her Captains together, told them that she was ready to spend and give them all the Money and Jewels she had, and not to be wanting on her part to exert her utmost power, if they would prepare themselves to defend the State. But these Ministers, either through Cowardice, or Treachery, would not attempt a defence. Whereupon the poor Queen, who as a Woman could do little by herself, (her Son also being very young) seeing her people disheartned, resolv'd by their advice to surrender herself to *Venk-tapa Naieka;* and accordingly prepar'd to go to him with a good Guard of Souldiers. Hearing which he sent to her to come alone without other company than her Attendants; which she did, not voluntarily but constrain'd thereto by her hard Fortune and the treachery of others. *Venk-tapa* receiv'd her honourably and took her into his Friendship and Protection; but withall he caus'd the City to be dismantled of the strong Walls it had, to prevent her rebelling against him afterwards, and left her, as before, the Government of the State, tying her onely to Obedience, the payment of a Tribute, and the profession of an honorable Vassalage to him.

When they dismantled the City the Queen (they say), unable to endure the sight, retir'd into a solitary place a little distant, cursing in those her solitudes the Pusillanimity and Infidelity of her own people, no less than the bad fortune and weakness of the *Portugals* her defenders, to whom she had been always a Faithful Friend. At this time she lives with her young Son, either in *Carnate,* or some other place there-abouts.

D. Marriage

1. Women devoted to husbands, Duarte Barbosa[9]

The women of this land are so bold in their idolatry and do such marvels for the love of their gods, that it is a terrible thing [As to the women of this country although they are so delicate and go about with so many jewels and scents], I cannot refrain from saying what I have seen of the greatness and incredible constancy of their minds in addition to the matters related above. If any young maiden would marry a youth on whom she has set her fancy she makes a vow to her god that if he will arrange for her marriage she will do him a great service before giving herself to her husband. If her wish is fulfilled, and she obtains him for her husband, she tells him that before giving herself to him she must offer sacrifice to such and such a god to whom she has promised to make an offering of her blood. Then, appointing a certain day for the ceremony, they take a great ox-cart and set-up therein a tall water-lift like those used in castille for drawing water from wells, at the end of which hang two very sharp iron hooks. She goes forth on the appointed day in the company of her relations and friends, men and women, with much music played and sung, also dancers and tumblers. She is naked from the waist up, and wears cotton garments below. When she arrives at the gate where the cart stands ready, they let down (the long arm of) the lift and push the hooks into her loins, through skin and flesh. Then they put a 'small dagger' [small round shield, Ramusio and Spanish] into her left hand, and from the other end, cause the (arm of the) lift to rise, with much outcry and shouting from the people. She remains hanging from the lift with the blood running down her legs, but shows no signs of pain, nay, she waves her dagger most joyfully, throwing limes at her husband. In this manner they conduct her to the temple wherein is the idol to whom she has vowed such a sacrifice, on arriving at the gate whereof they take her down and attend to her wounds, and make her over to her husband, while she, according to her station in life, gives great gifts and alms to the Bramenes and idols, and food in abundance to all who have accompanied her.

2. Wedding at Banaras, Ralph Fitch[10]

When they be maried, the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane (that is, a priest), a cowe, and a calfe, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and

calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they give the olde man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a basket crosse bound with divers things in it; the cloth hee laieth upon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile and saith certaine wordes; and she hath a copper or a brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wives hand by her husbands, and all have the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot upon the cowes taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade up water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe, and then they give somewhat to the poore which be alwayes there, and to the Bramane or priest they give the cowe and calfe, and afterward goe to divers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat upon the ground and kisse it divers times, and then goe their way.

3. The Deccanis – seven times around sacred fire, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[11]

When they are to be married, they begin fourteene dayes before to make a great sound with Trumpets, Drummes and Fifes, which continueth day and night for all those fourteen dayes, with so great a noise of songs and Instruments, that men can neither heare, nor see. On the Wedding day, all the friends and kindered on both sides doe assemble together, and sit upon the ground, round about a Fire, and goe seuen times about it vttering certaine words, whereby the Wedding is done. They giue their Daughters no Household-stuffe, but onely some Iewels, as Bracelets, Eare-rings, and such like of small value, wherewith their Husbands must be content, for the Daughters are no Heyres, but the Sonnes inherite all, but they keepe and maintaine their Daughters and Sisters till they marrie…

Euery one of them followeth his Fathers occupation, and marrieth with the Daughter of such like Trades, which they name Kindreds.

4. Pomp and splendour of wedding procession at Surat, Pietro Della Valle[12]

…I shall give you the relation of a Nuptial Pomp, which I saw one day pass by my house in this manner; A long train of men with Drums and Trumpets, before them march'd in the day time first, carrying cover'd baskets, full of sundry things, which were either a present sent from the Bridegroom to the

Bride, or rather the attiring of the Bride, which uses to be publickly shewn in the East. Then follow'd on foot likewise some black Women-slaves, well cloth'd, being given to the Bride either by the Father, or the Husband. Lastly, to conclude the Pomp, came a Palanchino, a kind of Litter, wherein persons of quality are wont to be carry'd in *India.* It was not of the ordinary form, which hang downwards upon one pole between the bearers before, and behind; but it was carry'd on high upon poles by four men, one at each corner, and it was cover'd all over with silk, yet no body was within it; so that I know not what it serv'd for, unless haply it was intended to transport the Bride to her Husband; this different fashion being for greater solemnity made use of, in such an occasion as Marriage. At night the married couples pass'd by, and, according to their mode, went round about the City with a numerous company. They were four, all very small children, two boys, and two girls; (for in *India* most marriages take place at that age), and because they were not big enough to ride on Horse-back alone, therefore they were held up by so many well-grown men, who sat upon the saddle. Before them went many Torches, and Musical instruments, with a great troop of people on foot accompanying them. But the persons of quality follow'd in Coaches, of which there was a good number, and going one by one they made a very long train; whereby it was known that the married Children were of considerable quality.

5. Marriage vows taken seriously, adultery rare, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[13]

Although these idolaters are in the depths of blindness as to a knowledge of the true God, that does not prevent them from leading in many respects, according to nature, moral lives. When married they are rarely unfaithful to their wives, adultery is very rare among them, and one never hears unnatural crime spoken of. They marry their children at the age of seven or eight years, through fear lest they should abandon themselves to this crime.

Wedding rituals

And, in a few words these are the ceremonies which are observed at their marriages. On the eve of the nuptials the bridegroom, accompanied by all his relatives, goes to the house of the bride with a pair of large bracelets two fingers in thickness, but hollow inside, and in two pieces, with a hinge in the middle to open them by. According to the wealth of the bridegroom these bracelets are more or less costly, being of gold, silver, brass, or tin,

those of the poorest being of lead only. When the bridegroom arrives, he places one of these bracelets on each leg of his bride, to indicate that he holds her thenceforward enchained, and that she can never leave him. On the morrow the feast is prepared in the house of the bridegroom, where all the relatives on either side are present, and at 3 p.m. the bride is brought. Several Brahmans are present, and their Chief makes the head of the bridegroom touch that of the bride, and pronounces several words while he sprinkles water on their heads and bodies. Then on plates or on large leaves of the fig tree [the plantain] many kinds of food and pieces of stuff and calico are brought. The Brahman asks the bridegroom if what God gives to him he will share with his wife, and if he will strive to support her by his labour. When he has said 'yes,' all the guests seat themselves at the feast which has been prepared for them, and each one eats apart. According to the wealth of the bridegroom and the credit he enjoys with great persons, the nuptials are celebrated with pomp and great expenditure. He is seated on an elephant and his bride in a carriage, all who accompany them bearing torches in their hands. He borrows, moreover, for this ceremony from the Governor of the place and from other great nobles among his friends as many elephants as he can, together with show horses, and they march about thus for a part of the night with fireworks, which are exploded in the streets and open spaces.

Ganga water served to guests

But the chief outlay is on Ganges water, for those who are sometimes 300 or 400 leagues distant from the river; as this water is considered sacred, and drunk from religious motives, it has to be brought from a great distance by the Brahmans in earthen vessels glazed inside, which the Grand Brahman of Jagannath has himself filled with the cleanest water in the river, and has marked with his own seal. This water is not given except at the end of the repast, as I have said before; for each of the guests three or four cupfuls are poured out, and the more of it the bridegroom gives them to drink the more generous and magnificent he is esteemed. As this water comes from so far, and the Chief Brahman charges a tax on each pot, which is round and holds about as much as one of our buckets, there is sometimes 2,000 or 3,000 rupees worth of it consumed at a wedding.

6. Importance of marriage for Hindus, the mangalsutra, Niccolao Manucci[14]

To their idea, there is not in this world anything to compare in importance with getting married. It is in marriage, as they understand things, that consists one of the greatest felicities of human life. Imbued with that opinion, children as soon as they can talk and know how to say ‘father’ and ‘mother,’ are taught to say that they want to marry. Often their daughters are married even before they have learnt to talk; and as in this country there are so many different kinds of castes and tribes, there are equally many different manners and customs. First of all, then, I will state what practices are common to everybody, and, secondly, what is peculiar to each caste.

It is ordinarily the case among the Hindus that the husband is some years older than the wife, but both are of one caste. Almost all of them hold the essence of the marriage rites to consist in binding on a little piece of gold called a taily *(tali)*, which the husband must attach to the bride’s neck, just as in Europe rings are exchanged. The parents on both sides agree to the conditions of the contract, and fix the day of the marriage. This is carried out in front of the house door in a species of arbour constructed expressly, and quite new. This arbour is erected for everybody, from the king down to the shepherd. Although all the conditions have been settled, should, on this occasion of attaching the piece of gold, someone else, through envy or hatred or some family reason, step in front of the bridegroom and tie the piece of gold to the bride’s neck, this man is held to be her true husband and the bride his real wife, although she may not want him – may, indeed, have resisted and opposed it with all her strength.

After this the bridegroom and his relations come out into the open to search for signs favorable to their purpose. If they meet with such, they go to the girl’s father’s house, and ask for her as their daughter-in-law. After the father and mother have entertained those who have come to ask for their daughter’s hand, they, as a rule, raise objections to the demand, saying that they will consult the omens and then give an answer. In this way they send off the demanders, asking them to return in a few days. In conformity to this request, they come back, and the omens are examined. If favorable, the contract is completed. It is not uncommon for a husband to buy his wife.

When the price has been fixed, the man’s parents procure a part of the money, and carry it to the girl’s father. That done, they bring a bunch of flowers, a coconut, and a branch of figs (bananas), to be presented to the bride. After this ceremony, if the bridegroom repents and declines to marry

the girl, he loses the money he had advanced as a sort of earnest-money. If it is the woman who breaks the agreement, the parents must return double the money they have received.

7. Brahmin wedding ceremonies, Niccolao Manucci[15]

After a Brahman who wishes to marry has applied to his future father-in-law for his daughter's hand, he quits the place where his future wife resides and enters another house, where he is awaited by the relations of the girl. Then, after conversing some time, the bridegroom pretends he is angry, and rising in a great hurry, he puts on a pair of old clogs, takes a staff in his hand, puts a book under his arm, and says to the assembly that he is off for a pilgrimage through the world. He does really go away, but not very far, for the nearest relations of the woman hinder him by their implorations, and promise, for the purpose of appeasing his feigned anger, that he shall be married without delay.

As proof that what they say is not a mockery, but the unalloyed truth, they take hold of him and place him on a table and carry him to the bride's door, where the girl's mother is waiting. After she has bathed his feet with cow's milk, and he has wiped them on the clothes he is wearing, they make him sit a little time on a new mat. Then the parent's raise him by the hand, and seat him beside the bride on a swing made of boards tied to a beam with ropes. Then while some propel the swing, others break forth into laudatory songs.

When the bridegroom gets down and the music is over (all this taking place at the street-door), they bring him into the courtyard of the house where they offer sacrifices and worship fire [*homan*, sacred fire], which they hold also to be God. They offer also a coconut to an idol. When this is completed, the brother of the bride brings her forth in his arms. He seats her on a *scuderis* [wicker basket]. Then, before the bridegroom can bind on the piece of gold *(i.e.*. the *tali),* the bride's father and her other relations put themselves in front of him and demand for the girl more money than agreed on in the beginning. On this point there is always a grand dispute, which does not always end without the interchange of abusive words, the least of which would in Europe make a man kill him-self, or in any other land where there was the least feeling of shame and modesty. To end up with, the bridegroom is called upon to pay the extra money that the father-in-law continues to ask for – that is, unless he prefers to give up the alliance. After this dispute is over, he ties the piece of gold to the neck of the bride,

whereby the marriage is concluded. The bridegroom finishes with a profound bow to his mother-in-law that is to be, throwing himself at her feet. She raises him, and gives him a coconut. However, she is not allowed to speak to him again for many a year. This obeisance over, the bridegroom takes hold of the bride's foot, and before everybody puts it three times on a stone which they use to crush their pepper and similar articles of food. Then they resume once more their sacrifices.

All that concerns the contract being accomplished, the banquet ceremonial follows, which is carried out thus: First of all, the ground beneath the arbour, surrounded by branches of trees, is carefully rubbed over with cowdung. Then the guests seat themselves on the ground, and before each is placed the leaf of a tree, or several leaves sewn together, as already spoken of. On each is then placed a little salt and a small morsel of fruit preserved in vinegar. Next come the viands carried by the attendants in baskets. They consist of cooked rice, of which each receives on his leaf as much as can be eaten, for nothing ought to be left. After this, as second *plat,* they bring cooked grain, over which they pour a little butter, and add various kinds of green-stuff. A second time they ladle out cooked rice on the top, and last of all some broth made of water and pepper, and a little curds.

Then, as the bride may not eat at table with her spouse, the latter pays her a delicate compliment: he goes up behind her with a ball made of rice and grain from his leaf-plate, and thrusts it into her hand. Holding her face averted, she takes it, and then flees with the swiftness of a deer.

The feast ended, the Brahmans rise, and carrying off the leaf from which they have eaten, throw it outside. After washing their hands and feet, they thoroughly anoint their forehead, breast, and arms, with dissolved sandal. In these matters so bad are their manners, that if anything is deficient, they give the greatest abuse to the master of the house, in the hearing of everybody…

When all the ceremonies have been performed, the newly-married man allows his wife to go back to her father's house, and he returns to his own abode accompanied by his relations. But the father and mother-in-law do not deliver their daughter to their son-in-law until she has attained puberty.

8. Kshatriya wedding ceremonies, Niccolao Manucci[16]

When the conditions have been agreed on, and the price to be paid to the father-in-law for his daughter has been fixed, on the day before the wedding they throw a string over the bride-groom's head. It is made of three strings of three threads each. In each of these three threads, again there are three cotton threads. The string is passed over one shoulder and under the other armpit. It is a sign or mark of nobility, and this is called the Marriage of the Thread.

After this has been done, the future husband declares that he will enter into no farther bonds, and departs in simulated anger. But the parents follow him, call him back, by arguments and smooth words persuade him he must marry. Since no one is more desirous to do so than he is, no long discourses are needed to convince him.

The following day the omen-readers, who have been called in, fix the marriage day. A sort of awning is made of white cloth, and this is carried aloft by four men. Then four women, related to the bridegroom, bring four water-pots, which they carry with the awning held over them, as far as the street-door [of the bride's house], where there is a sort of high arbour erected on purpose. It is here that the wedding ceremony has to be performed. The water is placed in this arbour along with the awning. Then there is a certain tree in this country that they class as a Brahman, and style the Marriage God. A branch of this tree is brought, and also one of another tree with bitter leaves, which they call Parechi [Parisa, papal], meaning that it is the wife of the other tree, according to them. The two branches are then interwoven round a post put in the centre of the arbour. There is also some sugarcane which they tie on. At the foot of all this are placed some leaves of a certain herb which is used to make powder. At the foot of the other pillars they place a quantity of little dishes of earth, in each a sort of hot cake made of rice-flour, and these are eaten by the women guests before the feast begins.

On this ceremony having been completed, the bridegroom appears loaded with gold jewellery, generally borrowed, his body thoroughly rubbed with powdered sandal-wood, and covered with flower necklaces sprinkled with little leaves of gold. In this array he is placed in a palanquin, carried on the shoulders of six or eight men. Before him go all the relations and friends on foot, escorting him, while a great number of trumpets, flutes, and drums are played. When the bridegroom with all this pomp reaches the door of the

house where the wedding is to be celebrated, he gets out of the palanquin. His future mother-in law comes to bathe his feet with cow's milk, wiping them with a piece of silk cloth.

As he who is clean does not want even his feet washed he objects, but the other side maintain that he has not been purified. They must wash the whole of his body. By this means the bridegroom has to remove the whole of the jewellery with which he has come adorned. Binding round himself a morsel of cloth, he allows his body and head to be washed by the relations of the bride with a certain drug made from green-peas [*besan*, made from gram]. This has been prepared on purpose. At the same time the parents deal similarly with the bride. Then both proceed to some river or pond to bathe, but at different places.

The bathing finished, the future husband arrays himself as before, and, escorted by his relations to the sound of music, they make for the arbour above mentioned, there to have the business concluded. The bride arrives escorted by her relations, but by a different way from the bridegroom's route. The parents of the bride await him, and throw over him and his following a basketful of uncooked rice mixed with other things. The other side retort by throwing some similar mixture. The same is done to the bride by the relations of both parties.

Having arrived at the arbour and performed the sacrifice of worshipping fire, a Brahman appears, who begins by blessing the piece of gold called *taily (tali),* which the bridegroom has to tie to the bride's neck. He hands it round to be touched by all the respectable persons present. Next he makes it over to the bridegroom, who is by this time seated with his lady-love on a sort of camp-bed covered by a carpet. Then to the sound of trumpets and flutes, the letting-off of matchlocks, and the throwing of squibs into the air, the relations and friends attach the *taily (tali)* to the bride. In this, as they hold, consists the essential rite of the marriage.

Subsequently, having first sung two very pretty songs in praise of the newly-married couple, they go back a second time to their sacrifices. During this they worship an idol they call Polcar (Pillaiyar). They say that this god has such control over marriages that his own father when he married worshipped him in the manner practiced at this day. It is for this reason that they style him 'the son born before his father'. The sacrificing and worship ended, they throw at once into a large vessel, placed there in

readiness and full of water, an imitation fish made of a substance resembling flour. One of the relations of the newly-married pair holds it by a string, and moves it to and fro in the water. Then the bridegroom, as a proof of his skill, shoots a small arrow from his bow at this fish. If he hits, everybody breaks forth in his praise, saying he is very skilful in the use of arms, most valiant, most fortunate. If he misses, they say he is unlucky and maladroit. But hit or miss, the game ends…

When the bridegroom has spend some days in the house of his father-in-law, he leaves for his own house, whether it be in the same locality or at a distance. After the lapse of fifteen days his parents go back to the bride's home, when, with much ceremony and a large retinue, they convey her to her husband's house. After a stay of eight to ten days she is reconducted to her father's. There she usually remains until the age of puberty, on which occasion there is a feast like that observed by the Brahmans, except that no coarse or obscene language is used. The custom of the other castes is the same.

9. No marriage among merchants without informing shoe-maker of locality, Niccolao Manucci[17]

The people of this caste [merchants] observe in their marriages no other ceremonies than those performed by Brahmans and Rajahs, with the exception that no marriage can take place without informing the shoemaker of the locality [the Comaty shopkeepers of Madras before contracting a marriage, send a betel offering to the shoemaker]. These are the lowest and the most despised among men. When the shoemaker has consented, they make earthen figures of his two-edged scraper, his awl, his paring-knife, and his other tools. These are made over to the man about to marry as proof positive that they have leave of the shoemaker. The reason some assign for this base practice is that in olden times that caste originated from a Brahman and a shoemaker's wife. This man, as they say, looked on the woman, disregarding the restrictions of his caste, by the maxims of which not only should he not have spoken to her, but not approached within eighty or more paces of her. In spite of this, he went near enough to be able to ask her if she would marry him. Her persistent reply was that without the permission of her husband she would grant nothing to satisfy his wishes. But this answer was not powerful enough to make the Brahman desist from his pursuit. On the contrary, he became only the more inflamed, and each

time he saw her he sought means to win her. On seeing this the shoemaker's wife said to her husband: 'You who have done so many virtuous actions in your life and given so much away in alms, give me as an alms to this Brahman, and it will form, I assure you, one of the most meritorious works you have either done or could do'. 'For (she wound up with saying) 'this Brahman is our god, and to do his will is like sacrificing to God, for which you will be recompensed some day without fail.'

The poor shoemaker, overcome by this reasoning so opposed to honour, and also by the poverty of his condition, gave his wife to the Brahman. The children born of this union follow in many respects the customs of their ancestor. Anxious to regain the honour they have lost they still follow their father's habits, such as to twist thread [*janeo*, brahmanical thread], not to eat flesh or fish, not to cook nor eat where other castes can see them. For if anyone went and touched, or even drew near to, the place where they prepare their food or where they eat it, they would consider themselves polluted and defiled. On such occasions what they have already eaten they artificially vomit, and break the pots in which it has been cooked. They go off at once to bathe themselves so as to recover their purity. Furthermore, by the marriage above referred to, they have lost the honour of belonging to the Brahman caste, and equally so the right to study religion and sciences, a thing allowed to the Brahmans alone in this country. From this cause these others, knowing not what else to do, have been obliged to turn into merchants. This is why all the other castes, even those of the Sudras, who know the constitution of this caste, will not eat or drink in their houses…

10. Turumbu, a token divorce among some Shudra castes, Niccolao Manucci[18]

…there is in…some…castes of the Sudras and black men, a barbarous practice. When the husband is tired of his wife he gives her a straw called turumbo *(turumbu,* a token of divorce*)*. By the giving of this straw the marriage is broken, so that without any offence against the woman the man can remarry; and equally without any offence to the man, the wife can take another husband. What is remarkable is that it is not only the husband who may repudiate his wife by that ceremony, but she, too, if she is weary of him, can force him to give her the turumbo *(turumbu),* the special sign by which he repudiates her and entirely dissolves the marriage.

11. Divorce not known among Brahmins and Rajputs, Niccolao Manucci[19]

…this practice [divorce] is not known anywhere in the Brahman or Rajah caste, nor in those of the shop-keepers, nor among Sudras of decent standing; for although these may divorce their wives and marry others, the divorced wives, either m the husband's lifetime or afterwards, are not able to marry again. In all these better castes, after the husband has attached to the neck of the woman the piece of gold called a *tali,* the marriage becomes indissoluble.

12. Child marriage at Baglana, Jean de Thevenot[20]

In this Province (as in the rest of *Decan)* the *Indians* Marry their Children very young, and make them Cohabit much sooner that they do in many places of the Indies; they Celebrate Matrimony at the Age of four, five or six Years, and suffer them to bed together when the Husband is ten Years old, and the Wife eight; but the Women who have Children so young, soon leave off Child-bearing, and commonly do not conceive after thirty Years of Age, but become extreamly wrinkly; and therefore there are places in the *Indies* where the young Married couple are not suffered to lye together before the Man be fourteen Years old: After all (otherwise) a Gentile marries at any Age, and cannot have several Wives at a time as the *Mahometans* have; when his Wife dies, he may take another, and so successively, provided she he takes be a Maid, and of his own Caste.

13. Great numbers of marriages in Hindustan, Jean de Thevenot[21]

…there are certain times (when in great Towns) Five or six hundred are Celebrated a day, and nothing is to be seen in the Streets but Inclosures; these Wedding Inclosures are just as big as the Front of the Husbands House to the Street, they are made of Poles and Canes hung in the inside, and covered with Tapistry or Cloaths, to preserve the Guests from the heat of the Sun, and there they feast and make merry.

E. Hindu Wives

1. Hindus not fearful of their wives, Edward Terry[22]

These Gentiles take but one wife; of which they are not so fearefull as the Mahometans of their multitude, for they suffer them to goe abroad. They are married yong, at six or seven yeeres old (their parents making the contracts), and about twelve come together.

2. Wife of Venktapa Nayak [a Keladi chief of Ikkeri] sacrifices for husband, Pietro Della Valle[23]

October the five and twentieth. News came to *Onor* how on *Thursday* night last, *October* the nine and twentieth, *Venk-tapa Naieka* lost his chief Wife, an aged Woman and well belov'd by him; her name was *Badra-Ama,* Daughter of a noble-man of the same Race of *Lingavant,* which *Venk-tapa* himself is of…I will not suppress one story which is reported of this Lady. They say that twelve or thirteen years since, when she was about five and thirty years old, it came to her ears that *Venk-tapa Naieka,* her Husband, having become fond of a Moorish Woman, kept her secretly in a Fort not far from the Court, where he frequently solac'd himself with her for two or three dayes together; whereupon *Badrai-Ama,* first complaining to him not onely of the wrong which he did thereby to her, but also more of that which he did to himself defiling himself with a strange Woman of impure Race (according to their superstition), and of a Nation which drank Wine and ate Flesh and all sort of uncleannesses (in their account), told him that, if he had a mind for other Women, he need not have wanted Gentile-Women of their own clean Race, without contaminating himself with this Moor; and she would have suffered it with patience; but, since he had thus defil'd himself with her, she for the future would have no more to do with him; and thereupon she took an Oath that she would be to him, as his Daughter and he should be to her as her Father: after which she shew'd no further resentment, but liv'd with him as formerly, keeping him company in the Palace, tending upon him in his sickness and doing other things with the same love as at first, helping and advising him in matters of Government, wherein she had alwayes great authority with him; and, in short, excepting the Matrimonial Act; perfectly fulfilling all other Offices of a good Wife. *Venk-tapa Naieka,* who had much affection for her, notwithstanding the wrong he did her with his Moor, endeavour'd by all means possible to

divert her from this, her purpose and to perswade her to live a Matrimonial Life still with him, offering many times to compound for that Oath by the alms of above 20,000 Pagods (Pagod is a gold coin, near equivalent to a Venetian Zecchino or English Angel), but all in vain, and she persever'd constant in this Resolution till death; which being undoubtedly an act of much Constancy and Virtue was the cause that *Venk-tapa Naieka* lov'd her always so much the more.

October the eight and twentieth. *Vitula Sinay* sent to tell our Ambassador that, having sent word of our arrival to the Court, the great Ministers had acquainted *Venk-tapa Naieka* therewith, who was still so afflicted for the death of his Wife that he went not forth in Publick, nor suffer'd himself to be seen; when they told him of this matter he stood a while without answering, and at length said onely that they might come when they please.

3. Matrilineal system among Nairs of Calicut, Pietro Della Valle[24]

The Gentile *Nairi* have no peculiar Wives; but all Women are common amongst them; and when any man repairs to visit one of them he leaves his weapon at the door, which sign sufficiently debars all others from entering in to disturb him; nor does this course beget any difficulty, or jealousie. The Women are maintained by those men that have to do with them. The children neither seek to know, nor many times do know, who their Father is, but their descent by the Mother is alone considered, and according to that all inheritances are transferred. The same rule is observed among Princes and their Wives, the Queens, who are the King's Sisters, being used to marry other neighbouring Kings, and to go into their States to have children, who are to succeed in the Kingdoms of their Uncles, and by this means are of Royal blood both by Father and Mother. These Princesses are held in great esteem by the Kings, their Husbands; yet if they are minded to try other Men they are not prohibited, but may and often times do so, making use of whom they fancy for their pleasure, but especially of some *Brachman,* or other of their Husbands' principal Courtiers, who with their privity and consent are wont to converse and practise with them most intrinsecaIly in the Palace.

4. Courtesans rare, Pietro Della Valle[25]

The Pagan Women go with their faces uncover'd, and are freely seen by everyone both at home and a broad. Nevertheless they are modest, and

honor’d much more then the Mahometans; and amongst them ’tis a certain thing that there is not any publick Courtisan; but amongst the Mahometan Women there are infinite, who go every day publickly to houses, and where they please; to play Musick, sing, dance, and do what else, belongs to their profession.

5. Women of the Indies fruitful, Jean de Thevenot[26]

The Women all over the *Indies* are fruitful, because they live very frugally as well as their Husbands, and they are so easily brought to Bed, that some of them go abroad the same day they have been Delivered, to wash themselves in the River. Their Children are brought up with the same facility; they go naked till they be seven Years old, and when they are two or three Months old, they suffer them to crawl upon the ground till they be able to go [walk]; when they are dirty they wash them, and by degrees they come to walk as streight as ours do, without the torture of Swathing-bands or Clouts.

F. Widows

Widow remarriage, a rarity, Jean de Thevenot[27]

The *Indian* Wives have a far different fate from that of their Husbands, for they cannot provide themselves of a second, when their first Husband is dead; they dare not Marry again, they have their Hair cut off for ever after; and though they be but five or six years old (they are obliged) if they will not burn themselves, to live in perpetual Widowhood, which happens very often; but then they live wretchedly, for they incur the contempt of their Family and Caste, as being afraid of death; what Vertue soever they make appear, they, can never regain the esteem of their Relations, and it is rare (though they be young and beautiful), that they ever find another Husband; not but that some of them transgress the Law of Widowhood, but they are turned out of the Tribe when it comes to be known; and such of them as are resolved to Marry again, have recourse to the Christians or Mahometans, and then they forsake Gentilisme...

G. Sati

1. Sati in Goa, Tome Pires[28]

It is mostly the custom in this kingdom of Goa for every heathen wife to burn herself alive on the death of her husband. Among themselves they all rate this highly, and if they do not want to burn themselves to death their relatives are dishonoured and they rebuke those who are ill-disposed towards the sacrifice and force them to burn themselves. And those who will not burn themselves on any consideration become public prostitutes and earn money for the upkeep and construction of the temples in their districts, and they die in this way.

2. Sati in the Vijayanagar kingdom, Duarte Barbosa[29]

The poor widow throws herself, of her own will, into the fire that consumes the body of her husband and burns there with him to death. If the widow is rich, her relations make a wide and deep grave and fill it with sandal and other wood, and place the dead body within and burn it; and his wife; or wives weep for him, and then, should she desire to honour her husband, she asks for a term of certain number of days to go and be burnt with him. And they bid all her relations, and those of her husband, come and do her honour, and give her a festal reception. And in this manner all collect together, and entertain and pay court to her, and she spends what she possesses among her relations and friends, in feasting and singing in dances and playing on musical instruments, and amusements of jugglers. And when the term fixed has ended, she dresses herself in her richest stuffs, and adorns herself with many precious jewels, and the rest of her property she divides amongst her children, relations and friends, and then mounts a horse with a great sound of music, and a large following. The horse must be grey, or very white if possible, for her to be seen better. And so they conduct her through the whole city, paying court to her as far as the place where the body of the husband was burned; and in the same grave they place much wood, with which they light a very great fire, and all round it they make a gallery with three or four steps, whither she ascends with all her jewels and robes; and when she is upon the top she takes three turns round it, and raises her hands to heaven, and worships towards the east three times. And having ended this, she calls her relations and friends, and to each she gives a jewel of those which she wears: and all this with a very cheerful

demeanour, not as though she was about to die. And after she has given them away, and there only remains a small cloth with which she is covered from the waist downwards, she says to the men, “See, gentlemen, how much you owe to your wives, who, whilst enjoying their freedom, burn themselves alive with their husbands.” And to the women she says, “See, ladies, how much you owe to your husbands, for in this manner you ought to accompany them even in death.” And when she has concluded uttering these words, they give her a pitcher full of oil, and she places it on her head and says her prayer, and takes three more turns and worships to the east, and casts the pitcher of oil into the pit where the fire is; and she springs into it, after the pitcher, with as much good will as though she were jumping into a pool of water. And the relations have ready for this occasion many pitchers and pots full of oil and butter, and dry wood, which they immediately throw in, so that a great a flame is at once kindled, that she is suddenly reduced to ashes. And afterwards they collect their ashes and cast them into flowing rivers.

3. Sati in Vijayanagar, Fernao Nuniz[30]

This kingdom of Bisnaga is all heathen. The women, have the custom of burning themselves when their husbands die, and hold it an honour to do so. When therefore their husbands die they mourn with their relations and those of their husbands, but they hold that the wife who weeps beyond measure has no desire to go in search of her husband; and the mourning finished their relations speak to them, advising them to burn themselves and not to dishonour their generation. After that, it is said, they place the dead man on a bed with a canopy of branches and covered with flowers, and they put the woman on the back of a worthless horse, and she goes after them with many jewels on her, and covered with roses; she carries a mirror in her hand and in the other a branch of flowers, and (she goes accompanied by) many kinds of music, and his relations (go with her) with much pleasure. A man goes also playing on a small drum, and he sings songs to her telling her that she is going to join her husband, and she answers also in singing that so she will do. As soon as she arrives at the place where they are always burned she waits with the musicians till her husband is burned, whose body they place in a very large pit that has been made ready for it, covered with much firewood. Before they light the fire his mother or his nearest relative takes a vessel of water on the head and a firebrand in the hand, and goes three

times round the pit, and at each round makes a hole in the pot; and when these three rounds are done breaks the pot, which is small, and throws the torch into the pit. Then they apply the fire, and when the body is burned comes the wife with all the feasters and washes her feet, and then a Brahman performs over her certain ceremonies according to their law; and when he has finished doing this, she draws off with her own hand all the jewels that she wears, and divides them among her female relatives, and if she has sons she commends them to her most honoured relatives. When they have taken off all she has on, even her good clothes, they put on her some common yellow cloths, and her relatives take her hand and she takes a branch in the other, and goes singing and running to the pit where the fire is, and then mounts on some steps which are made high up by the pit. Before they do this they go three times round the fire, and then she mounts the steps and holds in front of her a mat that prevents here from seeing the fire. They throw into the fire a cloth containing rice, and another in which they carry betel leaves, and her comb and mirror with which she adorned herself, saying that all these are needed to adorn herself by her husband's side. Finally she takes leave of all, and puts a pot of oil on her head, and casts herself into the fire with such courage that it is a thing of wonder; and as soon as she throws herself in, the relatives are ready with firewood and quickly cover her with it, and after this is done they all raise loud lamentations. When a captain dies, however many wives he has they all burn themselves, and when the King dies they do the same. This is the custom throughout all the country of the heathen, except with the caste of people called Telugas [mostly Virasaivas], amongst whom the wives are buried alive with their husbands when they die. These go with much pleasure to the pit, inside of which are made two seats of earth, one for him and one for her, and they place each one on his own seat and cover them in little till they are covered up; and so the wife dies with the husband.

4. Sati in Vijayanagar, Caesaro Federici[31]

I rested in Bezeneger seven moneths, although in one moneth I might have discharged all my businesse, for it was necessarie to rest there until the wayes were cleere of Theeves, which at that time ranged up and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe

alive, for the love of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dyeth, his wife will take a moneths leave, two or three, or as shee will, to burne herselfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning she goeth out of her house very early, either on Horsebacke or on an Elephant or else is borne by eight men on a small stage: in one of these orders she goeth, being apparelled like to Bride carried round about the Citie, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with Jewels and Flowers, according to the estate of the partie, and they goe with as great joy as Brides doe in Venice to their Nuptials: she carrieth in her left hand a looking-glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth through the Citie as passeth, and saith, that she goeth to sleepe with her deer spouse and husband. Shee is accompanied with her kindred and friends untill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they go out of the Citie, and going along the Rivers side called Nigondin [Anegundi], which runneth under the walls of the Cities, untill they come unto a place where they use to make this burning of Women, being widdowes, there is prepared in this place a great square Cave, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or five steps up: the aforesaid Cave is full of dryed wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shee bee burned eateth with as great joy and gladnesse, as though it were her Wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certaine time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square Cave where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaveth the feast, and taketh the neerest kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the foresaid River, where shee putteth off all her jewels and all her clothes, and giveth them to her parents or kinsfolke, and covering herselfe with a cloth, because shee will not bee seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the River, saying: O wretches, wash away yur sinnes. Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of fourteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they go up to the pinnacle of the square Cave werein the fire is made. When shee is on the pinnacle, she talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending unto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they use to set a Mat, because they shall not

see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will have them plucke away, shewing therin an heart not fearfull, and that they are not affraid of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oyle, and sprinkleth it over her head, and with the same shee annointeth all her body and afterwards throweth the pot into the fornace, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornace throw after her into the cave great pieces of wood so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that shee hath with the wood throwen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarce beare the hearing of it. I have seene many burnt in this manner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning [towards NE of Tiruvengalanatha, on the way to Vithala is rocky hill called Pagadanigudda, on the road to which there are many memorial stones]: and when there dyeth any Great man, his Wife with all her Slaves with whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him.

Also in this Kingdome I have seene amongst the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulcher, and setting him as it were upright, then cometh his wife before him on his knees, casting her arme about his necke, with imbracing and clasping him, until such time as the Masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there cometh a man behind the woman and strangleth her: then when shee is dead the workemen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried both together.

5. Sati among Brahmins, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[32]

When the *Bramenes* die, all their friends assemble together, and make a hole in the ground, wherein they throwe much wood and other things: and if the man bee of any account, they cast in sweet Saunders, and other Spices, with Rice, Corne, and such like, and much Oyle, because the fire should burne the stronger.

Which done, they lay the dead Bramenes in it: then commeth his wife with musike and many of her nearest friends all singing certaine praises in commendation of her husbands life, putting her in comfort, and

encouraging her to follow her husband, and goe with him into the other world. Then she taketh all her Jewels, and parteth them among her freinds, and so with a cheerful countenance, she leapeth into the fire, and is presently covered with Wood and Oyle: so she is quickly dead and with her Husbands body burned to ashes.

6. Sati at Agra, William Hawkins[33]

…I have seen many proper women brought before the King, whom (by his commandment) none may burne without his leave and sight of them; I meane those of Agra. When any of these commeth, hee doth perswade them with many promises of gifts and living if they will live, but in my time no perswasion could prevaile, but burne they would. The King, seeing that all would not serve, giveth his leave for her to be carried to the fire, where she burneth herselfe alive with her dead husband.

7. Sati voluntary, not forced, Edward Terry[34]

Their widowes marrie not; but, after the losse of their husbands, cut their haire and spend all their life following as neglected creatures; whence, to bee free from shame, many yong women are ambitious to die with honor (as they esteeme it), when their fiery love brings them to the flames (as they thinke) of martyrdome most willingly; following their dead husbands unto the fire, and there imbracing are burnt with them; but this they doe voluntary, not compelled. The parents and friends of those women will most joyfully accompanie them, and when the wood is fitted for this hellish sacrifice and begins to burne, all the people assembled shoute and make a noyse, that the screeches of this tortured creature may not bee heard. Not much unlike the custome of the Ammonites, who, when they made their children passe through the fire to Moloch, caused certaine tabret or drums to sound, that their cry might not be heard.

8. Sati among Rajput in Agra, Francisco Pelsaert[35]

When a Rajput dies, his wives (or rather his wife, for they marry only one if there is genuine love) allow themselves to be burnt alive, as is the practice among the banians or khattris, and in Agra this commonly occurs two or three times a week. It is not a very pleasant spectacle, but I witnessed it out of curiosity, when a woman who lived near our house declared to her friends, immediately on her husband's death, that she would be *sati,* which means that she would accompany him where he had gone, making the

announcement with little lamentation, and as if her heart was sealed with grief…

The woman I have mentioned then went, with music and songs, to the Governor to obtain his permission. The Governor urged many sound arguments to show that what she proposed to do was a sin, and merely the inspiration of the devil to secure her voluntary death; and, because she was a handsome young woman of about 18 years of age, he pressed her strongly to dissuade her if possible from her undertaking, and even offered her 500 rupees yearly as long as she should live. He could, however, produce no effect, but she answered with resolute firmness that her motive was not [the fear of] poverty, but love for her husband, and even if she could have all the King's treasures in this world, they would be of no use to her, for she meant to live with her husband. This was her first and last word throughout, she seemed to be out of her senses, and she was taking up far too much time; so the Governor, since governors are not allowed by the King's orders to refuse these requests, gave his consent. Then she hurried off with a light step, as if she might be too late, till she reached the place, a little outside the city, where was a small hut, built of wood, roofed with straw, and decorated with flowers. There she took off all her jewels and distributed them among her friends, and also her clothes, which she disposed of in the same way, keeping only an undergarment. Then she took a handful of rice, and distributed it to all the bystanders; this being done, she embraced her friends and said her last farewells; took her baby, which was only a year old, kissed it, and handed it to her nearest friends; then ran to the hut where her dead husband lay, and kissed and embraced him eagerly. Then she [or they] took the fire and applied the brand, and the friends piled wood before the door; everyone shouted out Ram! Ram! (the name of their god), the shouts continuing till they supposed she was dead. When the burning was over, everyone took a little of the ash of the bones, which they regard as sacred, and preserve. Surely this is as great a love as the women of our country bear to their husbands, for the deed was done not under compulsion but out of sheer love. At the same time there are hundreds, or even thousands, who do not do it, and there is no such reproach as is asserted by many, who write that those who neglect it incur the reproach of their caste.

9. Sati practiced by few, Pietro Della Valle[36]

…this burning of Women upon the death of their Husbands is at their own choice to do it or not, and indeed few practice it; but she who does it acquires in the Nation a glorious name of Honour and Holiness. 'Tis most usual among great persons, who prize Reputation at a higher rate than others do; and in the death of Personages of great quality, to whom their Wives desire to do Honour by burning themselves quick. I heard related at my first coming that a *Ragia* [Raja], that is an Indian Prince (one of the many which are subject to the Moghol), being slain in a battle, seventeen of his wives were burnt alive together with his body; which in India was held for great Honour and Magnificence...

I have likewise heard it said that some Women are burnt against their own will, their Relations resolving to have it so for Honour of the Husband; and that they have been brought to the fire in a manner by force, and made besides themselves with things given them to eat and drink for this purpose, that they might more easily suffer themselves to be cast into the fire; but this the Indians directly deny, saying that force is not us'd to any, and it may be true, at least in Countries where Mahometans command, for there no Woman is suffered to be burnt without leave of the Governour of the place, to whom it belongs first to examine whether the women be willing; and for a Licence there is also paid a good sum of money. Nevertheless 'tis possible too that many Widows, being in the height of their passion taken at their word by their kindred who desire it, go to it afterwards with an ill will, not daring to deny those that exhort them thereunto, especially if oblig'd by their word, nor to discover their own mind freely to the Governour; things which amongst Women, with their natural fearfulness and modesty, easily happen.

10. Sati by a drummer's widow at Ikkeri, Pietro Della Valle[37]

As we return'd home at night we met a Woman in the City of *Ikkeri,* who, her husband being dead, was resolv'd to burn herself, as 'tis the custom with many Indian Women. She rode on Horse-back about the City with face uncovered, holding a Looking-glass in one hand and a Lemon in the other, I know not for what purpose; and beholding herself in the Glass, with a lamentable tone sufficiently pittiful to hear, went along I know not whither, speaking, or singing, certain words, which I understood not; but they told me they were a kind of Farewell to the World and herself; and indeed, being uttered with that passionateness which the Case requir'd and might produce

they mov'd pity in all that heard them, even in us who understood not the Language. She was follow'd by many other Women and Men on foot, who, perhaps, were her Relations; they carry'd a great Umbrella over her, as all Persons of quality in *India* are wont to have, thereby to keep off the Sun, whose heat is hurtful and troublesome Before her certain Drums were sounded, whose noise she never ceas'd to accompany with her sad Ditties, or Songs; yet with a calm and constant Countenance, without tears, evidencing more grief for her Husband's death than her own, and more desire to go to him in the other world than regret for her own departure out of this: a Custom, indeed, cruel and barbarous, but, withall, of great generosity and virtue in such Women and therefore worthy of no small praise. They said she was to pass in this manner about the City I know not how many dayes, at the end of which she was to go out of the City and be burnt with more company and solemnity. If I can know when it will be I will not fail to go to see her and by my presence honor her Funeral with that compassionate affection which so great Conjugal Fidelity and Love seem to me to deserve…

November the sixteenth. I was told that the aforemention'd Woman, who had resolv'd to burn her self for her Husband's death, was to dye this Evening. But upon further enquiry at the Woman's House I understood that it would not be till after a few dayes more, and there I saw her sitting in a Court, or Yard, and other persons beating Drums about her. She was cloth'd all in white, and deck'd with many Neck-laces, Bracelets and other ornaments of Gold; on her Head she had a Garland of Flowers, spreading forth like the rayes of the Sun; in brief she was wholly in a Nuptial Dress and held a Lemon in her Hand, which is the usual Ceremony. She seem'd to be pleasant enough, talking and laughing in conversation, as a Bride would do in our Countries. She and those with her took notice of my standing there to behold her, and, conjecturing by my foreign Habit who I was, some of them came towards me. I told them by an Interpreter that I was a Person of a very remote Country, where we had heard by Fame that some Women in *India* love their Husbands so vehemently as when they dye to resolve to dye with them; and that now having intelligence that this Woman was such a one, I was come to see her, that so I might relate in my own Country that I had seen such a thing with my own Eyes. These people were well pleas'd with my coming, and she her self, having heard what I said, rose up from her seat and came to speak to me.

We discours'd together, standing, for a good while. She told me that her name was *Giaccama,* of the Race *Terlenga* [Telinga], that her Husband was a Drummer; whence I wonder'd the more; seeing that Heroical Actions, as this undoubtedly ought to be judg'd, are very rare in people of low quality That it was about nineteen dayes since her Husband's death, that he had left two other Wives elder then she, whom he had married before her, (both which were present at this discourse) yet neither of them was willing to dye, but alledg'd for excuse that they had many Children. This argument gave me occasion to ask *Giaccama,* (who shew'd me a little Son of her own, about six or seven years old, besides a little Daughter she had) how she could perswade her self to leave her own little Children; and I told her, that she ought likewise to live rather than to abandon them at that age. She answer'd me that she left them well recommended to the care of an Uncle of hers there present, who also talk'd with us very cheerfully, as if rejoycing that his Kins-woman should do such an action; and that her Husband's other two remaining Wives would also take care of them. I insisted much upon the tender age of her Children, to avert her from her purpose by moving her to compassion for them, well knowing that no argument is more prevalent with Mothers than their Love and Affection towards their Children. But all my speaking was in vain, and she still answer'd me to all my Reasons, with a Countenance not onely undismay'd and constant, but even cheerful, and spoke in such a manner as shew'd that she had not the least fear of death. She told me also, upon my asking her that she did this of her own accord, was at her own liberty and not forc'd nor perswaded by any one.

Whereupon, I inquiring whether force were at any time us'd in this matter, they told me that ordinarily it was not, but onely sometimes amongst Persons of quality, when some Widow was left young, handsome, and so in danger of marrying again (which amongst them is very ignominious), or committing a worse fault; in such Cases the Friends of the deceas'd Husband, were very strict, and would constrain her to burn her self even against her own will, for preventing the disorders possible to happen in case she should live (a barbarous, indeed, and too cruel Law); but that neither force nor persuasion was used to *Giaccama,* and that she did it of her own free will; in which, as a magnanimous action, (as indeed it was) and amongst them of great honor, both her Relations and herself much glory'd. I ask'd concerning the Ornaments and Flowers she wore, and they told me that such was the Custom, in token of the *Masti's* [maha-sati's] joy (they

call the Women, who intends to burn her self for the death of her Husband, *Masti)* in that she, was very shortly, to go to him and therefore had reason to rejoyce; whereas such Widows as will not dye remain in continual sadness and lamentations, shave their Heads and live in perpetual mourning for the death of their Husbands.

At last *Giaccama* caus'd one to tell me that she accounted my coming to see her a great fortune, and held her self much honour'd, as well by my visit and presence as by the Fame which I should Carry of her to my own Country; and that before she dy'd she would come to visit me at my House, and also to ask me, as their custom is, that I would favour her with some thing by way of Alms towards the buying of fewel for the fire wherewith she was to be burnt. I answer'd her that I should esteem her visit and very willingly give her something; not for wood and fire wherein to burn her self, (for her death much displeas'd me, and I would gladly have disswaded her from it, if I could) but to do something else therewith that herself most lik'd; and I promis'd her that, so far as my weak pen could contribute, her Name should remain immortal in the World. Thus I took leave of her, more sad for her death than she was, cursing the custom of *India* which is so unmerciful to Women. *Giaccama* was a Woman of about thirty years of age, of a Complexion very brown for an Indian and almost black, but of a good aspect, tall of stature, well shap'd and proportion'd. My Muse could not forbear from chanting her in a Sonnet which I made upon her death, and reserve among my Poetical Papers.

11. Sati not common, Reverend Henry Lord[38]

…the examples be more rare now than in former times.

12. Governor's permission required for sati, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[39]

…it should be remarked that a woman cannot burn herself with the body of her husband without having received permission from the Governor of the place where she dwells, and those Governors who are Musalmans, hold this dreadful custom of self-destruction in horror, and do not readily give permission. On the other hand, it is only childless widows who can be reproached for not having loved their husbands if they have not had courage to burn themselves after their death, and to whom this want of courage will be for the remainder of their lives a cause of reproach. For widows who

have children are not permitted under any circumstances to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands; and so far from custom obliging them, it is ordained that they shall live to watch over the education of their children. Those to whom the Governors peremptorily refuse to grant permission to burn themselves pass the remainder of their lives in severe penances and in doing charitable deeds. There are some who frequent the great highways either to boil water with vegetables, and give it as a drink to passersby, or to keep fire always ready to light the pipes of those who desire to smoke tobacco. There are others among them who make a vow to eat nothing but what they find undigested in the droppings of oxen, cows, and buffaloes, and do still more absurd things.

The Governor, seeing that all the remonstrances with women, who are urged to burn themselves even by their relatives and by the Brahmans, fail to turn them from the damnable resolution which they have taken to die in so cruel a fashion, when his secretary indicates by a sign that he has received a bribe, at length allows them to do what they wish, and in a rage tells all the idolaters who accompany them that they may ‘go to the devil.’

Immediately on permission being obtained, all kinds of music are heard, and with the sound of drums, flutes, and other instruments, all go to the house of the deceased, and thence, as I have said, accompany the body to the margin of a river or tank, where it is to be burned.

All the relatives and friends of the widow who desires to die after her husband congratulate her beforehand on the good fortune which she is about to acquire in the other world, and on the glory which all the members of the caste derive from her noble resolution. She dresses herself as for her wedding-day, and is conducted in triumph to the place where she is to be burnt. A great noise is made with instruments of music and the voices of the women who follow, singing hymns to the glory of the unhappy one who is about to die. The Brahmans accompanying her exhort her to show resolution and courage, and many Europeans believe that in order to remove the fear of that death which man naturally abhors, she is given some kind of drink that takes away her senses and removes all apprehension which the preparations for her death might occasion. It is for the interest of the Brahmans that these unhappy women maintain the resolution they have taken to burn themselves, for all the bracelets which they wear, both on arms and legs, with their earrings and rings, belong of right to the

Brahmans, who search for them in the ashes after the women are burnt. According to the station and wealth of the women, the bracelets, earrings, and rings are either of gold or silver; the poorest wear them of copper and tin; but as for precious stones, they do not wear them at all when going to be burnt…

13. Sati by the widows of Rama Raya of Vijayanagar, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[40]

The Raja of Vellore [Rama Raja of Vijayanagar], of whom I have spoken in the first book of this account of India, having at the same time lost both this town and his life by the victory which the General of the King of Bijapur gained over him, there was great mourning in all his Court. Eleven of the women of his house-hold were keenly affected by his death, and all resolved to burn themselves when his body was burnt. The General of the Bijapur army having heard of this resolve, thought that he would be able to dissuade these desperate women by flattering them, and promising them all kinds of good treatment. But seeing that this was of no effect, and that they were absolutely determined to be burnt with the body of the deceased, he directed that they should be kept shut up in a room. He who received this order, on going to execute it, was told by the infuriated women that it was in vain, that he might do his best, but that it was useless to keep them prisoners, and that if they were not allowed to do what they wished, they had resolved that in three hours there would not be one of them left alive. He jeered at this threat, and would not believe that it could be carried into effect. But the officer in charge of the women, on opening the door at the end of three hours, found the eleven all dead and stretched on the ground, without any apparent indications that they had hastened their deaths, either by steel, rope, or poison, nor could anyone see how they had been able to make away with themselves. On this occasion it was assuredly the case that the evil spirit had played his game….

14. Some instances of sati witnessed, Francois Bernier[41]

In regard to the women who actually burn themselves, I was present at so many of those shocking exhibitions that I could not persuade myself to attend any more, nor is it without a feeling of horror that I revert to the subject. I shall endeavour, nevertheless, to describe what passed before my eyes; but I cannot hope to give you an adequate conception of the fortitude

displayed by these infatuated victims during the whole of the frightful tragedy: it must be seen to be believed.

(a) When travelling from *Ahmed-abad* to *Agra,* through the territories of *Rajas,* and while the caravan halted under the shade of a banyan-tree until the cool of the evening, news reached us that a widow was then on the point of burning herself with the body of her husband. I ran at once to the spot, and going to the edge of a large and nearly dry reservoir, observed at the bottom a deep pit filled with wood: the body of a dead man extended thereon; a woman seated upon the same pile; four or five *Brahmens* setting fire to it in every part; five middleaged women, tolerably well dressed, holding one another by the hand, singing and dancing round the pit; and a great number of spectators of both sexes.

The pile, whereon large quantities of butter [ghee] and oil had been thrown, was soon enveloped in flames, and I saw the fire catch the woman's garments, which were impregnated with scented oil, mixed with sandalwood powder and saffron; but I could not perceive the slightest indication of pain or even uneasiness in the victim, and it was said that she pronounced with emphasis the words *five, two,* to signify that this being the fifth time she had burned herself with the same husband, there were wanted only two more similar sacrifices to render her perfect, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls: as if a certain reminiscence, or prophetic spirit, had been imparted to her at that moment of her dissolution.

But this was only the commencement of the infernal tragedy. I thought that the singing and dancing of the five women were nothing more than some unmeaning ceremony; great therefore was my astonishment when I saw that the flames having ignited the clothes of one of these females, she cast herself head-foremost into the pit. The horrid example was followed by another woman, as soon as the flames caught her person: the three women who remained then took hold of each other by the hand, resuming the dance with perfect composure; and after a short lapse of time, they also precipitated themselves, one after the other, into the fire.

I soon learnt the meaning of these multiplied sacrifices. The five women were slaves, and having witnessed the deep affliction of their mistress in consequence of the illness of her husband, whom she promised not to survive, they were so moved with compassion that they entered into an

engagement to perish by the same flames that consumed their beloved mistress.

Many persons whom I then consulted on the subject would fain have persuaded me that an excess of affection was the cause why these women burn themselves with their deceased husbands; but I soon found that this abominable practice is the effect of early and deeply rooted prejudices. Every girl is taught by her mother that it is virtuous and laudable in a wife to mingle her ashes with those of her husband, and that no woman of honour will refuse compliance with the established custom. These opinions men have always inculcated as an easy mode of keeping wives in subjection, of securing their attention in times of sickness, and of deterring them from administering poison to their husbands…

(b) As I was leaving *Sourate* for *Persia,* I witnessed the devotion and burning of another widow: several English-men and Dutchmen and Monsieur *Chardin* of *Paris* [the celebrated traveller] were present. She was of the middle age, and by no means uncomely. I do not expect, with my limited powers of expression, to convey a full idea of the brutish boldness, or ferocious gaiety depicted on this woman's countenance; of her undaunted step; of the freedom from all perturbation with which she conversed, and permitted herself to be washed; of the look of confidence, or rather of insensibility which she cast upon us; of her easy air, free from dejection; of her lofty carriage, void of embarrassment, when she was examining her little cabin, composed of dry and thick millet straw, with an intermixture of small wood; when she entered into that cabin, sat down upon the funeral pile, placed her deceased husband's head in her lap, took up a torch, and with her own hand lighted the fire within, while I know not how many *Brahmens* were busily engaged in kindling it without...

(c) It is true, however, that I have known some of these unhappy widows shrink at the sight of the piled wood; so as to leave no doubt on my mind that they would willingly have recanted, if recantation had been permitted by the merciless *Brahmens;* but those demons excite or astound the affrighted victims, and even thrust them into the fire. I was present when a poor young woman, who had fallen back five or six paces from the pit, was thus driven forward; and I saw another of these wretched beings struggling to leave the funeral pile when the fire increased around her person, but she

was prevented from escaping by the long poles of the diabolical executioners…

(d) At *Lahor* I saw a most beautiful young widow sacrificed, who could not, I think, have been more than twelve years of age. The poor little creature appeared more dead than alive when she approached the dreadful pit: the agony of her mind cannot be described; she trembled and wept bitterly; but three or four of the *Brahmens,* assisted by an old woman who held her under the arm, forced the unwilling victim toward the fatal spot, seated her on the wood, tied her hands and feet, lest she should run away, and in that situation the innocent creature was burnt alive. I found it difficult to repress my feelings and to prevent their bursting forth into clamorous and unavailing rage; but restrained by prudential considerations…

H. Devadasis at Vijayanagar, Duarte Barbosa[42]

And another sort of idolatry is practised in this kingdom. Many women, through their superstition, dedicate the maidenhead of their daughters to one of their idols, and as soon as they reach the age of twelve years they take them to the monastery or house of worship where that idol is, accompanied with exceeding respect, by all their kindred, holding a festival for the aid as though she were to be married. And outside the gate of the monastery or church is a square block of black stone of great hardness about the height of a man, and around it are wooden gratings which shut it in. On these are placed many oil lamps which burn by night, and these gratings they decorate for the ceremony with many pieces of silk that they may be shut in and the folk outside may not be able to see them. On the said stone is another stone as high as a stooping man, in the middle of which is a hole in which is inserted a sharp-pointed stick. The maid's mother then goes inside the grating with her daughter and some of the other women of her kin, and after great ceremonies, have been performed "as to which I have scant knowledge by reason that they are concealed from view," the girl with that stick takes her own virginity and sprinkles the blood on those stones, "and herewith their idolatry is accomplished."

□

Chapter 12
Hindu Kingdoms and Rulers

A. Vijayanagar

B. The Zamorin

C. Shivaji

A. Vijayanagar

1. Founding of the kingdom

(a) A hermit's blessings, Fernao Nuniz[1]

The king going one day a hunting, as was often his wont, to a mountain on the other side of the river of Nagumdym, [Anegundi] where now is the city of Bisnaga, – which at that time was a desert place in which much hunting took place, and which the King had reserved for his own amusement, – being in it with his dogs and appurtenances of the chase, a hare rose up before him, which, instead of fleeing from the dogs, ran towards them and bit them all, so that none of them dared go near it for the harm that it did them. And seeing this, the King, astonished at so feeble a thing biting dogs which had already caught for him a tiger and a lion, judged it to be not really a hare but (more likely) some prodigy; and he at once turned back to the city of Nagumdym.

And arriving at the river, he met a hermit who was walking along the bank, a man holy among them, to whom he told what had happened concerning the hare. And the hermit, wondering at it, said to the King that he should turn back with him and shew him the place where so marvelous a thing had happened; and being there, the hermit said that the King ought in that place to erect houses in which he could dwell, and build a city, for the prodigy meant that this would be the strongest city in the world, and that it would never be captured by his enemies, and would be the chief city in the kingdom. And so the King did, and on that very day began work on his houses, and he enclosed the city round about; and that done he left Nagumdym and soon filled the new city with people. And he gave it the name Vydiajuna, for so the hermit called himself who had bidden him construct it [Vidyaranya, 'forest of learning,' believed to be the Sringeri Guru, Madhavacharya]; but in course of time this name has become corrupted, and it is now called Bisnaga. And after the hermit was dead the King raised a very grand temple in honour of him and gave much revenue to it. And ever since, in his memory, the Kings of Bisnaga, on the day when they are raised to be kings, have in honour of the hermit, to enter this house before they enter their own; and they offer many prayers in it, and celebrate many feasts there every year.

(b) A vast kingdom, Tome Pires[2]

The kingdom of Narsinga is large and very important. It is bordered on one side by the kingdom of the Deccan and Goa, and that part is Kanarese, the chief city of which is Vijayanagar (*Bizanaguar*) where the king is in residence. On the ganges side, where the river flows into the sea it marches with part of the dominions of the kingdom of Bengal and with the kingdom of Orissa, and inland it is bounded by the mountains of Delhi and on the ocean side by the provinces of Malabar and Choromandel and *Benua Quilim.*

In older times the kingdom of Narsinga was much greater than it is now and embraced almost the whole of the Deccan as far as Bengal, including Orissa and all the maritime provinces. Now it is not so big because the Deccan, Goa, Malabar and Orissa have each a king; but still it is large. With the exception of the kingdom of Delhi, this is the largest province in these parts, and they say, in India.

2. King of Vijayanagar

(a) Appearance of king, Domingo Paes[3]

This king is of medium height, and of fair complexion and good figure, rather fat than thin; he has on his face signs of smallpox. He is the most feared and perfect king that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners, and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs whatever their condition may be. He is a great ruler and a man of much justice, but subject to sudden fits of rage, and this is his title – 'Crisnarao Macagao' [Krishnaraya maharaja] king of kings, lord of the greater lords of India, lord of the three seas and of the land. He has this title because he is by rank a greater lord than any, by reason of what he possesses in armies and territories, but it seems that he has [in fact] nothing compared to what a man like him ought to have, so gallant and perfect is he in all things.

(b) King never wears same garments twice, Fernao Nuniz[4]

The King never puts on any garment more than once, and when he takes it off he at once delivers it to certain officers who have charge of this duty, and they render an account; and these garments are never given to any one. This is considered to show great state. His cloths are silk cloths *(pachoiis)* of very fine material and worked with gold, which are worth each one ten *pardaos;* and they wear at times *bajuris* of the same sort, which are like

shirts with a skirt; and on the head they wear caps of brocade which they call *culaes*, and one of these is worth some twenty cruzados. When he lifts it from his head he never again puts it on.

(c) In the reign of Achyuta Raya, everything in use in palace is of gold or silver, Fernao Nuniz[5]

All the services of this house, with the things which they make use of, is of silver and gold that is to say basins and bowls, stools, ewers, and other vessels of that sort. The bedsteads in which his wives sleep are covered and adorned with silver plates. Every wife has her bed in which she sleeps, and that of the King is plated and lined and has all its legs of gold, its mattress of silk, and its round bolster worked round the ends with large seed pearls. It has four pillows of the same pattern for the feet, and has no other sheet than a silk cloth on top. He always carries with him a mosquito curtain with a frame of silver, and he has a house made of pieces of iron in which is contained a very large bed, which is intended for such time as he takes the field…

Served in palace by six hundred servants

In his palace within the gates he is served by women and eunuchs and servants numbering fully five or six hundred; and these wives of the King all have their own officials for their service, each for herself, just as the King has within the gates, but these are all women.

Quarters of wives, over two hundred cows kept for the ladies

The palaces of the King are large and with large rooms; they have cloisters like monasteries, with cells, and in each one is one of his wives, and with each of these ladies is her maidservant; and when the King retires to rest he passes through these cloisters, and his wives stand at the doors and call him in; but these are not the principal wives, they are the daughters of captains and nobles of the country. Inside the gates of the palace they say that there are over two hundred milch-cows, from the milk of which they make butter for these ladies to eat…

King's retinue

When the King rides out there go with him usually two hundred horsemen of his guard whom he pays, and a hundred elephants, and this in addition to the captains, forty or fifty in number, who are always in attendance with

their soldiers. He takes with him two thousand men with shields (*adargueiros* in the original), all men of good position, ranged in order on the flanks, and in front goes the chief *alcaid* with about thirty horsemen having canes in their hands like porters; the chief *alcaid* bears a different wand; he who is now the chief *alcaid* of this King is called Chinapanaique (Cinnappanayaka). Behind with the rear guard goes the Master of the Horse with two hundred horsemen, and behind the cavalry go a hundred elephant, and on their backs ride men of high estate. He has in front of him twelve destriers, saddled, and in front of these horses go five elephants, specially for the King's person, and in front of these elephants go about five-and-twenty horsemen with banners in their hands, and with drums and trumpets and other music playing so loudly that you can hear nothing. Before these goes a great drum carried by men at the sides, and they go now and then striking it; the sound of this is heard a long distance off; and this drum they call *picha.* After the King has mounted he counts the two hundred horsemen and the hundred elephants and the shield-bearers of the guard, and whoever is missing is severely punished and his property confiscated.

(d) Use of oil torches at night by king and nobles, Fernao Nuniz[6]

The captains and principal people use at night torches of oil, from four to twelve torches (according to rank), those of highest rank having twelve at most. The King, however, must have a hundred or a hundred and fifty torches.

3. Military might of Vijayanagar

(a) Fourty thousand horsemen, Ludovico Di Varthema[7]

He is a very powerful king, and keeps up constantly 40,000 horsemen. And you must know that a horse is worth at least 300, 400 and 500 *pardai,* and some are purchased for 800 *pardai,* because horses are not produced there, neither are many mares found there, because those kings who hold the seaports do not allow them to be brought there.

The said king also possesses 400 elephants and some dromedaries [onehumped camels], which dromedaries run with great swiftness.

(b) Five hundred elephants, two hundred ready for war, Tome Pires[8]

This King is a warrior and he often goes into the field with more than forty thousand mounted men and a large number on foot. He must have five

hundred elephants, two hundred of which are for war. He is always at war, sometimes with Orissa, sometimes with the Deccan and sometimes inside his own country. He has great captains and many mercenaries.

(c) King distributes horses to his lords; maintains kitchens for the animals, Duarte Barbosa[9]

The King of Narsyngua has always more than nine hundred elephants, which he purchases for one thousand five hundred and for two thousand cruzados each; they are of great size and beauty, and he ever takes them with him for reasons of state as well as for war. He has also upwards of twenty thousand horses, each of which costs him from four to six hundred cruzados; and some specially chosen for his own use he buys for nine hundred or a thousand cruzados. These horses are distributed among the great lords, to whom the king makes them over for maintenance, and they must continually give him accounts of them. In the same way he gives them to other noblemen. To the kings he gives one horse each for his own riding, a groom and a slave-girl for his service, and a monthly allowance of four or five *pardaos* as the case may be; and daily supplies as well for the horse and groom, which they fetch from the great kitchens kept up by the King to feed his elephants and horses. These are in many large houses where are very many great copper cauldrons, and in these are many officials who look after the preparation of the food and others who prepare it. The food is rice boiled with chick-peas and other pulse; and each man as I have said comes to draw the ration of his horse or elephant. And if they perceive that any horse or elephant thrives (not) when in charge of the man to whom it was entrusted they take it away from him and give him a worse. And in a similar way, you may well think, they act towards each man who keeps his horse or elephant in good condition. The great lords act in the same way their vassals…

King has over one lakh soldiers and between five-six thousand women in his train

Between both horse and foot the King of Narsyngua has more than a hundred thousand men of war continually in his pay, and five or six thousand women whom also he pays to march in his train, and wheresoever he wishes to make war he distributes them according to the number of men whom he sends forth, and he says that war cannot be waged where there are

not women. These are all unmarried, great musicians, dancers and acrobats, and very quick and nimble at their performances.

(d) King on battlefield, Duarte Barbosa[10]

He of Narsyngua seldom goes to the war himself but sends his captains and armies, and when the war has arrived at such a point that he considers it necessary to go in person, and when he has settled in his Council that he will go; on an appointed day the king goes forth to an open plain as if he were going for his pleasure, mounted on an elephant or in a palanquin, each finely adorned with gold and precious stones, accompanied by a great number of horsemen and footmen, and many elephants well-drawn up in line on the right before him, covered with scarlet and silken cloths. When he arrives at the plain they bring him a horse whereon he resides holding in his hand a bow and an arrow, which arrow he lets fly towards the country with which he is about to wage war. He then gives out in how many days from that time he will start, and this news runs through the whole city and kingdom. Thence he goes forth at once and fixes his camping ground in the open country where he awaits the time fixed for his advance. When this time is fulfilled he issues a proclamation ordering that the whole city shall be at once set on fire, saving the palaces, fortresses and temples, and those of certain lords which are not thatched, and this he does in order that all men shall attend with their wives and sons and households, all are ordered to go thither, for he says that men fight better if they have the responsibility of wives and children and household good on them. To all he gives good pay, and more especially to the numerous unmarried women, very many of whom they take with them, some of whom are much respected and of great importance, rich and beautiful, wherefore those who are enamoured of them fight better to do them service though they fight not themselves…

(e) A million fighting troops always battle-ready; most feared king, Domingo Paes[11]

…this king has continually a million fighting troops, in which are included 35,000 cavalry in armour; all these are in his pay, and he has these troops always together and ready to be despatched to any quarter whenever such may be necessary. I saw, being in this city of Bisnara, the king despatch a force against a place, one of those which he has by the sea-coast; and he sent fifty captains with 150,000 soldiers, amongst whom were many cavalry. He has many elephants, and when the king wishes to show the

strength of his power to any of his adversaries amongst the three kings bordering on his kingdom, they say that he puts into the field two million soldiers; in consequence of which he is the most feared king of any in these parts. And although he takes away so many men from his kingdom, it must not be thought that the kingdom remains of men; it is so full that it would seem to you as if he had never taken away a man, and this by reason of the many and great merchants that are in it.

(f) Size and costs tremendous, Fernao Nuniz[12]

This King has continually fifty thousand paid soldiers, amongst whom are six thousand horsemen who belong to the palace guard, to which six thousand belong the two hundred who are obliged to ride with him. He has also twenty thousand spearmen and shield-bearers (adargueiros), and three thousand men to look after the elephants in the stables; he has sixteen hundred grooms who attend to the horses, and has also three hundred horse trainers and two thousand artificers, namely blacksmiths, masons, and carpenters and washermen who wash clothes.

These are the people he has and pays every day; he gives them their allowance at the gate of the palace. To the six thousand horsemen the King gives horses free and gives provision for them every month, and all these horses are marked with the King's mark; when they die they are obliged to take the piece of skin containing the mark to Madanarque, the chief master of the horse so that he may give them another, and these horses which he gives are mostly country-breds which the King buys, twelve or fifteen for a thousand *pardaos*.

Yearly buys thirteen thousand horses

The King every year buys thirteen thousand horses of Ormuz, and country-breds, of which he chooses the best for his own stables, and he gives the rest to his captains, and gains much money by them; because after taking out the good Persian horses, he sells those which are country-bred, and gives five for a thousand *pardaos,* and they are obliged to pay him the money for them within the month of September; and with the money so obtained he pays for the Arabs that he buys of the Portuguese, in such a way that his captains pay the cost of the whole without anything going out of the Treasury.

(g) Army and state revenues, Domingo Paes[13]

Should any one ask what revenues this king possesses, and what his treasure is that enables him to pay so many troops, since he has so many and such great lords in his kingdom, who, the greater part of them, have themselves revenues, I answer thus: These captains whom he has over these troops of his are the nobles of his of the kingdom; they are lords, and they hold the city, and the towns and villages of the kingdom; there are captains amongst them who have a revenue of a million and a million a half [read million and million and a half] of *pardaos* [Varaha became Pardao for the Portuguese, the coin was then called 'varahagadyana'], others a hundred thousand *pardaos,* others two hundred, three hundred or five hundred thousand *pardaos,* and as each one has revenue so the king fixes for him the number of troops he must maintain, in foot, horse, and elephant. These troops are always ready for duty, whenever they may be called out and wherever they may have to go; and in this way he has this million of fighting men always ready. Each of these captains labours to turn out the best troops he can get because he pays them their salaries; and in this review there were the finest young men possible to be seen or that ever could be seen, for in all this array I did not see a man that would act the coward. Besides maintaining these troops, each captain has to make his annual payments to the king, and the king has his own salaried troops to whom he gives pay. He has eight hundred elephants attached to his person, and five hundred horses always in his stables, and for the expenses of these horses and elephants he has devoted the revenues that he receives from this city of Bisnaga. You may well imagine how great these expenses may be, and besides these that of the servants who have the care of the horses and elephants; and by this you will be able to judge what will be the revenue of this city.

4. Feudatories and administration

(a) The feudatories, Tome Pires[14]

Now you are in the last kingdom of the First India, which is called the province of the Kanarese (*Canarijis*). It is bounded on one side by the kingdom of Goa, and by Anjediva (Amgadiva), and on the other by Middle India or Malabar India. Inland is the king of Narsinga, whose language is Kanarese, which is different from that of the Deccan and of the kingdom of Goa. There are two kings along the seacoast and a few small regions. They are all heathens and vassals of the king of Narsinga. They are a civilized

people, warriors, and practised in the use of arms both on sea and land. It is a cultivated land, with important towns.

In the land of the Kanarese from Anjediva to Mangalore there are Mirjan *(Mjrgeu),* Honavar *(Onar)*, Bhatkal *(Baticala)*, Basrur *(Bacalor)*, Barkur *(Bacanor)*, Vdipiram *(Udipi)*, Mangalore *(Mamgallor)*. All these are trade ports. From Honawar and Mirjan to Anjediva belongs to the King of Gersoppa *(Garcopa)* who neighbours on Goa (and is) for the king of Narsinga; Bhatkal, with Basrur and other inland towns, has a king; the other four ports have captains. They are all vassals of the king of Gersoppa and pay their revenues to him.

(b) Nobles like renters, Fernao Nuniz[15]

These nobles are like renters who hold all the land from the King, and besides keeping all these people they have to pay their cost; they also pay to him every year sixty lakhs of rents as royal dues. The lands, they say, yield a hundred and twenty lakhs of which they must pay sixty to the King, and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain. For this reason the common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical. Of these sixty lakhs that the king has of revenue every year he does not enjoy a larger sum than twenty-five lakhs, for the rest is spent on his horses, and elephants and foot-soldiers, and cavalry, whose cost he defrays.

During his feasts and the almsgiving to his temples all these captains, who are thus like renters, must always attend the court, and of those whom this King always has about him and by whom he is accompanied in his court there are more than two hundred. These are obliged always to be present with the King, and must always maintain the full number of soldiers according to their obligations, for if he finds that they have a less number they are severely punished and their estates confiscated. These nobles are never suffered to settle themselves in cities or towns because they would there be beyond reach of his hand; they only go thither sometimes. But a concession is granted to the kings that are subject to him, namely they do not go to court unless they are summoned, and from their own cities they send to him their rents or tributes; yet the King of Bengapor is obliged to be always in camp, and he goes to court twice in the year.

(c) Feudatories kept informed of happenings at court, Fernao Nuniz[16]

The kings who are subject are these, besides this King of Bengapor, namely the King of Gasopa *(Gersoppa)* and the King of Bacanor and the King of Calecu [either 'Kaleku', Calicut or 'Kalasa' in Karnataka] and he of Batecala and these when they come to the Court of Bisnaga are not held in higher esteem than any other captains, either by the King or by the other nobles.

The captains and lords of this kingdom of Bisnaga, as well those who are at Court as those who are away from it, have each one his secretary who goes to the palace in order to write to him and let him know what the King is doing; and they manage so that nothing takes place of which they do not soon know, and day and night they are always in the palace.

(d) Honouring the nobles with fans made of cow's tail; scarves, shawls, betel leaves, Fernao Nuniz[17]

The greatest mark of honour that this King of Bisnaga confers on a noble consists of two fans ornamented with gold and precious stones, made of the white tails of certain cows, he gives them bracelets also. Everything which the noble receives is placed on the ground. The King confers very high honour, too, if he permits a certain one to kiss [touch] his feet, for he never gives his hands to be kissed by any one. When he wishes to please his captains, or persons from whom he has received or wishes to receive good service, he gives them scarves of honour ['Salusamarambha', or honouring a person with a shawl along with money, betel leaves etc.] for their personal use, which is a great honour; and this he does each year to the captains at the time that they pay him their land-rents.

(e) The king's officers, Fernao Nuniz[18]

The officers of the King who go about the kingdom are these: – First the minister *(regedor)* of the kingdom, who is the second person in it, then the treasurer, with the scribes of the King's own lands, the chief treasurer, and the commander of the palace guards *(o porteiro moor),* the treasurer of the jewels, the chief master of the horse. The King has no controller of the revenues nor other officers, nor officers of his house, but only the captains of his kingdom….

(f) Even-handed justice; even powerful not spared, Duarte Barbosa[19]

The said king has a certain house as a hall of audience, where he is present on certain days with his governours and officials to hear the correspondence

and attend to the administration of the kingdom. He punishes severely those who deserve it, and rewards the good with many honours and thanks. When he finds any great Lord or his relation guilty of any crime, he sends for him, and (as among them all go in great state) they come in rich litters borne by their servants, with many led horses and mounted men. On arrival at the palace the king is informed, and orders him to enter, and if he does not give a just excuse for his fault, "he chastises him in words as thoroughly as he deserves, and besides this, takes from him half of his revenues", [he immediately order him to be stripped and stretched on the ground and given a severe beating; and if this person happens to be his own near relative and a great lord, the King himself beats him with his own hand, and after he has been well beaten, he orders that rich investments should be given him from his wardrobe, and be taken in his palanquin very honourably with music and rejoicing to his own house.]

(g) Method of seeking justice, Fernao Nuniz[20]

When any one suffers wrong and wishes to represent his case to the King he shows how great is his suffering by lying flat on his face on the ground till they ask him what it is he wants. If perchance, he wishes to speak to the King while he is riding, he takes the shaft of a spear and ties a branch to it and thus goes along calling out. Then they make room for him, and he makes his complaint to the King; and it is there and then settled without more ado, and the King orders a captain, one of those who go with him, to do at once what the supplicant asks. If he complains that he was robbed in such and such a province and in such and such a road, the King sends immediately for the captain of that province, even though he be at court, and the captain may be seized and his property taken if he does not catch the thief. In the same way the chief bailiff is obliged to give an account of the robberies in the capital, and in consequence very few thefts take place; and even if some are committed, you give some little present and a description of the man who stole from you, and they will soon know by the agency of the wizards whether the thief be in the city or not; for there are very powerful wizards in this country. Thus there are very few thieves in the land.

(h) Crime and punishment, Fernao Nuniz[21]

The punishments that they inflict in this kingdom are these: for a thief, whatever theft he commits, howsoever little it be, they forthwith cut off a

foot and a hand, and if his theft be a great one he is hanged with a hook under his chin. If a man outrages a respectable woman or a virgin he has the same punishment, and if he does any other such violence his punishment is of a like kind. Nobles who become traitors are sent to be impaled alive on a wooden stake thrust through the belly, and people of the lower orders, for whatever crime they commit, he forthwith commands to cut off their heads in the market-place, and the same for a murder unless the death was the result of a duel. For great honour is done to those who fight in a duel, and they give the estate of the dead man to the survivor; but no one fights a duel without first asking leave of the minister, who forthwith grants it. These are the common kinds of punishments, but they have others more fanciful; for when the King so desires, he commands a man to be thrown to the elephants, and they tear him in pieces. The people are so subject to him that if you told a man on the part of the King that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it.

5. Prosperity of Kingdom

Heavy traffic in precious stones

(a) Gems trade prized, Duarte Barbosa[22]

…the King possesses great cities wherein dwell many merchants, both Moors and Heathen, and there is great traffic chiefly in precious stones, which are held in great esteem in that kingdom; which trade is greatly honoured there. The King possesses a great treasure thereof, and boasts much of this. When he would know what any stone is he sends for it, for he says that what price soever was paid for it, that same price he will pay to make it his own.

(b) Diamond mines, trade in gems, brocades, Duarte Barbosa[23]

Here there is a diamond-mine [in Malyavanta Raghunatha hill in Hampi?] as there is also in the kingdom of Daquem, whence are obtained many good diamonds; all other precious stones are brought hither for sale from Peguu and Ceilam [Ceylon], and from Ormus (and Cael) [town of Kayal, in Tinnevelly, Gulf of Manar, celebrated for its pearl fisheries] they bring pearls and seed-pearls. These precious stones circulate here more freely than elsewhere, because of the great esteem in which they are held (for they deck their persons with them, for which reason they collect here in great quantities). Here also is used great store of the brocades of poorer quality

brought for sale from China (and Alexandria), (and much cloth dyed scarlet-in-grain and other colours and coral worked into paternosters and in branches), "also metals both wrought and unwrought" copper in abundance, quick-silver, vermilion, saffron, rosewater, great store of opium, sanders-wood, aloes-wood, camphor, musk (of which a great quantity is consumed yearly, as they use to anoint themselves there-with), and scented materials. Likewise much pepper is used here and everywhere throughout the kingdom, which they bring hither from Malabar on asses and pack-cattle.

Agricultural prosperity

(c) Land fertile, rice, corn, grain aplenty, Domingo Paes[24]

These dominions are very well cultivated and very fertile, and are provided with quantities of cattle, such as cows, buffaloes, and sheep; also of birds, both those belonging to the hills and those reared at home, and this in greater abundance than in our tracts. The land has plenty of rice and Indian corn, grains [probably jowar and other varieties of millets unknown to Portuguese], beans, and other kind of crops which are not sown in our parts; also an infinity of cotton. Of the grains there is a great quantity, because, besides being used as food for men, it is also used for horses, since there is no other kind of barley; and this country has also much wheat, and that good.

(d) Much betel, areca, Tome Pires[25]

The whole country is well cultivated, large, and good….It has much betel and areca.

(e) Sea trade and ports, Tome Pires[26]

As for *Baira Vera,* Barkur, *Vdipiram* and Mangalore, they are all ports for ships and merchants, who trade with Cambay and with the kingdoms of Goa and the Deccan and Ormuz, taking the products of the country and bringing others in exchange. There are important captains in these ports, with garrisons of men. Their revenues are paid to the king of Narsinga. The king derives large revenues from this country of Kanara, both from the seaports and from coast, and he has fortresses, such as they use, on the sea coast, but the most powerful fortresses are formed by the mouths of the rivers.

(f) A treasury kept sealed, opened only in emergencies, Domingo Paes[27]

…the previous kings of this place for many years past have held it a custom to maintain a treasury, which treasury, after the death of each, is kept locked and sealed in such a way that it cannot be seen by any one, nor opened, nor do the kings who succeed to the kingdom open them or know what is in them. They are not opened except when the kings have great need, and thus the kingdom has great supplies to meet its needs. This king has made his treasury different from those of the previous kings, and he puts in it every year ten million *pardaos*, without taking from them one *pardao* more than for the expenses of his house. The rest remains for him, over and above these expenses and of the expenses in the houses of his wives, of whom I have already told you that he keeps near him twelve thousand women; from this will be able to judge how great is the richness of this kingdom, and how great the treasure that this king has amassed.

…a pardao…is a round gold coin, which coin is not struck anywhere in India except in this kingdom; it bears impressed on it on one side two images and on the other the name of the king who commanded it to be struck; those which this king ordered to be struck have only one image. This coin is current all over India. Each *pardao*,…is worth three hundred and sixty reis (rees).

(g) Goods purchased and sold by gold, Duarte Barbosa[28]

All this merchandize is bought and sold by *pardaos,* (the gold coin, which they call pardao is worth three hundred *maravedis*) which are made in certain towns of this kingdom, and over the whole of India they make use of this coin, which is current in all these kingdoms. The gold is rather base. The coin is round in form and is made with a die. Some of them have on one side Indian letters and on the other two figures, of a man and a woman, and others have only letters on one side. "They are made especially in a town called Hora, from which they call them horaos; the value and fashion of which coins have been set forth above in many places. Those of this place are perfectly genuine, not one of them has been ever found false, nor is now so found, whereas many of other places are (false)."

6. Cities

(a) City of Vijayanagar

(b) Anegundi

(a) City of Vijayanagar

(*i*) A scenic setting, Ludovico Di Varthema[29]

The said city of Bisinegar belongs to the King of Narsinga, and is very large and strongly walled. It is situated on the side of a mountain, and is seven miles in circumference. It has a triple circle of walls. It is a place of great merchandise, is extremely fertile, and is endowed with all possible kinds of delicacies. It occupies the most beautiful site, and possesses the best air that was ever seen: with certain very beautiful places for hunting and the same for fowling, so that it appears to me to be a second paradise.

(*ii*) Populous city, fair palaces, endless number of wealthy men, Duarte Barbosa[30]

Forty leagues (of this country) further inland there is a very great city of Bisnagua, wherein dwell folk without number; it is fenced about with strong ramparts and by a river as well, on the further side of a great chain of mountains. It stands on a very level plain. Here always dwells the king of Narsyngua, who is a Heathen and is called Rayen [Raya or Raja], and here he has great and fair palaces, in which he always lodges, with many enclosed courts and great houses very well built, and within them are wide open spaces, with water-tanks in great number, in which is reared abundance of fish. He also has gardens full of trees and sweet-scented herbs. In the city as well there are palaces after the same fashion, wherein dwell the great Lords and Governours thereof.

The other houses of the people are thatched "but none the less are very well built and arranged according to occupations, in long streets with many open places." And the folks here are ever in such numbers that the streets and places cannot contain them. There is great traffic and an endless number of merchants and wealthy men, as well among the natives of the city who abide therein as among those who come thither from outside…

High level of religious tolerance

….the King allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, 'Jew' Moor or Heathen. Great equity and justice is observed to all, not only by the rulers, but by the people one to another.

(*iii*) The city of Vijayanagar, Domingo Paes[31]

…the city of Bisnaga [Vijayanagar],…from it to the new city goes a street [this royal road connecting Hampi and Hospet is till in use] as wide as a place of tourney, with both sides lined throughout with rows of houses and shops where they sell everything; and all along this road are many trees that the king commanded to be planted, so as to afford shade to those that pass along. On the road he commanded to be erected a very beautiful temple [probably the 'Anantasayanagudi' temple which the king had built when he was blessed with a son] of stone, and there are other pagodas that the captains and great lords caused to be erected.

…before you arrive to the city gates there is a gate with a wall that encloses all the other enclosures of the city, and this wall is a very strong one of massive stone-work; but at the present time it is injured in some places. They do not fail to have citadels in it. This wall has a moat of water in some place, and in the parts where it was constructed on low ground. And there is, separate from it, yet another (defence) made in the following manner. Certain pointed stones of great height are fixed in the ground as high as a man's breast; they are in breadth a lanceshaft and half, with the same distance between them and the great wall. This wall rises in all the low ground till it reaches some hill or rocky land. From this first circuit until you enter the city there is a great distance, in which are fields in which they sow rice and have many gardens and much water, which water comes from two lakes. The water passes through this first line of wall, and there is much water in the lakes because of springs; and here there are orchards and a little grove of palms, and many houses.

Returning, then, to the first gate of the city, before you arrive at it you pass a little piece of water and then you arrive at the wall, which is very strong, all of stone-work, and it makes a bend before you arrive at the gate; and at the entrance of this gate are two towers, one on each side, which makes it very strong. It is large and beautiful. As soon as you pass inside there are two little temples; one of them has an enclosing wall with many trees, while the whole of the other consists of buildings; and this wall of the first gate encircles the whole city. Then going forward you have another gate with another line of wall, and it also encircles the city inside the first, and from here to the king's palace is all streets and rows of houses, very beautiful, and houses of captains and other rich and honourable men; you will see rows of houses with many figures and decorations pleasing to look at.

Going along the principal street, you have one of the chief gateways, which issues from a great open space in front of the king's palace; opposite this is another which passes along to the other side of the city; and across this open space pass all the carts and conveyances carrying stores and everything else, and because it is in the middle of the city it cannot but be useful.

This palace of the king is surrounded by a very strong wall like some of the others, and encloses a greater space (*terra moor cerca*) than all the castle of Lisbon.

Still going forward, passing to the other gate you see two temples connected with it, one on each side, and at the door of one of these they kill every day many sheep; for in all the city they do not kill any sheep for the use of the heathen, or for sale in the markets, except at the gate of this pagoda. Of their blood they make sacrifices to the idol that is in the temple. They leave the heads to him, and for each sheep they give a *saco* (*chakram*) which is a coin like a *cartilha* (*quartilha*-a farthing). There is present at the slaughter of these beasts a *Jogi* (priest) who has charge of the temple, and as soon as they cut off the head of the sheep or goat this *Gogi* blows a horn as a sign that the idol receives that sacrifice…

Close to these pagodas is a triumphal car covered with carved work and images, and on one day in each year during a festival they drag this through the city in such streets as it can traverse. It is large and cannot turn corners.

Houses of merchants, a fair every evening

Going forward, you have a broad and beautiful street, full of rows of fine houses and streets of the sort I have described, and it is to be understood that the houses belong to men rich enough to afford such. In this street live many merchants, and there you will find all sorts of rubies and diamonds, and emeralds, and pearls and seed-pearls, and cloths, and every other sort of thing there is on earth and that you may wish to buy. Then you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags (*rocis e semdeiros*), and also many citrons [from the family of lemon] and limes, and oranges, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff, and wood; you have all in this street.

Street of craftsmen, fair every Friday, a Moor quarter

At the end of it you have another gate with its wall, which wall goes to meet the wall of the second gate of which I have spoken, in such sort that this city has three fortresses, with another which is the king's palace. Then when this gate is passed you have another street where there are many craftsmen, and they sell many things; and in this street there are two small temples (pagodas). There are temples (pagodas) in every street, for these appertain to institutions like the confraternities you know of in our parts, of all the craftsmen and merchants; but the principal and greatest pagodas are outside the city. In this street lodged Christovao de Figueiredo. On every Friday you have a fair there, with many pigs and fowls and dried fish from the sea, and other things the produce of the country, of which I do not know the name; and in like manner a fair is held every day in different parts of the city. At the end of this street is the Moorish quarter, which is at the very end of the city, and of these Moors there are many who are natives of the country and who are paid by the king and belong to his guard. In this city you will find men belonging to every nation and people, because of the great trade which it has, and the many precious stones there, principally diamonds.

Appears as large as Rome

The size of this city I do not write here, because it cannot all be seen from any one spot, but I climbed a hill [Matangaparvata or Matanga hill] whence I could see a great part of it; I could not see it all because it lies between several ranges of hills. What I saw from thence seemed to me as large as Rome, and very beautiful to the sight; there are many groves of trees within it in the gardens of the houses, and many conduits of water which flow into the midst of it, and in places there are lakes (*temques*); and the king has close to his palace a palm grove and other rich bearing fruit-trees. Below the Moorish quarter [from the Muslim cemeteries in the ruins of Hampi it seems that there were two Moorish quarters in the capital] is a little river, and on this side are many orchards and gardens with many fruits trees, for the most part mangoes and areca-palms and jack-trees, and also many lime and orange trees, growing so closely one to another that it appears like a thick forest; and there are also white grapes. All the water which is in the city comes from the two tanks of which I have spoken, outside the first enclosing wall.

Very populous city, best provided in the world

The people in this city are countless in number, so much so that I do not wish to write it down for fear it should be thought fabulous; but I declare that no troops, horse or foot, could break their way through any street or lane, so great are the numbers of the people and elephants.

This is the best provided city in the world and is stocked with provisions such as rice, wheat, grains, Indian-corn [millets like jowar], and a certain amount of barley and beans, moong, pulses [probably masoor dal also known as Egyptian pulse], horse-gram, and many other seeds which grow in this country which are the food of the people, and there is large store of these and very cheap; but wheat is not so common as the other grains, since no one eats it except the Moors. But you will find what I have mentioned.

Streets and markets packed

The streets and markets are full of laden oxen without count, so that you cannot get along for them, and in many streets you come upon so many of them that you have to wait for them to pass, or less have to go by another way. There is much poultry; they give three fowls in the city for a coin worth a *vintem*, which coins are called *favaos* [Pana or fanam, favaos in Portuguese]; outside the city they give four fowls for a *vintem*…

Abundance of milk and butter

For the state of this city is not like that of other cities, which often fail of supplies and provisions, for in this one everything abounds; and also the quantity of butter and oil and milk sold every day, that is a thing I cannot refrain from mentioning; and as for the rearing of cows and buffaloes which goes on in the city, there is so much that you will go very far before you find another like it. There are many pomegranates also; grapes are sold at three bunches a *fanam*, and pomegranates ten for a *fanam.*

(*iv*) A glimpse of the royal palace, Domingo Paes[32]

The king, then being in his new city, as I have said, Christovao de Figueiredo begged him of his kindness that he would permit him to be shown the palace of the city of Bisnaga, forasmuch as there had come with him many Portuguese who had never been in Bisnaga, and they would rejoice to see it, in order to have somewhat to tell on their return to their own lands, whenever god should take them there. The king at once commanded that they should be shown certain of his residences, for that of his wives no one ever sees. As soon as we had returned to the city of

Bisnaga, the governor of that place, who is called Gamdarajo [the '*Guandaja'* of Nuniz], and is brother of Salvatinica, showed us the palace.

Counted at the gate

You must know that on entering that gate of which I have spoken, by which the ladies serving the king's wives make their exit when they come to the feast, opposite to it there is another of the same kind. Here they bade us stand still, and they counted us how many we were, and as they counted they admitted us one by one to a small courtyard with a smoothly plastered floor, and with very white walls around it. At the end of this courtyard, opposite this gate by which we entered, is another close to it on the left hand, and another which was closed; the door opposite belongs to the king's residence. At the entrance of this door outside are two images painted like life and drawn in their manner, which are these; the one on the right hand is of the father of this king, and the one the left is of this king. The father was dark and a gentleman of fine form, stouter than the son is; they stand with all their apparel and such raiment as they wear or used to wear when alive. Afterwards, wishing to pass in at this door, they again counted us, and after they had finished counting us, we entered a little house which contained what I shall now relate.

Two chambers richly decorated

As soon as you are inside, on the left hand, are two chambers one above the other, which are in this manner: the lower one is below the level of the ground, with two little steps which are covered with copper gilded, and from there to the top is all lined with gold (I do not say 'gilded' but 'lined' inside), and outside it is dome-shaped. It has a four-sided porch made of cane-work over which is a work of rubies and diamonds and all other kinds of precious stones and pearls, and above the porch are two pendants of gold; all the precious stone-work is in heart-shapes, and, interweaved between one and another, is a twist of thick seed-pearl work; on the dome [vault or arch] are pendants of the same. In this chamber was a bed which had feet similar to the porch, the cross-bars covered with gold, and there was on it a mattress of black satin; it had all round it a railing of pearls a span wide; on it were two cushions and no other covering. Of the chamber above it I shall not say if it held anything because I did not see it, but only the one below on the right side. In this house there is a room with pillars of carved stone [carved wood, according to Professor Rouch]; this room is all

of ivory, as well the chamber as the walls, from top to bottom, and the pillars of the cross-timbers at the top had roses and flowers of lotuses all of ivory, and all well executed, so that there could not be better – it is so rich and beautiful that you would hardly find anywhere another such.

Painting depicts ways of life of all men including the Portuguese and even beggars

On this same side is designed in painting all the ways of life of the men who have been here even down to the Portuguese, from which the king's wives can understand the manner in which each one lives in his own country, even to the blind and the beggars. In this house are two thrones [chairs] covered with gold, and a cot of silver with its curtains. Here I saw a little slab of green jasper, which is held for a great thing in this house. Close to where this jasper is, i.e., underneath arches where is the entrance into the place, there is a little door closed with some padlocks; they told us that inside it there was a treasury of one of the former kings.

Courtyard with swings for royal ladies

As soon as we left this house we entered a courtyard as large as an arena for beast-fights, very well plastered and almost in the middle are some pillar of wood, with a cross beam at the top all covered with copper gilt, and in the middle four chains of silver links with hooks which are caught one into the other; this serves for a swing for the wives of the king. At the entrance of this courtyard on the right hand we mounted four or five steps and entered some beautiful houses – single-storeyed houses with flat roofs on top, although on top there may be other houses; the plan is good, and they are like terraces.

Vithala temple

There is a building there built on many pillars [possibly the Vithala temple], which are of stone-work, and so also is all the work of the roof, with all the rest of wood *(maneria),* and all the pillars with all the other work are gilded so that they seem as if covered with gold.

Then at the entrance of this building in the middle nave, there is, standing on four pillars [possibly the stone *ratha* or chariot in the temple premises], a canopy covered with many figures of dancing-women, besides other small figures which are placed in the stone-work. All this is also gilded, and has some red colour on the under-sides of the leaves which stand out from

sculpture. You must know that they make no use of this building because it belongs to their idol and to the temple. At the end of this is a little closed door where the idol is. Whenever they celebrate any festival of this idol, they carry it on a golden throne and put it underneath that canopy which is made for the purpose; and then come the Brahmans to perform their ceremonies there, and the dancing-girls come to dance.

A cot of gold bars, dancing room

Descending from this building, we passed on the left side of the courtyard, and we entered a corridor which runs the whole length of it, in which we saw some things. On entering the corridor was a cot suspended in the air by silver chains; the cot had feet made of bars of gold, so well made that they could not be better, and the cross-bars of the cot were covered with gold. In front of this cot was a chamber where was another cot suspended in the air by chains of gold; this cot had feet of gold with much setting of precious stones, and the cross bars were covered with gold.

A chamber under construction

Above this chamber was another, smaller, and with nothing in it save only that it was gilt and painted. Passing this chamber, along the same corridor in front was a chamber which this king commanded to be made; on the outside were figures of women with bows and arrows like amazons. They had begun to paint this chamber, and they told us that it had to be finer than the others, and that it was to be all plated with gold, as well the ground below as all the rest.

Temple kitchen with gold cauldrons

Passing this corridor and mounting up into another which is higher, we saw at one end three caldrons of gold [the temple kitchen], so large that in each one they could cook half a cow [cow slaughter was completely banned], and with them were others, very large ones, of silver, and also little pots of gold and some large ones.

Hall where women are taught to dance, pillars carved with animals

Thence we went up by a little staircase, and entered by a little door into a building which is in this manner. This hall is where the king sends his women to be taught to dance. It is a long hall and not very wide, all of stone sculpture on pillars, which are at a distance of quite an arm’s length from

the wall; perhaps a little more. These pillars stand in that manner all round the building; they are half-pillars (?) made with other hollows (?) all gilt. In the supports or pedestals on the top are many great beasts like elephants, and of there shapes; it is open so that the interior is seen, and there are on the inner side of these beasts other images, each placed according to its character; there are also figures of men turned back to back [the mandapa in the SE corner of Vithala temple premises has pillars of this type], and other beasts of different sorts. In each case from pillar to pillar is a cross-bar [the architrave] which is like a panel, and from pillar to pillar are many such panels; there are images of old men, too, gilded and of the size of a cubit. Each of the panels has one placed in this way. These images are over all the building. And on the pillars are other images, smaller, with other images yet more subordinate, and other figures again, in such a way that I saw this work gradually diminishing in size on these pillars with their designs from pillar to pillar, and each time smaller by the size of a span as it went on, becoming lost; so it went dwindling gradually away till there remained of all the sculptured work only the dome, the most beautiful I ever saw. Between these images and pillars runs a design of foliage, like plates (*a maneyra de lamines*), all gilt, with the reverses of the leaves in red and blue, the images that are on the pillars are stags and other animals, they are painted in colours with the pink on their faces [flesh-tint]; but the other images seated on the elephants, as well as those on the panels, are all dancing women having little drums (tomtoms).

Each panel depicts a dance posture

The designs of these panels show the positions at the ends of dances in such a way that on each panel there is a dancer in the proper position at the end of the dance; this is to teach the women, so that if they forget the position in which they have to remain when the dance is done, they may look at one of the panels where is the end of that dance. By that they keep in mind what they have to do.

At the end of this house on the left hand is a painted recess where the women cling on with their hands in order better to stretch and loosen their bodies and legs; there they teach them to make the whole body supple, in order to make their dancing more graceful. At the other end, on the right, in the place where the king places himself to watch them dancing, all the floors and walls where he sits are covered with gold, and in the middle of

the wall is a golden image of a woman of the size of a girl of twelve years, with her arms in the position which she occupies in the end of a dance.

More than a lakh houses in the city

Of the city of Bisnaga they say that there are more than a hundred thousand dwelling houses in it, all one storeyed and flat-roofed, to each of which there is a low surrounding wall, and in this city the king lives most of the time. On the north side are rocky hills; a river runs between them, and the wall runs along the top of them, and on the farther side is a city called Nagumdym; and it has only three gates namely one by the river, which they cross in boats embarking just at the gate [Talarighatta or Talavarakatta gate leading to Anegundi]; one on the other side which is to the north, this is a stronger gate; and one on the north-west side, a little gate between two very high ridges; and it is such a bad road that only horse-man can pass out a time.

City of Krishnapur, full of temples

And on the north-west side (of Bisnaga) is another city called Crisnapor (Krishnapura, where are the ruins of a fine Krsna temple) connected with Bisnaga, in which are all their pagodas, those in which they most worship, and all the revenue of this city is granted to them; and they say that they have a revenue of a hundred thousand *pardaos* of gold. The pagodas are high and have great buildings with many figures of men and women all in lascivious attitudes.

(b) Anegundi

A former capital, Domingo Paes[33]

Now as to the places on the bank of this river[Tungabhadra]. There is a city built there which they call *Senagumdym (Anegundi)* and they say that of old it was the capital of the kingdom, but there now live in it few people; it still has good walls and is very strong, and it lies between two hill-ranges which have only two entrances. A captain lives in this city for the king. People cross to this place by boats which are round like baskets; inside they are made of cane, and outside are covered with leather; they are able to carry fifteen or twenty persons, and even horses and oxen can cross in them if necessary, but for the most part these animals swim across. Men row them with a sort of paddle, and the boats are always turning round, as they cannot

go straight like others; in all the kingdom where there are streams there are no other boats but these.

There are also in this city places where they sell live sheep; you will see the fields round the city full of them, and also of cows and buffaloes – it is a very pretty sight to see – and also the many she-goats and kids, and the he-goats so large that they are bridled and saddled. Many sheep are like that also, and boys ride them.

Vithala temple at Anegundi

Outside the city walls on the north there are three very beautiful pagodas, one of which is called *Vitella*, and it stands over against this city of Nagumdym (*Anegundi*); the other is called Aoperadianar [probably Pampavirupaksa or Pampapatinatha], and this is the one which they hold in most veneration, and to which they make great pilgrimages.

Streets with shelters for pilgrims

In this pagoda, opposite to its principal gate which is to the east, there is a very beautiful street of very beautiful houses with balconies and arcades, in which are sheltered the pilgrims that come to it, and there are also houses for the lodging of the upper classes; the king has a palace in the same street, in which he resides when he visits this pagoda. There is a pomegranate tree above this first gate; the gate has a very lofty tower all covered with rows of men and women and hunting scenes and many other representations, and as the tower goes narrowing towards the top so the images diminish in size.

Passing this first gate, you come at once into a large courtyard with another gate [the 'rayagopura' built by King Krishnadeva Raya in A.D. 1509-10 to commemorate his accession] of the same sort as the first, except that it is rather smaller throughout; and passing this second gate, there is a large court with verandahs all round on pillars of stone, and in the middle of this court is the house of the idol.

A gilded column gifted by Krishnadeva Raya

Opposite the principal gate stand four columns, two gilded and the other two of copper, from which, owing to their great age as it seems to me, the gold has worn off; and the other two are also of copper, for all are of copper. That which stands nearest the gate of the temple was given by this King Crisnarao Krsnaraya who now reigns here, and the others by his

predecessors. All the outer side of the gate of the temple up to the roof is covered with copper and gilded and on each side of the roof on the top are certain great animals that look like tigers, all gilt. As soon as you enter this idol-shrine, you perceive from pillar to pillar on which it is supported many little holes in which stand oil lamps, which burn, so they tell me, every night, and they will be in number two thousand five hundred and three thousand lights.

As soon as you pass this shrine you enter another small one like the crypt (*cinzeyro*) of some church; it has two doors at the sides, and thence onward this building is like a chapel, where stands the idol which they adore. Before you get to it there are three doors; the shrine is vaulted and dark without any light from the sky; it is always lit with candles. At the first gate are doorkeepers who never allow any one to enter except the Brahmans that have charge of it... Between gate and gate are images of little idols.

The linga

The principal idol is a round stone without any shape [linga]; they have great devotion for it. This building outside is all covered with copper gilt. At the back of the temple outside, close to the verandahs of which I have spoken, there is a small idol of white alabaster with six arms in one it has a ...and in the other a sword, and in the others sacred emblems *(armas de casa)* and it has below its feet a buffalo and a large animal which is helping to kill that buffalo. In this pagoda there burns continually a lamp of ghee, and around are other small temples for houses of devotion.

Temple chariots

…Whenever the festival of any of these temples occurs they drag along certain triumphal cars which run on wheels, and with it go dancing-girls and other women with music to the temple (conducting) the idol along the said street with much pomp…

7. Political Developments in Vijayanagar

(a) Capture of Raichur from Bijapur, Fernao Nuniz[34]

After Salvatinia had arrived and had been well received by the King, and after the lapse of some days, the King told him that he desired to fulfil all the wishes expressed in the testament of King Narsyanga, one of which was to capture Rachol [Raichur], which was a very strong city and amongst the

principal ones of the Ydallcao [Adil Shah of Bijapur], who had taken it from the kings of his ancestors…

This city of Rachol lies between two great rivers, and in the midst of a great plain where there are no trees except very small ones, and there are great boulders there; from each river to the city is three leagues. One of these rivers is the northern boundary, and beyond it the country belongs to the Ydallcao, and the other is the boundary to the south which is the boundary of Narsymga. This plain lies in the middle of these two rivers, and there are large lakes therein and wells and some little streams where the city is situated, and a hill which looks like a woman's breast and is of natural formation. The city has three lines of strong walls of heavy masonry made without lime; the walls are packed with earth inside, and it has on the highest point a fortress like a tower, very high and strong; at the top where the fortress stands is a spring of water which runs all the year round. It is held to be a holy and mysterious thing that a spring which is in a lofty situation in some way never be without water. Besides this spring there are several tanks of water and wells, so that the citizens had no fear of being ever taken for lack of water; and there were in the city supplies for five years. There were eight thousand men as garrison and four hundred horse and twenty elephants, and thirty catapults (*trabucos*) which hurled heavy stones and did great damage. The towers which are on the walls are so close together that one can hear words spoken from one to the other. Between these and all around they posted their artillery, which consisted of two hundred heavy pieces, not to mention small ones.

(b) Battle of Talikota, 1565, Cesare Federici[35]

In the yeer of our Lord 1567 [in the original it is 1566], I went from Goa to Bezeneger, the chiefe Citie of the Kingdom of Narsinga eight dayes journey from Goa, within the Land, in the companie of two other Merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian Horses to that King…

Sack of city

Bezeneger Idalcan, Xamalucco &c. A most unkind and wicked treason against their Prince; this they have for giving credite to strangers, rather than to their owne native people.

The citie of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565 by foure Kings of the Moores, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure

Kings were these following: the first was called Dialcan [Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur], the second Zamaluc [Ibrahim Qutb Shah of Golconda], the third Cotamaluc [Husain Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar] and the fourth Viridy.

Treason by two Muslim generals

And yet these foure Kings were not able to overcome this Citie and the King of Bezeneger, but by treason. This King of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his Captaines, two which were notable, and they were Moores: and these two Captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourscore thousand men. These two Captaines being of one Religion with the foure Kings which were Moores, wrought means with them to betray their owne King into their hands. The King of Benzeneger esteemed not the force of the foure Kings his enemies, but went out of his Cities to wage battell with them in the fields; and when the Armies were joyned, the battell lasted but a while, not the space of four houres, because the two traiterous Captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their campanies turned their faces against their King, and made such disorder in his Armie, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this Kingdome governed by three brethren which were Tyrants, the which keeping the rightful King in prison, it was their use every yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three Captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very young, and then they took the government to themselves. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sate in the Royall Throne, and was called the King: the second was called Temiragio and he took the government on him: the third was called Bengatre [the three brothers were: Ramaraya, Timmaraya and Venkatadri], and he was Captaine generall of the Armie. These three brethern were in this battell, in which the chiefest and the last were never heard of quicke nor dead. Only Temiragio fled in the battell, having lost one of his eyes. When the newes came to the Citie of the overthrowe in the battell, the wives and children of these three Tyrants with their lawful King (kept prisoner) fled away, spoyled as they were, and the foure Kings of the Moores entered the Citie Bezeneger with great triumph, and there they remained sixe moneths, searching under houses and in all places for money and other things that were hidden, and then they departed

to their owne Kingdomes, because they were not able to maintayne such a Kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrie.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the Citie, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any Horses, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesaid two Merchants that I went in companie withall, carried those Horses that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order or law, that if any Merchant had any of the Horses that were taken in the aforesaid battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would give as much for them as they would and beside he gave generally safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes hee saw that there were great store of Horses brought thither unto him, he gave the Merchants faire words, untill such time as he saw they could bring no more. Then hee licenced the Merchants to depart, without giving them any thing for their Horses, which when the poore men saw, they were desparate, and as it were mad with sorrow and griefe…

New capital at Penugonda

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567 [in the year 1567, he is mentioning what happened after the battle of Talikota and the sack of the city of Vijayanagar] for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their Citie was sacked by the foure Kings, the King with his Court went to dwell in a Castle eight dayes journey up in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also sixe dayes journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was there but it was told me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a ceraine size and bigger then that size are all for the King, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that they have beene in that Kingdome.

(c) An anonymous account by a Jesuit on the state of the kingdom in 1583[36]

This town (San Thome of Mylapore) is in the kingdom of Bisnaga, called otherwise Narsing, which some years back was one of the largest, most powerful and richest kingdoms of the whole East; because its sovereign ruled over numberless people and could raise an army either of one million

or one million and a half soldiers, so much so that all the kings and princes who were his neighbours were also subjected to him; he enjoyed a very large revenue and there was in his army a great deal of elephantry and cavalry since he was the owner of more than three thousand elephants and thirty or forty thousand of the best horses ever seen in this country, because they come from both Arabia and Persia. But eighteen years ago his power was decaying on account of different circumstances: because kingly offspring being wanted, a succession war burst out and many principal chiefs arose in arms against that who ruled at this time and, in the course of the war, plundered and destroyed the city of Bisnaga, which was the royal city, and capital of the whole of the kingdom, so populous, rich and well-fitted that there were within its enclosure about a thousand temples, they say. The ruins that remain still show evidently that it was one of the wonders of the East. But in spite of that the Sovereign of this kingdom was not so shaken that he lost all his power and wealth, because he owns a large state and good many elephants and cavalry and a numerous army.

(d) Destroyed city larger than Cairo, letter sent to Florence on January 22 1586, by Filippo Sassetti[37]

Add to this the destruction of the city of Bisnagar, residence of the king of all this part of India, who is called king of Narsinga in the geographical maps; a name which cannot be traced here; (a city) larger than Cairo, according to the Moors who had seen both of them. It had so much traffic you couldn't even imagine; being astonishingly large, inhabited by rich people, not like we, whose riches can be enclosed in a small case, but as people like Crassus and others used to be in those times: it absorbed and coped with the large quantities of merchandise which came our places via Alexandria and Syria, and the many cloths and drapes which were produced in so great quantities were sold here. And the traffic was so big that the road from this country to that one was so crowded as the streets in a fair; and the profit of this business was so sure, that it sufficed to carry the goods there: no matter what the merchants brought, within the fifteen days the trip on land took they earned 25 or 30 per cent on both sides, since they carried other goods from there on the return journey; and which goods! Diamonds, rubies and pearls, on which they made a large profit.

B. The Zamorin of Calicut

1. "The greatest and most puissant king," Francois Pyrard[38]

He is *Samory* [*Samudragiri raja*, or *Samudri*, which is Samorin or Zamorin in European accounts] by all the Indians, a word of great weight in their language, and equivalent to Emperor, for he is one of the greatest and richest princes of India. He can put under arms 150,000 Nairs, without counting the Malabars and Mahometans of his own kingdom, and the innumerable pirates and corsairs of the coast, whose services he can command.

All the Nair kings of this coast are his vassals, obeying him and yielding to his majesty, except the king of Cochin, with whom, although a prince of the same faith, manners, and customs, he is almost always at war: that, however, is only since the Portuguese have been at Cochin, for it is they who foster and maintain this hostility. In former days the king of Cochin recognized him as others do…

This prince, when I was there, was about fifty years of age, and had reigned about thirty-five. He is handsome, tall, and erect: nimble, slim and well proportioned in limb. He loves his people, and is beloved and obeyed by them, feared and dreaded by his neighbours and enemies. He has but one wife, like the other *Brameny Nairs*, and at this time had no children. He resides, as I have said, sometimes at *Panany*, sometimes at Calecut; but often makes a tour of his kingdom. When he travels he does so with a very great company, having always about 3,000 men in his following. He rides upon an elephant, of which animals he hath a great number. Wherever he passes all assemble in arms to accompany him, insomuch that sometimes he hath more than 10,000 persons. His principle seat is at Calecut, where he hath a very handsome and well-built palace, all enclosed with good walls and moats, with drawbridge to the gates, and water all around the moats. A large number of soldiers day and night guard the gates, which are four in number.

2. Palace and secretariat of the Zamorin, Francois Pyrard[39]

[The palace] is a very large enclosure, and contains many blocks of houses, all detached and well built, of many stories and galleries, with flower-beds, and orchards, tanks, fish-ponds, and canals, all fitted and paved with stone,

and constructed on all sides of stone steps, leading to the bottom. Add to these many springs and fountains, whose water is cold and excellent to drink. In the palace, too, is a magazine or arsenal, full of arms, canon, powder, and munitions of war. But the great and chief arsenal of the king is at *Panany*, for that is his chief town.

Hard by there is a block of buildings allotted to the secretary and clerk of the king, for keeping all the registers. The order and system is most admirable herein, and I have ofttimes wondered to see the great number of men with no other duty or work all day but writing and registering. These posts are of much honour; the clerks all reside in the palace, but in different apartments, and they have different duties. Some make entry of all goods arriving for the king; others, the dues and taxes paid day by day; others, the expenditure of the king's household; others, the most notable incidents of each day, both what happened at court and in the rest of the kingdom; in short, all news, for he had everything registered; and each clerk has his separate room. They also keep a register of all strangers who come there, taking their names and nationalities, the time of their arrival, and the business that has brought them, and so they did with us. It is a wondrous thing to observe their number and the perfect order that exists among them, and how fast they write on their palm-leaves…

The king hath the like writers in all towns, ports, harbours, and frontier passages of his kingdom, who render account to those of the palace, all being well organized and in obedience one to another, each having his proper superior. Throughout the whole of Malabar coast, there is the same manner of writing and the same ordering thereof.

3. Daily routine of the Zamorin, Francois Pyrard[40]

When the king rises in the morning, as soon as he sees the sun he prostrates himself before it with a fixed regard, as also do all the Nairs, and addresses his prayers to it, holding his hands over his head and opening and shutting them three times. After that he straightway rubs his body all over with odoriferous oil; this lasts about an hour, and than he goes to bathe in one of the ponds within the palace close.…This done, his valet takes some colours and powdered wood, with other odorous drugs mixed with scented water, and applies the same to his forehead and to his body above the waist, together with some leaves and flowers of different sorts, which they paste

on wherever they have put these scented stuffs, and particularly on the forehead and breast…

4. Diet of the Zamorin, Francois Pyrard[41]

When he comes forth of his bath he most often goes to the temple, and thence to his food in another palace within the same enclosure, which is a part of the grand palace, devoted entirely to that purpose. While he takes his repast he sits upon a piece of well-polished wood, and eats off balsam leaves, like the other Bramenis. He never eats either flesh, fish, or anything that has had life, for he is of the Brameny caste, and wears the cord like the rest. He eats nothing but rice, cooked with milk, butter, and sugar, and divers kinds of other fruits, such as water-melons, etc. What remains of his meal is cast to the crows and other birds…

This prince is magnificently served by his officers, of whom he has a vast number. He takes his food at noon, and eats but once a day…

C. Shivaji

1. The eruption of Shivaji, Jean de Thevenot[42]

In January 1664. *Raja Sivagy* put the Customers and their Governour to such a strange plunge [predicament]; and seeing he is become famous by his actions, it will not be amiss, I think, to give a short History of him. This *Sivagy* is the Son of a Captain of the King of *Visiapours* [Bijapur], and born at *Bassaim* [he was born at Shivner, near Junnar] being of a restless and turbulent Spirit, he rebelled in his Father's life-time, and putting himself at the Head of several *Banditi,* and a great many debauched Young-Men, he made his part good in the Mountains of *Visiapour* against those that came to attack him, and could not be reduced. The King thinking that his Father kept intelligence with him, caused him to be arrested; and he dying in Prison [he died from injuries suffered from a fall several years later], *Sivagy* conceived so great a hatred against the King, that he used all endeavours to be revenged on him. In a very short time he plundered part of *Visiapour*, and with the Booty he took made himself so strong in Men, Arms and Horses, that he found himself able enough to seize some Towns, and to form a little State in spight of the King, who died at that time. The Queen, who was Regent having other Affairs in hand, did all she could to reduce *Sivagy* to duty; but her endeavours being unsuccessful, she accepted of the Peace he proposed to her, after which she lived in quiet.

2 (a) Mughal embassy at Bijapur, proposes alliance against Shivaji, Abbe Carre[43]

The court and the affairs of the Bijapur kingdom were, at this time, in a flourishing state. An ambassador from the Great Mughal had just arrived… After some days of rejoicings and fetes, the ambassador was conducted to the Hall of Audience, where the young King of Bijapur was already seated on his throne…He then told them that the Great Mughal, his master and the sovereign of all India, had sent him to convey his felicitations on the fine and illustrious government of this state, and as their kingdom was so powerful and rich, to ask for their cooperation, so as to increase their glory, which should always be the principal aim of the princes and nobles. It was fortunate that they could now justly undertake an unavoidable war at a time when there were no internal troubles. It was shameful to see the daily successes of Prince Shivaji, who, from being a simple minister of state in

this same kingdom of Bijapur [Shivaji was never minister in Bijapur, his father entered service in the state in 1636], had risen today to such high fortune and grandeur that all the other Indian powers trembled before him. He had become master of the best part of this kingdom, namely its coasts and maritime frontiers. He had pillaged and sacked the richest towns of his king, the Mughal; he had taken the strongest places of the country; and no rivers, mountains, or forts, had yet been able to stem the progress of his enterprises and plans. Finally, if these ravages and continual successes were not opposed, he would become the most powerful king in the Orient. It was necessary, therefore, for them to provide the force of 14,000 horse and 10,000 foot, demanded by his master, the Great Mughal, in order to make a determined attack on the coastal towns and other places usurped by him, while the army of the Mughal would march against Shivaji from another side. To finance this war, they could use the amount of the annual tribute, a considerable sum which they were obliged to pay the Mughal.

After the audience Khawass Khan summoned the princes and nobles several times to discuss this demand. They held many councils, and found the ambassador's proposals to their advantage. They decided on war and appointed many generals and officers, who were at once sent on every side to raise levies of soldiers as soon as possible, so that in next to no time the town of Bijapur was in a tremendous uproar. The place was not large enough to train the cavalry which arrived from all parts. One heard nothing in the streets but the noise of drums and trumpets, and the shouts of these martial heroes. Each vizir and general armed his elephants in such a way as to make an appalling noise. They had war-machines on their backs with chains and other iron instruments, which are used in battle by these formidable animals at the will of those who ride them. The rich trapping of gold, silver, and precious stones, displayed on harness, arms and other equipment, seemed more in keeping with some great fete, tournament, or public procession than with a war.

Prince Shivaji did not lack information from his secret intelligence, which he had all over India. He made little of all these preparations and plans against him, and like a second Alexander, told his soldiers that the more his enemies had of luxury, splendid appointments, and gorgeous trappings, the less mettle and courage they would have; and that he preferred to see his men covered with iron and steel, which are the true ornaments of every

soldier. Moreover, he had so many ruses and tricks that his enemies had great difficulty in avoiding them. His plans were never known and, when he was thought to be in one place with all his forces, he surprised everyone by a venture quite the opposite to the one expected. He had for some months been at the gates of Surat, whence most people had fled. It was considered certain that from there he would make for Ahmadabad, one of the richest and most powerful Mughal towns; and at a time when the assurance of his march thither was causing great alarm in those places, everyone was amazed to hear he was at the gates of Golconda [1672], where he summoned the king to send him two millions of pagodas, or else to come out and fight in order to prevent his victorious entry into the capital and its delivery to his army for pillage. The King of Golconda was so terror-struck that he at once sent the sum of money demanded. He was in no state even to defend his royal town, where only merchants and court gallants were available, all his forces being engaged in the siege of St. Thome against the French. The latter fact was well known all over the East, and gave Prince Shivaji the opportunity of making this *coup d'etat.* He was advised to take this course on account of the help it would give the French, with whom he was very friendly, for by reducing the finances of the king he would deprive him of the principal means of continuing his war against them.

After this exploit Shivaji, despising all the expeditions and armies that were being prepared against him, withdrew to his own country, and, as a diversion, visited all his places and fortresses where provisions and munitions of war were kept. Most of them were so strong, steep and inaccessible that only a faithful governor and a small garrison were needed to defend them against the most powerful Eastern forces. Shivaji thought so little of the Bijapur state's warlike preparations against him that he left at once with a flying camp and conquered some frontier posts of that kingdom, which are so near Goa that only a river separates them [raid on Kanara 1673]. The Portuguese are very uneasy at finding themselves neighbours of this powerful and redoubtable prince, who presses them so closely on every side that they can hardly leave their towns without entering his territories; and Shivaji thus threatens to complete their abasement.

(b) Afzal Khan kills his wives, Abbe Carre[44]

We arrived at Abdelpour [Afzalpur] a little before nightfall after a whole day's march. It is a delightful town, situated in a fertile lowland with large

meadows watered by a stream, which flows through the sluice of a large reservoir above the town: its water is confined by a curved embankment faced with stone, a work which well shows the power and magnificence of its builder, the nobleman of the place [Afzal Khan]. He was one of the greatest warriors and best generals in the kingdom of Bijapur in the reign of its rightful king, who was poisoned by his unfaithful wife [in the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah, 1626-56]. This governor was indeed a powerful and courageous vizir, who had done many splendid things for the good of the kingdom. Later on he retired to this town of Afzalpur, which had been granted to him, and lived here in great state and comfort in a magnificent castle. He was at ease here when the last Bijapur king sent an army against Prince Shivaji under Rustam Zaman, governor of Onquery [Hukeri]. He was summoned to the court and made a general of 15,000 horse, which were again sent to fight Shivaji. He resolutely promised the king to conquer the enemy or die in the attempt. But before leaving he committed an act, which was the most cruel and detestable it is possible to imagine. This man, like all those orientals whose chief pleasure in the world is to pass their lives among flocks of women, and being one of the most powerful nobles in the kingdom, had a fine seraglio of 200 women, to whom he was so passionately attached that he could not bring himself to leave them. Inspired by a mad jealousy, he resolved that no one else should see or enjoy the treasures he guarded so dearly, in the event of his death in battle. Therefore, when the time for his departure came, he left the court and went to Afzalpur to settle his household affairs. He stayed there three days, shut up in his seraglio, to feast and disport himself for the last time with his wives. He then actually had them all murdered and thrown into a fire, which he had prepared for this purpose in the middle of his palace. After this noble exploit, which was the last of his life, he left without any remorse, breathing fire and slaughter against the enemy. They soon made him rue this infamous cruelty towards a sex from whom he had always received favours, submission, and a blind obedience to his will.

(c) Shivaji kills Afzal Khan, Abbe Carre[45]

Prince Shivaji, who had received warning of his march, went to meet him and placed all his forces in a favourable position to await attack. Both armies were in sight of one another; and the two generals, the most valiant warriors in the East, did wonders in moving their squadrons so as to seize

hills and other points of vantage. The whole country swarmed with cavalry, elephants, camels carrying thousands of standards, to which each company could rally. Shivaji, on his side, encouraged his men by voice and action, showing himself in every part of his camp. In passing down their ranks, he urged them to remember that they were soldiers, brothers in arms, and companions in fortune, of the great Shivaji; that they must never fear enemies whom they had beaten so often, and who were more ready to retreat in an emergency than to attack and give a good account of themselves. He added that, if the enemy's general was once the bravest man in the kingdom and had won great victories, it was at a time when he cared only for the art of war; now he had embraced another sort of life amid the pleasures and delights of the world, so that he had lost all his former redoubtable qualities, and become cowardly and effeminate. Shivaji's soldiers were roused by his speech, and the camp rang on all sides with shouts and acclamations, which struck terror and panic into the hearts of the most courageous of their opponents. The latter knew that they had to do with an army which had made every oriental power tremble by reason of its ever increasing victories and conquests. They shivered at the mere sight of these terrible people, against whom they fought more unwillingly than they would have done against another less redoubtable army.

Both sides were awaiting the signal to attack, when two heralds were seen issuing from Shivaji's camp. They asked the general to come for a quarter of an hour's interview with that prince, who wished to communicate something of importance before the battle commenced. The general agreed to this, and it was arranged that they should both meet, unarmed, between the two armies with an escort of only two soldiers, who were to stand a little aside, so as not to hear the conversation. Shivaji spoke first and said to the other that he was well aware of his valour, his merits, and the glory he had acquired in his warlike career; also he had not forgotten the many courageous actions that had won him such a splendid reputation in his kingdom. Therefore he had been compelled to bring all his forces against him, in order to have the glory of vanquishing such a fine army as his, as he had no doubt of doing. But the real reason for which he had requested the interview before the battle was to demand the dismissal of a man in that army who did not merit the glory and honour of a soldier's death. The general, astonished at Shivaji's speech, asked who was the man that he wished to exclude from the glory of battle. "It is yourself, sir," he replied,

“you, who have lost all your former glory and the reputation you had acquired by your arms through your last action in massacring and burning two hundred poor women in such a brutal, inhuman and cowardly manner. You do not deserve to be conquered by force of arms, but rather to be chastised and punished in a manner worthy of your infamous action.” He then drew a poisoned knife, which he had hidden in the folds of his belt, and plunging it three times into his body, stretched him dead at his feet.

Shivaji’s generals, who had been given this coup for a cue, then charged the enemy so promptly that the first squadrons were cut in pieces, and the rest, being panic stricken, surrendered to their conqueror. The general’s son and six of his principal officers were taken prisoner and brought to the king. They begged for quarter for the rest of their troops, who were being massacred without mercy. Shivaji then stopped the carnage and, having surrounded the rest of the enemy, promised them quarter and good rewards, if they would enter his service and swear an oath of fidelity. They were all delighted, and with one voice declared that they would be glad to fight, and pass the rest of their lives, under the standard of the greatest captain in all the East. He accordingly reinstated all the captains and officers in their appointments, and returned victorious from a battle in which he had lost but few of his own men. Before leaving the field, he ordered some camp-followers of the enemy to take the body of their general, which he made them honourably place in one of his palanquins, after covering it with black [Afzal Khan’s decapitated head was taken to Shivaji’s fort at Pratapgarh and buried there]. He sent it to the nearest town, to which some companies of cavalry had fled. They joined the cortege and escorted it to Afzalpur, where a magnificent tomb was erected for him on the very spot where his unfortunate wives had been buried.

3. Attack on Shaista Khan’s camp, Jean de Thevenot[46]

In the mean while, the Raja, who could not rest, plundered some places belonging to the *Great Mogul*; which obliged that Emperour to send Forces against him, under the conduct of *Chasta-Can* [Shaista Khan] his Uncle, Governour of *Aurangeabad. Chasta-Can* having far more Forces than *Sivagy* had, vigorously pursued him, but the *Raja* having his retreat always in the Mountains, and being extreamly cunning the *Mogul* could make nothing of him.

However that old Captain at length, thinking that the turbulent Spirit of *Sivagy* might make him make some false step, judged it best to temporize, and lay a long while upon the Lands of the *Raja*. This Patience of *Chasta-Can* being very troublesome to *Sivagy*, he had his recourse to a Stratagem. He ordered one of his Captains to write to that *Mogul*, and to perswade him that he would come over to the service of the *Great Mogul*, and bring with him five hundred Men whom he had under his Command. *Chasta-Can* having recei'd the Letters, durst not trust them at first; but receiving continually more and more, and the Captain giving him such reasons for his discontent as looked very probable, he sent him word that he might come and bring his Men with him. No sooner was he come into the Camp of the *Moguls*, but he desired a Passport to go to the King that he might put himself into his Service: But *Chasta-Can* thought it enough to put him in hopes of it, and kept him with him.

Sivagy had ordered him to do what he could what he could to insinuate himself into the favour of *Chasta-Can*, and to spare no means that could bring that about, to shew upon all occasions the greatest rancour and animosity imaginable; and in a particular manner to be the first in Action against him or his Subjects. He fail'd not to obey him: He put all to Fire and Sword in the *Raja's* Lands, and did much more mischief than all the rest besides; which gained him full credit in the Mind of *Chasta-Can*, who at length made him Captain of his Guards. But he guarded him very ill, for having one Day sent word to *Sivagy*, that on a certain Night he should be upon Guard at the General's Tent; the *Raja* came there with his Men, and being introduced by his Captain, came to *Chasta-Can,* who awakening flew to his Arms, and was wounded in the Hand; however he made a shift to escape, but a Son of his was killed, and *Sivagy* thinking that he had killed the General himself, gave the signal to retreat: He marched off with his Captain and all his Horse in good order.

Shaista Khan's captive daughter honourably treated

He carried off the General's Treasure, and took his Daughter, to whom he rendered all the Honour he could. He commanded his Men under rigorous pains, not to do her the least hurt, but on the contrary, to serve her with all respect; and being informed that her Father was alive, he sent him word, That if he would send the Summ which he demanded for her Ransoom, he

would send him back his Daughter safe and sound; which was punctually performed.

Shaista Khan writes to Aurangzeb

He [Shaista Khan] informed the King, that it was impossible to force *Sivagy* in the Mountains; that he could not undertake it, unless he resolved to ruine his Troops; and he received Orders from Court to draw off under pretext of a new Enterprize.

Attack on Surat

Sivagy, in the mean time, was resolved to be revenged on the *Mogul* by any means whatsoever, provided it might be to his advantage, and knowing very well that the Town of *Surrat* was full of Riches, he took measures how he might plunder it: But that no body might suspect his Design, he divided the Forces he had into two Camps; and seeing his Territories lie chiefly in the Mountains, upon the Road betwixt *Bassaim* and *Chaoul*, he pitched one Camp towards *Chaoul,* where he planted one of his Pavillions, and posted another at the same time towards *Bassaim*; and having ordered his Commanders not to plunder, but on the contrary, to pay for all they had, he secretly disguised himself in the habit of a *Faquir*. Thus he went to discover the most commodious ways that might lead him speedily to *Surrat*: He entered the Town to examine the places of it, and by that means had as much time as he pleased to view it all over.

Being come back to his Chief Camp, he ordered four thousand of his Men to follow him without noise, and the rest to remain encamped, and to make during his absence as much noise as if all were there, to the end none might suspect the enterprise he was about, but think he was still in one of his Camps. Every thing was put in execution according to his orders…*Sivagy's* Men entered the Town and plundered it for a space of four days burning down several Houses….it is believed at *Surrat* that this Raja Carried away in Jewels, Gold and Silver, to the value of above thirty French Millions… The *Great Mogul* was sensibly affected with the Pillage of that Town, and the boldness of *Sivagy*…when he Plundered *Surrat* in the Year One thousand six hundred and sixty four, he was but thirty-five years of Age.

4. Arrival of Shivaji at camp of Raja Jai Singh, visit to Delhi, escape from Mughal capital, Niccolao Manucci[47]

A few days after my arrival Shiva Ji gave himself up and came into our camp…This was the opening which afforded me occasion many times to converse with Shiva Ji, since I possessed, like any one in the camp, the Persian and Hindustani languages….

Rajah Jai Singh…made arrangements to send Shiva Ji to court well guarded; and he wrote to his heir, Ram Singh, to take precautions against the king's murdering Shiva Ji. For he had pledged his word, confirmed by oath, to protect him. Better would it be for his house to be extirpated than to permit Aurangzeb, under cover of his words, to organize treachery.

Shivaji storms out of Aurangzeb's court

Upon Shiva Ji's arrival at Dihli the king caused him to appear in his presence, and instead of giving him the promised position, which was to be the highest in his audience-hall, he caused him to be assigned the lowest place in the first circle of nobles within the golden railing. Shiva Ji was much hurt at this deed of Aurangzeb's, which did not conform to the promises received…Let Aurangzeb remember [said Shivaji] that the officers in His Majesty's presence, with the exception of Namdar Khan, who was a good officer, were the rest of them so many old women, whom he had overcome in the field with the greatest ease. Thus not one of them deserved the position he held. Then in anger he came out…

Ram Singh takes precautions

Ram Singh, fully carrying out his father's instructions, and sufficiently acquainted with Aurangzeb's character, had spent money without stint to obtain reports of any orders issued by the king, either in favour or against Shiva Ji. He thus heard of the royal order [to kill Shivaji]. Without any delay Shiva Ji was informed, and he sent out the large covered baskets of sweetmeats as usual. Then, concealing himself in one, he arranged to be carried away, he and his son, to a place of security…Thus it was carried out. At seven O'clock in the evening, having succeeded in getting away without anyone suspecting, Shiva Ji made use of the preparations made in the villages and woods, as arranged by Ram Singh, and escaped without detention into his own country…

Aurangzeb was much put out by this event, and raising his hand to his head as if plunged in thought, he sent out orders throughout the realm for Shiva Ji to be traced. But Shiva Ji was already far on his road, traversing in one

night what would take anyone else three days and three nights. In this way it was impossible to catch him, his way being through jungle and mountains, places through which it is very difficult to pass.

5. Party arrives at Raigarh, John Fryer[48]

They [the English team]…were glad when they beard the *Rajah* [Shivaji] was returned from *Purtaabgur,* when the Ambassador solicited *Narun Gi Pundit* [a Saraswat Brahmin in Shivaji's service who also functioned as interpreter] to procure his leave to pass up the Hill into *Rairee* [the famous Raigarh fort] Castle. The next day they receive'd order to ascend the Hill into the Castle, the *Rajah* having appointed an House for them; which they did; leaving *Punckarra about* Three in the Afternoon, they arrived at the top of that strong Mountain, forsaking the humble Clouds about Sun-set.

The fort at Raigarh

It is fortified by Nature more than Art, being of very difficult access, there being but one Avenue to it, which is guarded by two narrow Gates, and fortified by a strong Wall exceeding high, and Bastions thereto: All the other part of the Mountain is a direct Precipice so that it's impregnable, except the Treachery of some in it betray it. On the Mountain are many strong Buildings, as the *Raja's* Court, and Houses of other Ministers, to the number of about 300. It is in length about two Miles and an half, but no pleasant Trees, or any sort of Grain grows thereon. Their House was about a Mile from the *Rajah's* Palace, into which they retired with no little content.

Audience with Shivaji

Four days after their ascent, by the sollicitation of *Narun Gi Pundit,* the *Rajah* gave them Audience, though in busily employed by many other great Affairs, relating to his Coronation and Marriage. Our Ambassador presented him, and his Son *Samba Gi Rajah,* with the Particulars appointed for them; which they took well satisfied with them; and the *Rajah* assured them we might trade securely in all his Countries without the least apprehension of ill from him, for that the Peace was concluded. Our Ambassador replied, that was our Intent; and to that intent the President had sent him to this Court to procure the same Articles and Privileges we enjoyed in *Indostan* and *Persia,* where we traded. He answered, it is well, and referred our Business to *Moro Pundit,* his *Peshua,* or Chancellour, to examine our Articles, and give an account what they were.

He and his Son withdrew into their private Apartments, to consult with the *Brachmines* about the Ceremonies preparatory to his Enstalment; which chiefly consisted in Abstinence and Purifying; till which be over, he will hear no farther of Business. They likewise departed to their Lodgings.

Problem with gifts

A day or two after our Ambassador went to *Narun Gi Pundit,* and took his Advice concerning the presenting of the rest; who told him he might go in Person to *Moro Pundit,* but to the rest he should send by *Naran Sinaij* what was intended for them: Declaring likewise if he would have his Work speedily effected, and without any impediment, that it was necessary to be at some more charge to present Officers with *Pamerins,* who were not in their List of Presents; to which he assented, considering the time of the Year was so far spent, and that if he should be forced to stay the whole Rains out at *Rairee,* the Honourable Company's Charges would be greater than the Additional Presents: He answered that two *Pamerins* were not enough for *Moro Pundit,* that we must present him with four; and *Peta Gi Pundit Vocanovice,* or Publick Intelligencer, with the Diamond Ring, valued at 125 Rupees…

Shivaji weighed in gold

About this time the *Rajah,* according to the Hindus Custom, was weighed in Gold, and poised about 16000 Pagods, which Money, together with an 100000 more is to be distributed among the *Brachmines* after the day he is enthroned, who in great numbers flock hither from all parts of his Territories.

Negotiations with Shivaji

Being earnest to press on his Errand he came for, the Ambassador sent to *Narun Gi Pundit* to know what was transacted in the Articles; but was returned for Answer. The *Rajah* stopt his Ears to all Affairs, declaring he had granted all the Demands, except those two Articles, expressing, Our Money shall go current in his Dominions, and his on *Bombaim;* and that he shall restore whatever Wrecks may happen on his Coasts belonging to the *English,* and Inhabitants of *Bombaim.* The first he accounted unnecessary to be inserted, because he forbids not the passing of any manner of Coins; nor on the other side, can he force his Subjects to take those Monies, whereby they shall be Losers; but if our Coin be as fine an Allay, and as weighty as

the *Moguls,* and other Princes, he will not prohibit it. To the other he says, that it is against the Laws of *Conchon* to restore any Ships, Vessels, or Goods, that are driven ashore by Tempest, or otherwise; and that should he grant us that Privilege, the *French, Dutch,* and other Merchants, would claim the same Right; which he could not grant without breaking a Custom has lasted many Ages: The rest of our Desires he willingly conceded embracing with much satisfaction our Friendship, promising to himself and Country much Happiness by our Settlement and Trade: Notwithstanding *Narun Gi Pundit* did not altogether despair of obtaining our Wrecks, because we enjoyed the same Privilege in the *Mogul,* and *Duccan* Country.

Coronation of Shivaji

Near a Month after they had been here, *Narun Gi Pundit* sent word, That to Morrow about Seven or Eight in the Morning, the *Rajah Seva Gi* intended to ascend his Throne; and he would take it kindly if they came to congratulate him thereon; that it was necessary to present him with some small thing, it not being the Custom of the *Eastern* Parts to appear before a Prince empty-handed. The Ambassador sent him word, according to his Advice; he would wait on the *Rajah* at the prescribed time.

Accordingly next Morning he and his Retinue went to Court, and found the *Rajah* seated on a Magnificent Throne, and all his Nobles waiting on him in Rich Attire; his Son *Samba Gi Rajah, Peshuah Mora Pundit,* and a *Brachmine* of Great Eminence, seated on an Ascent under the Throne; the rest, as well Officers of the Army as others, standing with great Respect. The *English* made their Obeisance at a distance; and *Narun Sinai* held up the Diamond Ring that was to be presented him: He presently took notice of it, and ordered their coming nearer, even to the Foot of the Throne, where being Vested, they were desired to retire; which they did not so soon, but they took notice on each side of the Throne there hung (according to the *Moors* manner) on heads of Gilded Launces many Emblems of Dominion and Government; as on the Right-hand were two great Fishes Heads of Gold, with very large Teeth; on the Left, several Horses Tails, a Pair of Gold Scales on a very high Launce's head, equally poized, an Emblem of Justice and as they returned, at the Palace Gate stood two small Elephants on each side, and two fair Horses with Gold Trappings, Bridles, and Rich Furniture, which made them admire how they brought them up the Hill, the Passage being both difficult and hazardous.

Two days after this, the *Rajah* was married to a Fourth Wife, without State; and doth every day bestow Alms on the *Brachmines*...

Diet at Raigarh

I will only add one Passage during the Stay of our Ambassador at *Rairee*: The Diet of this sort of People admits not of great Variety or Cost, their delightfullest Food being only *Cutchery*, a sort of Pulse and Rice mixed together, and boiled in Butter, with which they grow Fat: but such Victuals could not be long pleasing to our Merchants, who had been used to Feed on good Flesh: It was therefore signified to the *Rajah*, That Meat should be provided for them; and to that end a Butcher that served those few *Moors* that were there, that were able to go to the Charge of Meat, was ordered to supply them with what Goat they should expend (nothing else here being to be gotten for them), which he did accordingly, to the consumption of half a Goat a Day, which he found very profitable for him…The honest Butcher had made an Adventure up the Hill, though very old, to have the sight of his good Masters, who had taken off of his hands more Flesh in that time they had been there than he had sold in some Years before; so rare a thing is it to eat Flesh among them…

6. (a) Sambha Ji wears out Mughal commanders, Aurangzeb plans his capture, Niccolao Manucci[49]

In spite of all his huge army, Aurangzeb found that he could not by force of arms accomplish his purpose; for Sambha Ji continuously evaded giving battle in the field, and was satisfied with plundering everywhere, never remaining many days in the same place. Relying on the activity of his horses, already trained to go long distances and eat little, he wore out and incommoded the Mogul commanders and soldiers. Aurangzeb became aware that he would never succeed in this campaign, except by his usual intrigues. He therefore set to work, and wrote letters to Cabcales (Kab Kalish), the chief minister of Sambha Ji, and by large bribes and presents so far succeeded, that this minister undertook to make over Sambha Ji to him alive…

(b) Sambha Ji captured by treachery, subjected to cruel death, Niccolao Manucci[50]

He [Kab Kalish] told Sambha Ji that two leagues away there was a village where abode a lovely married woman. This was enough. Sambha Ji

resolved to halt at this place, in order to secure his impure desires. As soon as Kab Kalish knew his master's resolve, he warned Aurangzeb to send at once five thousand horsemen, and without fail Sambha Ji would fall into his power. The eager king did not fail to send the soldiers…[Sambha Ji] found himself encircled by his enemies, who took him and carried him away to the camp of Aurangzeb.

Let the reader hear how this king rewarded those who had worked in his favour. The first to pay for the capture of Sambha Ji was the selfsame Kab Kalish, who by a horrible death proclaimed to all the world the barbarity of the man who had already drunk so much blood, as may be seen from the rest of my history. Aurangzeb ordered that the tongue should be pulled out by the roots from the throat of the traitorous Kab Kalish, so that he might be unable to state that this great treason had been plotted at his (Aurangzeb's) instigation.

What could Sambha Ji hope for when his first minister, against whom the war had not been waged, came to such a miserable end! He well understood that death must be the end of all his doings. But he did not foresee the mockery he should have to suffer before he died. Aurangzeb ordered him to be bound strongly upon a camel, and on his head was placed a long cap covered with little bells and rattles. This was meant for mockery of the Hindu princes and the Brahmans, who usually wear pointed caps, but without rattles. The licentious man having been thus bound, Aurangzeb directed that he should be paraded through the camp. The camel was made to run, so that the rattles, made a great noise and aroused everyone's curiosity, and thus men issued from their tents to see who it was coming. In the course of the procession they made the camel turn from time to time with such suddenness, that the person on it looked as if he must fall from the various movements he made, but the cords with which he was bound prevented it and at the same time wearied him out. Finally when the perambulation of the royal camp had been completed, the tyrant ordered him to be dragged into his presence. When there he ordered his side to be cloven open with an axe and his heart to be extracted. The body was then flung on a dunghill and abandoned to the tender mercies of the dogs. Thus did the licentious Sambha Ji pay for interfering with others.

7. Marathas resolve to carry on struggle, Niccolao Manucci[51]

It seemed as if the death of Sambha Ji was bound to secure Aurangzeb's lordship over all the lands of Hindustan down to the sea. But the commanders of valorous Shiva Ji, father of this unfortunate man, were by this practiced in fighting the Moguls, and expert in the way of dealing with those foreigners (? Persians and Central Asians) who deserted from his side. They determined to continue the campaign and uphold the cause of Ram Raja, younger brother of the deceased. Therefore they took him out of prison and made him their prince.

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Chapter 13
Jews and Parsees

A. Jews

B. Parsees

A. Jews

1. Jews cannot openly practice their faith in Portuguese controlled territory, Jan Huygen van Linschoten[1]

There are great numbers of *Moores* and Iews in all places of *India,* as at *Goa, Cochin,* and within the Land. In their Houses and Apparell they follow the manner of the Land wherein they are resident: amongst the *Indians* they haue their Churches, Sinagogues, and *Mesquitas* wherein they vse all Ceremonies according to their Law: but in the place where the *Portugals* inhabite and gouerne, it is not permitted vnto them to vse them openly, neither to any *Indian,* although they haue their Families and dwelling Houses and get their liuings, and deale one with the other: but secretly in their Houses they may doe what they will, so that no man take offence thereat: without the Townes and where the *Portugals* haue no commandment, they may freely vse and exercise their Ceremonies and Superstitions, euery one as liketh him best, without any man to let or denie them: but if they bee found openly doing it in the *Portugals* Townes and Jurisdictions, or that they haue any point of Christian ceremonies mingled among theirs, both men and women die for it, vnlesse they turne vnto the *Christian* Faith: they are most white of colour, like men of *Europe,* and have many faire Women. There are many of them that came out of the Countrey of *Palestina* and *Ierusalem* thither, and speake ouer all the Exchange verie perfect and good *Spanish.*

2. Jews in Kashmir, Francois Bernier[2]

I would be as much pleased as *Monsieur Thevenot* himself if *Jews* were found in these mountainous regions; I mean such *Jews* as he would no doubt desire to find, – Jew's descended from the tribes transported by *Shahmaneser*: but you may assure that gentleman that although there seems ground for believing that some of them were formerly settled in these countries, yet the whole population is at present either *Gentile* or *Mahometan*. In *China,* indeed, there are probably people of that nation, for I have lately seen letters in the hands of our reverend Father the Jesuit of *Dehli,* written by a *German* Jesuit from *Pekin,* wherein he states that he had conversed with *Jews* in that city, who adhered to the forms of *Judaism* and retained the books of the Old Testament. They were totally ignorant of the death of Jesus Christ and had expressed a wish to appoint the *Jesuit* their

Kakan [Khaqan, title of the Mogol Chingez and those who succeeded him on the throne of Northern China], if he would abstain from swine's flesh.

There are, however, many signs of *Judaism* to be found in this country. On entering the kingdom after crossing the *Pire-penjale* mountains, the inhabitants in the frontier villages struck me as resembling *Jews.* Their countenance and manner, and that indescribable peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the *Jewish* appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our *Jesuit Father,* and by several other *Europeans,* long before I visited *Kachemire.*

A second sign is the prevalence of the name of *Mousa,* which means *Moses,* among the inhabitants of this city, notwithstanding they are all *Mahometans.*

A third is the common tradition that *Solomon* visited this country, and that it was he who opened a passage for the waters by cutting the mountain of *Baramoule.*

A fourth, the belief that *Moses* died in the city of *Kachemire,* and that his tomb is within a league of it.

And a fifth may be found in the generally received opinion that the small and extremely ancient edifice seen on one of the high hills was built by *Solomon;* and it is therefore called the *Throne of Solomon* to this day.

You will see then, that I am not disposed to deny that Jews may have taken up their residence in *Kachemire.*

The purity of their law, after a lapse of ages, may have been corrupted, until, having long degenerated into idolatry, they were induced, like many other pagans, to adopt the creed of *Mahomet.*

It is certain that many *Jews* are settled in *Persia,* at *Lar* and *Hyspan;* and in *Hindoustan,* towards *Goa* and *Cochin.* I also learn that in *Ethiopia,* where they are very numerous, these people are remarkable for courage and military prowess; and if I am to believe two ambassadors from the *Ethiopian* King, lately at this court, there was a *Jew,* fifteen or sixteen years ago, grown so formidable, that he endeavoured to erect an independent kingdom in a certain small and mountainous district difficult of access.

B. Parsees

1. Neither bury nor burn their dead, Edward Terry[3]

There is one sect among the Gentiles which neither burne nor interre their dead. They are called Parcees; who incircle pieces of ground with high stone walls, remote from houses or roade-wayes, and therein lay their carkasses wrapped in sheetes; thus having no other tombes but the gorges of ravenous fowles.

2. Live peaceably, John Albert de Mandelslo[4]

Their habitations are for the most part along the Sea-Coast, and they live very peaceably, sustaining themselves by the advantage they make out of the Tobacco they plant, and the *Terry* they get out of the Palms of those parts, and whereof they make *Arak*, in regard they are permitted to drink Wine. They inter-meddle also with Merchandise, and the exchange of money and keep Shops, and are of all Trades, except those of Farriers, Blacksmiths and Locksmiths…

3. Fled from Persia with Muslim advent, J. Ovington[5]

…the *Persies* are a Sect very considerable in *India,* of whom the Tradition is, that coming from *Persia* in a Tempest, at the time that *Mahomet* and his Followers gave Laws to the *Persians,* (which they were unwilling to submit to) they were driven to that distress, that they almost despair'd of Life, 'till hearing a Cock Crow, and espying Fire at Land, they recover'd their hopes of safety, and gain'd a speedy Arrival. The Cock therefore is as much esteemed by them as the Cow is by the *Bannians,* of the lives of both which, they are the zealous Patrons and Protectors.

Fire Worshippers

For the Worshipping of Fire seems to be the Ancientest instance of Idolatry in the World, inasmuch (as some think) that *Cain,* after he was banished from the presence of the Lord, turned a downright Idolater, and then introduced the Worship of the Sun, as the best resemblance he could find of the Glory of the Lord, which was wont to appear in a flaming Light. And in after-times, they Worshipped Fire in the Eastern Countries as the best Emblem of the Sun, when it was absent. Nor was the Vestal Fire ever more Sacred, than all other Fires are with the *Persies,* the extinction of which, if

it is voluntary, is a Crime as hainous, as if the vital Heat of the Cock or some other beloved Animal were destroy'd; so that if their Houses were on Fire, they would sooner be persuaded to pour on Oyl to increase, than Water to asswage the Flame. If a Candle is once lighted, they would judge the Breath of him more than Pestilential, that durst attempt to blow it out. And a *Persy* Servant, who is commanded to bring a hot Steel, and warm with it a Bowl of Punch, will plead his Excuse, and that he dare not hasten the coolness of the Steel by a violent abatement of the Heat. The active Flame must be allow'd to live, whilst there's any Fuel for it to feed on; if the Fire is once kindled, all care is taken that it comes to a natural Expiration, and no violence allow'd to bring it to a period sooner. Another account we have for their respect of Fire, is, that their great Law-giver, *Zertoost,* was taken into Heaven, and brought from thence Fire with him *(Prometheus* like) which he commanded his Followers afterwards to Worship.

They have other Fables concerning *Abraham,* that he was once in the Devil's Power, who expos'd him to the Flames, but the kind Fire would not fasten on him; from which they infer the great unreasonableness of destroying that Element, which was so averse, (notwithstanding all its Fury) from hurting *Abraham* their Friend; the Reason of this may be, because that *Abraham* came from the Land of Ur, which signifies Fire, which might give the occasion for the Fable of his Escaping the Fire.

Belief in one Supreme Being

They own and Adore one Supreme Being, to whom, as he is the Original of all things, they dedicate the first Day of every Month, in a solemn observance of his Worship. And enjoin, besides these, some others for the Celebration of Publick Prayers.

At their solemn Festivals, whither an hundred or two sometimes resort, in the Suburbs of the City, each Man according to his Fancy and Ability, brings with him his Victuals, which is equally distributed, and eat in common by all that are present. For they shew a firm Affection to all of their own Sentiments in Religion, assist the Poor, and are very ready to provide for the Sustenance and Comfort of such as want it. Their universal Kindness, either in imploying such as are Needy and able to work, or bestowing a seasonable bounteous Charity to such as are Infirm and Miserable; leave no Man destitute of Relief, nor suffer a Beggar in all their

Tribe; and herein so far comply with that excellent Rule of *Pythagoras,* to enjoy a kind of Community among Friends.

These *Persies* are by another Name term'd *Gaures,* or Worshippers of Fire, because of their Veneration for that Element; and were Transported into *India,* when *Calyf Omar* reduc'd the Kingdom of *Persia,* under the Power of the *Mahometans;* and they profess the Ancient Religion of the *Persians.* But their Religion spread it self more Westerly, it seems than *Persia;* But I believe what remains of this Cast, are most of them in the Kingdom of the *Great Mogul.* But we read of some in *Persia* of great Antiquity. For near *Yesd* in the Province *of Ayrack,* (or *Hierack Agemi)* which yields the richest and Fairest Tapestries of all *Persia,* and of the World; and on the Mountain *Albors,* then are yet some Worshippers of Fire, who are said to have used it above 3000 Years.

Do not eat beef

They are not quite so Abstemious in their Diet as the *Bannians,* but Superstitiously refuse to drink after any Stranger, out of the same Cup. *Hindoes* will eat of one kind of Flesh, some of another, but all refrain from Bief, out of respect to Kine.

Industrious

In their Callings they are very Industrious and diligent, and careful to train up their Children to Arts and Labour. They are the principal Men at the Loom in all the Country, and most of the Silks and Stuffs at *Suratt,* are made by their Hands. The High-Priest of the *Persies* is called *Destoor,* their Ordinary Priests *Daroos,* or *Harboods.*

Way of Burial

I shall not mention their Marriages, which much resemble the manner of the *Bannians,* but proceed only to a Description of their way of Burying, which is this. The noblest Sepulture which they fancy they can bestow upon their deceased Friend, is exposing them to be devour'd by the Fowls of the Air, and bestowing their Carcasses on the Birds of Prey. After the Body is for some time dead, the *Halalchors* (which are a sort of sordid *Indians)* take and carry it out upon a Bier into the open Fields, near the place where it is expose'd to the Fowls of Heaven. When 'tis there decently deposited upon the Ground, a particular Friend beats the Fields and neighboring Villages, upon the hunt for a Dog, till he can find one out; and having had the good

luck to meet him, he cherishes and intices him with a Cake of Bread, which he carries in his Hand for that purpose, ‘till he draws him as near the Corps as he is able; for the nearer the Dog is brought to the dead Body, the nearer are its approaches to Felicity. And if the hungry Cur can by bits of Cake be brought so nigh the Deceased, as to come up to him, and take a piece out of his Mouth, ‘tis then an unquestionable Sign, that the Condition he died in was very happy; but if the timorous Dog startles at the sight, or loaths the Object, or being lately well fed, has no Stomach to that ordinary Morsel, which he must snatch out of the dead Man’s Jaws, the Case then with him is desperate, and his state deplorable. The poor Man whom I saw, was by these Prognosticks, very miserable; for the sturdy Cur would by no means be inticed to any distance near him. When the Dog has finisht his part of the Ceremony, two *Daroos,* at a Furlong’s distance from the Bier, stand up with joined Hands, and loudly repeat for near half an hour, a tedious Form of Prayer by Heart; but with such a quick dispatch, that they scarce drew Breath all the while, as if they had been under some invincible necessity of running over the Words in such a time. All the while they were thus gabling, a piece of White Paper fasten’d to each Ear, o’erthwart the Face, hung down two or three Inches below the Chin; and as soon as they had ended their Petitions, the *Halalchors* took up the Corps, and conveyed it to the Repository, which was near; all the Company ranking themselves by two and two, and following it with joined Hands. The place of Sepulture is in the open Fields, within a Wall built in form of a Circle, about twelve Foot high, and about an hundred in the Circumference; in the middle of which was a Door of Stone about six foot from the ground, which was open’d to admit the Corps. The Ground within the Walls is rais’d above four Foot, and made shelving towards the Centre, that the Filth and Moisture which are drain’d continually from the Carcasses may by an easie passage descend into a Sink made in the middle to receive them. The Corps therefore was left here, and all the Company departing thence, betook themselves to a Rivolet that run near the place for Ablution, to cleanse themselves from what defilements, on this Melancholy occasion, they might have contracted; and retir’d afterwards to their proper Habitations in the City, from whence this place is distant about a Mile. But within the space of a Day or two after, some of the nearest Relatives return against hither, to observe which of the Eyes of their deceased Friend was first pickt out by the hungry Vultures; and if they find that the right Eye was first seis’d on, this abodes undoubted

Happiness; if the left, they then are sorrowful, for that's a direful sign of his Misery.

The *Persies* are very nice in the preservation of their Hair, and careful to preserve whatever is cut of their Heads or Beards, that nothing of it be lost or carelessly thrown about, but once a Year be decently laid in their Burying place.

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Chapter 14
Christianity

A. State of Christianity in India

B. Conversions

C. Marriage ceremonies

A. State of Christianity in India

1. Syrian Christians in Malabar, Tome Pires[1]

There are fifteen thousand Christians in this province of Malabar, dating back to the time of St. Thomas the Apostle. Two thousand of these are men of repute, noblemen, merchants, estimable people and the others are craftsmen, poor people. They are privileged and allowed to touch the Nayars. These Christians live in the district from Chetwayi (*Chetua*) to Quilon (*Coulam*). Outside this area there are none of the early Christians – I do not refer to those who have been converted in Your Higheness' time, nor to those who are now being converted every day, and who are numerous.

2. The tomb of St. Thomas, Duarte Barbosa[2]

Here [in Mylapur] lies buried the body of the Blessed Saint Thomas very modestly in the church which his disciples and fellows built for him. The Moors and Heathen used to burn lights on it, each one claiming it as his own. The church is arranged in our fashion with crosses on the altar and on the summit of the vault, and a wooden grating, and peacocks as devices, but it is now very ruinous, and all around it covered with brushwood, and a poor Moor holds charge of it and begs alms for it, from which a lamp is kept burning at night, and on what is left they live.

3. Fr. Nunes Barretto on folklore collected at Mylapore in 1566[3]

There was here a very old and great city, all of which is now covered by the sea. And even now the various places in the sea to which the fishermen go to fish, are known by them one as the palace of the king, and another as the pass of the king, and others still by the names which they bore in olden times. From this it would appear that it was the city of Calamina in which the holy Apostle was crowned with the glory of martyrdom.

4. Power of Jesuits at Salsette, Pietro Della Valle[4]

This Island of *Salsette* is full of very fair Towns and abundance of Houses. Above all the *Jesuits* have the goodliest places, and 'tis counted that perhaps a third part of the Island is theirs; for, besides three good Towns which belong wholly to them, they have also dominion and government in all the other Towns too which are not theirs; they have Churches everywhere, Lands and store of goods, and, I believe, all the Parishes are

govern'd by them in Spirituals with Supreme Authority; whence this people acknowledge more Vassallage to the *Jesuits* than to the King himself. The case is the, same in another Island call'd *Bardeos,* adjacent also to that of *Goa,* but more Northward, which is under the government of the *Franciscans*. Nor is it otherwise in almost all the other Territories of the *Portugals;* so that it may justly be said that the best, and perhaps too the greatest part of this State is in the hands of Religious Orders.

5. Goa a priest-ridden city, Pietro Della Valle[5]

On *March* the first there was also another Procession in *Goa* of the *Disciplinanti,* which I went not to see; the like is made every Fryday during all Lent, and therefore I shall not stay to describe it. I believe there is no City in the world where there are more Processions than in *Goa* all the year long; and the reason is because the Religious Orders are numerous, and much more than the City needs; they are also of great authority and very rich, and the People, being naturally idle and addicted to Shews, neglecting other Cares of more weight and perhaps more profitable to the Publick, readily employ themselves in these matters; which, however good as sacred ceremonies and parts of divine worship, yet in such a City as this which borders upon Enemies and is the Metropolis of a Kingdom lying in the midst of *Barbarians* and so alwayes at Warr, and where nothing else should be minded but Arms and Fleets, seem according to worldly Policy unprofitable and too frequent, as also so great a number of Religious and Ecclesiastical persons is burdensome to the State and prejudicial to the Militia.

In the Evening of every *Fryday* of Lent there is a Sermon upon the Passion in the Church of *Giesu;* and so likewise in other Churches, but upon other dayes and hours. At the end of these Sermons certain Tabernacles are open'd, and divers figures, representing some passages of the Passion (according to the subject of the Sermon), are with lighted Tapers shewn to the People; as one day that of the *' Ecce Homo;'* another day Our Lord with the Cross upon his shoulders; and the last day the Crucifix; and so every day one thing suitable to the purpose. Oftentimes they make these figures move and turn, as they made the Robe fall off from the *Ecce Homo* and discover the wounded Body; at which sight the devout People utter prodigious Cryes, and the Women force themselves to shriek out; and the *Signore,* or Gentlewomen, are so zealous that they not onely cry out

themselves, but make their Maids do so too and beat them even in the Church if they do not and that very loudly, whether they have a will to it, or no. Strange devotion indeed!

6. The Inquisitor's festival, Pietro Della Valle[6]

On the twenty-ninth of the same month, being the day of *S. Pietro Martire,* who, they say, was the Founder of the *Inquisition* against Hereticks, the Inquisitors of *Goa* made a Festival before their House of the Inquisition which is in the *Piazza* of the Cathedral and was sometimes the Palace of *Sabaio,* Prince of *Goa,* when the *Portugals* took it, whence it is still call'd *la Piazza di Sabaio.* After solemn Mass had been sung in the Church of *San Dominico,* as Vespers had been the day before, in presence of the Inquisitors, who, coming to fetch the Fryers in Procession, repair'd thereunto *in Pontificalibus,* in the evening, many carreers were run on horse-back by the *Portugal* Gentry, invited purposely by the Inquisitors; and a day or two after (for this Evening was not sufficient for so many things) there was in the same *Piazza* a Hunting, or Baiting, of Bulls after the Spanish fashion; but the Beasts, being tame and spiritless, afforded little sport; so that I had not the curiosity to be present at it. This is a new Festival lately instituted by the present Inquisitors, who, I believe, will continue it yearly hereafter.

7. Canonisation of Francis Xavier at Goa, Pietro Della Valle[7]

On *February* the tenth, as a beginning of the solemnities for the Canonisation, the *Jesuits* sung Vespers in the Church of the Professed-house of *Giesu.* The night following they caused a numerous *Maskerade* of young Students, not Collegians, but Outliers, to pass through the streets on horse-back, clothed in several rich habits and following a Standard whereon were pourtrayed the Effigies of the Saints. The next day there was a solemn Mass in the same Church, and a Sermon made by the Visitor, F. Andren Palmuro, at which the Vice-Roy was present. In the Evening upon a very great Theatre, erected without the Church in the Piazza, for representing many dayes together the Life of *San Francesco Sciavier,* they caused a Squadron of young men mask'd in the habits of Peasants to dance many gallant Ballets with Musick.

On the twelfth of *February,* in the presence of the Vice-Roy and of all the Nobility and People of the City, (for whose conveniency scaffolds and seats

were erected in the Piazza round about the Theatre, both for Men and Women) the first Act of the above-said Comedy, or Tragedy, (as they said) of the Life of *Santo Sciavier* was represented. Of which Tragedy, which was a composition represented by about thirty persons, all very richly clothed and decked with Jewels, no less extravagant than grand, whereunto they entered to act the rare Musick, gallant dances, and various contrivances of Charriots, Ships, Galleys, Pageants, Heavens, Hells, Mountains and Clouds, I forbear to speak, because I have the printed Relations by me.

On the eighteenth of *February,* the Vice-Roy being indispos'd, the proceedings were suspended and nothing was done. But on the three following dayes, by two Acts a day, the whole Tragedy was rehearsed. It comprehended not only the whole Life, but also the Death of *San Francesco Sciavier,* the transportation of his Body to *Goa,* his ascension into Heaven, and, lastly, his Canonisation.

On the seventh of the same moneth Mass was sung in the College of *San Paolo Nouvo,* and a predication made by F. *Flaminio Calo,* an *Italian,* upon the Beatification of the Blessed *Luigi Gonsaga,* who was also a Father of the Society. In the Evening the *Portugals* of quality passed about the streets in a *Maskerade,* accompanyed with Chariots and Musick; about twelve of us went out of the House of Sig: *Antonio Baraccio,* all clothed in the same Livery, which I took care to get made according to my Phansie…

On *February* the eighteenth, in the Morning, solemn Mass was sung and a Sermon made upon the Canonisation of Saints in *San Paolo Vecchio*…

On *February* the nineteenth a very solemn Procession was made from *San Paolo Vecchio* to *Giesu,* through the principal streets of the City: which Procession exceeded all the rest in number of Pageants, Chariots, and Ships, and other Erections, filled with people who represented several things, and good Musick, accompanyed with several Dances on Foot, and many other brave devices: of all which things I speak not, because I have a printed Relation thereof by me. In the rear of the Procession was carried by many of the Fathers, dressed in their Copes, the Body of *San Francesco Sciavier,* inclos'd in a fair and rich Silver Coffin, with a Silver Canopie over it, made very gallant, and the Effigy of the Saint behind. Then came, a great Standard with the pourtraytures of the Saints, carry'd likewise by some of the Fathers; and after that, all the Crosses of their Parishes of *Salsette,* and onely one Company of the Fryers of Saint *Francis*. Of the other Religious

Orders in *Goa* none appeared here; because they said they would not go in the Processions of the *Jesuits,* since the *Jesuits* went not in those of others. With this Procession, which ended about noon, ended also the solemnities for the above said Canonisation.

8. Christians at Agra, Jean de Thevenot[8]

Some affirm that there are twenty-five thousand Christian Families in *Agra,* but all do not agree in that [Bernier speaks of only 25-30]. This indeed is certain, that there are few Heathen and *Parsis* in respect of [in comparison with] *Mahometans* there, and these surpass all the other Sects in power, as they do in number. The Dutch have a Factory in the Town; but the English have none now, because it did not turn to account.

9. Church at Madras built by French Capuchin Fathers, Abbe Carre[9]

There is a fine Christian church in the town served by the Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, French Capuchins, who founded this church about thirty-five years ago. Since then they have done wonderful work for the glory and propagation of our holy religion, and it seems as if God had especially wished that His name should be glorified and our Church exalted in this heathen land by the efforts of these two good priests. They were sent out from France by their Superiors some thirty-six years ago to preach the Gospel in Pegu. Father Ephraim there met a worthy Portuguese called Joan Peraire [Joao Pereira], a native of India, who implored the Father with prayers and supplications to come with him to Madras, where he lived. He acceded to this request and the two arrived in Madras about the same time that the English began their settlement there. They had only just laid the foundation of their Fort, and nothing indicated the two great towns we see here today. This good Portuguese, with some other Christians, both Portuguese and Hindu, being overjoyed at having in their midst such a virtuous and exemplary priest, whose doctrine extremely perturbed the numerous Portuguese priests in these parts, showed him every attention, in order to make him stay a year. More he could not promise, not being allowed to engage himself for a longer period, because his mission obliged him to preach the Gospel in other countries, if ordered. But at the end of the year he found himself so well established in this church, which had been built for him, that all the Christians would not release so fine a pastor, who increased the fold of Jesus Christ in quite a marvellous way. Seeing his

large flock and the impossibility of abandoning this good work and ministry under God, he wrote to his companion, Father Zenon, whom he had left in another place in India to come and work here with him to the glory of God.

Fathers persecuted by the Portuguese, kidnapped and imprisoned

These two good priests, now re-united and animated by the same zeal and love for our Church, were the admiration of all neighbouring people. But, as Jesus Christ foretold to His apostles, when He sent them out to preach the Gospel, they encountered trials, thorns, persecutions, and afflictions, in the wild countries to which they went as missionaries: so these two holy men endured all the things promised by our Saviour to those who work for Him with sincere and zealous hearts. But let us see from whom they received these afflictions and persecutions? Was it from the Hindus? From the heathens? From the Muhammadans and natives of the country? No, no. These people had too much veneration for the virtue of, and the marvels done by, these good priests. But from whom, then? A *falsis fratribus,* from those false brethren, of whom the apostle (St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 26) spoke: those who cannot bear to see virtue, brilliance, and good actions, which they cannot imitate. They wear a cloak of hypocrisy by which they stifle the glory and charitable deeds of worthy people. St. Thome, which is only half a league from Madras, then belonged to the Portuguese, and had a great many priests and ecclesiastics. These were stupid men raised in unbelievable ignorance of all the bright light of our Holy Schools. They were mostly engaged in occupations and employments far removed from the duties and obligations of their ministry. These people could not bear the renown of our good priests for virtue and doctrine. They determined to drive them from the country, and in order to succeed in this they began the persecution of the Portuguese and native Christians, who helped and supported these two apostles. The Madras Christians were vexed with excommunications, menaces, and many other inquisitions and unjust proceedings, to prevent them from attending church services which the Fathers celebrated with so much edification and success.

Finally, seeing that these stratagems were not efficacious, force was tried, and Father Ephraim, the head of the mission, was kidnapped. He was imprisoned for some months in the town of St. Thome, and was then sent in a passing ship to the Inquisition at Goa, where he was detained two whole years in close confinement. He was even refused devotional books to read,

and all this because the worthy priest had one day inveighed with truth against the ignorance, abuses, and abominations, of those Portuguese Indians. Therefore it is not surprising that God (Who never allows such injustice and wickedness to go unpunished) soon afterwards permitted the Moors to drive out these infamous Portuguese from this lovely town of St. Thome and the surrounding districts. By this just punishment they lost all the riches and immense revenue drawn from these places.

English Governor also jealous, orders expulsion of the priests

At last the good priest returned gloriously after such persecution, which only made him ever more zealous than before, as gold is purified by fire. He resumed his work with a humility for which he was admired more than ever, and also weathered other storms with a holy calm. The last of these fell upon him a few years ago, during the reign of the English Governor who preceded the one in office for the last two years [Sir Edward Winter]. This was on the subject of the holy Bishop of Heliopolis, who had arrived in Madras en route to his mission in Siam and China [1663]. He stayed some days with these Capuchin Fathers at the prayer of all the local Christians, who wished to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of this holy prelate. However, some English officers, enemies of the Sacraments of our Church, poured their venom into the ears of Sir [Edward] Ointer [Winter], the English Governor, who pretended to be very offended and shocked that a Roman Bishop should dare to celebrate the ceremonies of his office in a town where the English were all powerful. He ordered the expulsion of the Bishop and the two priests, and threatened to exterminate all Christians who dared to celebrate any ceremonies of our Church, both then or for the future. The good Bishop, full of zeal and charity for these poor Christians who followed him with tears in their eyes and did not wish to abandon him, withdrew to a village outside the town. There they erected an altar in the house of a converted Hindu, and the Bishop finished the good work which those enemies of our religion had tried to prevent.

God's revenge on Lutheran heretics

A veritable judgment of heaven then fell upon the heads of these Lutheran heretics. The English had some ships in the roads, ready to start on their voyage to England. Three English officers, who had incited the Governor to this violent act against our Church, were sent on board with his last orders. On their returning to land, they were all three drowned in the surf, in full

view of the townspeople, who gave vent to exclamations of joy at this just punishment sent by God to men that had dared to attack His Church.

Father's serve English interests

Our holy Bishop of Heliopolis departed for Siam, and the two Capuchin Fathers returned to their church and were left in peace, as this Governor was dispossessed and sent away on the arrival of the present one. The latter had received much help from these two Fathers in the war and the plots at Madras to bring about this change of Governors. He gave them full liberty to perform their offices and pastoral functions in the same way as a parish priest in France; so that these two good pastors sing Mass every Sunday and Feast-day with great solemnity, music, and general edification. They have three schools of different sorts of Christians whom they teach there with fruitful results, viz. Portuguese, Hindus, and Malabars [here referring to Tamils]. They also administer all the fortunes of Christian orphans, which they put out at ten per cent interest until they are of an age to be married or given some employment. They are so clever and active in all the local affairs that the merchants ask their advice in their most important business and trade. Above all they serve the English marvellously well, and enjoy their confidence, on account of the entire devotion they give to their interests. That is the only thing I have against them, and I had a few words with these priests about their putting the interests of the English above those of their own nation. To this the good Father Ephraim always replied that he was obliged to serve the English interests above those of any other nation because of the protection and privileges they enjoyed in Madras, where the English were lords and masters.

10. Christmas at Goa, no sermons in churches, Abbe Carre[10]

Sunday, 25 *December. Christmas Day.* In the morning, after having prayed in the Carmelite Church, I went to the Cathedral, where I hoped to hear a good sermon, and to see the Viceroy in his splendour and all the fine folk of Goa; but I was much surprised at finding hardly anyone in the streets and no worshippers in the church of Saye [Cathedral], or scarcely any priests to celebrate High Mass. After twelve O'clock I returned to the church and found the doors shut. I went to the Augustinians, the Paulists, the Dominicans, and the Franciscans, without getting my sermon; so I rang the bell at some convents to ask the porter when and where there was a preacher. They all informed me very rudely that there were no sermons that

day, and that I had no business to ring their bell, at a time when the priests were at rest. I was, therefore, obliged to apologize to these good brother-porters and to ask them to excuse me, as I was a stranger and did not know the habits of the Indian-Portuguese. I returned, scandalized at not finding any service or sermon, and not even a church open for prayer on Christmas Day in this large city of Goa, formerly so flourishing and celebrated for its divine worship and the propagation of our Holy Faith.

When I returned to the Carmelite Fathers, I did not fail to express my astonishment at this to the Father Superior, who, being French, knew well with what solemnities and crowds of worshippers we celebrate Christmas in our churches in France. He laughed at hearing my complaints of the want of devotion I had found that day in Goa; and told me that I must not be surprised, as it was the custom of the Portuguese. They sat up on the night of Christmas Eve for the Midnight Mass, and considered that God owed them a day's rest after this effort, and therefore passed Christmas Day in repose or in feasting in their houses – laity as well as priests – which was the reason why so few people were in the streets and the churches were shut. He also told me that high-born ladies, if they were zealous and pious, and wished to hear Mass on that day, had an altar raised in their bedrooms and brought in a priest to say Mass at the foot of their beds. They stay in bed all day, in case of an indisposition which they feared might result from the hard work they had undergone in keeping awake in order to attend Midnight Mass. In this state they received visits from relations and friends, who came to pass the day in feasting with the doors shut. 'What!' I exclaimed to this Father, "are these the Christians who treat all other Christian nations as heretics and ignorant, compared to themselves. I should not be surprised if they celebrate in the same way the greatest festivals of our Church, or if they reform to the same extent the beautiful customs and practices which we employ to encourage devotion in our churches in Europe. No, I am no longer surprised to see them living in this fashion, as they will not recognize the authority, the bulls, nor the bishops coming from His Holiness, because forsooth the King of Portugal did not send them, nor ratify their missions."

11. Missionaries forced to live like Hindus, bathe several times a day, eat herbs, Giovanni Careri[11]

…Missioners there lead a very uneasy Life; for being oblig'd to imitate the ways of that Tribe, the better to ingratiate themselves with those Barbarians, they are forc'd to Wash themselves as many times a Day as the others do; to feed upon raw Herbs; and when two Fathers meet in the Street, one acting the *Naires*, and the other the *Polias*, they keep at a distance from one another, that they may not be suspected. There is no doubt they Convert very many; but abundance of them not being us'd to that Hardship, fall into dangerous Distempers.

B. Conversions

1. On the religious aspect of the Portuguese mission. A letter dated 1 March 1500, which Pedro Alvares Cabral, leader of the second expedition to India, carried from D. Manuel I to the Zamorin, under the impression that the latter was a Christian[12]

We give praise to God for our achievement (in reaching India) and for the information that there are in these countries Christian people. It will be our principal object to speak to you of these latter and to profit, whilst also maintaining the love and fraternity which ought to prevail among Christian kings. For we believe that God, Our Lord, did not permit this great achievement of our navy only to serve our temporal interests, but also to strive for the spiritual betterment of souls and their salvation. It pleased God to bequeath both to you and to us the same Christian faith by which the whole world was united for six hundred years after the birth of Christ, until at last by the sins of mankind, there came certain sects and creeds contrary to the primitive religion of Christ, which sects had to come for the justification of the good and on account of the deceit of the wicked. These merited condemnation and loss, because they did not desire to receive the truth to be saved. Wherefore God warned them of what they should know and understand. For doing wrong and acquiescing in falsehoods they were condemned. These sects occupied the greater part of the land between your country and ours – which impeded communication between us. This communication is now opened afresh by our navigation, and thereby God, to whom nothing is impossible, has cleared an obstacle. Wherefore knowing that the hand of God is manifest in all this and desiring to serve Him by carrying out His will, we are now sending you our captain, ships, and merchandise, besides a factor who, if it is your pleasure, will remain there to carry out his duties. We are also sending some religious versed in the teachings of Christ, and ecclesiastical ornaments for celebrating the divine office and administering the sacraments. These religious will enable you to know the doctrines of the Christian faith, instituted by Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and as imparted to the twelve apostles, His disciples. After His holy resurrection these apostles preached this faith everywhere and it was received by the whole world. Two of them, St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, preached in your parts of India, working many and stupendous miracles and attracting the people away from unbelief and

idolatry – in which ere this the whole world was steeped, and converted them to the truth of the holy Christian creed. One of these apostles, St. Peter, was ordered by Our Lord, Jesus Christ, to be His chief vicar. Preaching in the city of Rome, then the centre of idolatry, he suffered martyrdom for Him, and lies buried there. From that time onwards this city has been the seat of the head of the faith of Christ by His command through the successors of St. Peter, the Holy Fathers. The Lord God wished that just as in former times Rome was the mother of error and falsehood, she should now be and continue for ever more to be the mother of truth.

The reason for undertaking this voyage to your shores is (to make known to you) these things of such high import and profit as well as of service to the Almighty. We, therefore, request you with brotherly affection to conform to the Divine will for your own profit and that of your kingdom, both spiritual and temporal, and wish that it should please you to be friends with us, which conversation and friendship we offer you most peacefully for His holy service. Be pleased to accept this and deal with our captain and our people with the same spirit of love and truth with which we are sending them to you. For, besides the obvious reasons, the repeated and diverse demonstrations of His will ought to convince you that our coming to you is of His ordination. There is, therefore, all the more reason why you should be pleased with a people who come from such a long distance and with such affection, seeking your friendship and company, and bringing you so much profit as you cannot hope to receive from any other country as from ours.

2. Afonso de Albuquerque, Portuguese Governor of Goa (1509-1515), describing the take-over of the port-city to King of Portugal[13]

I then burnt the city and put everything to sword, and for days continuously the people shed blood. Wherever they were found and caught, no life was spared to any Musalman, and their mosques were filled up and set on fire. We counted 6,000 dead bodies. It was, my Lord, a great deed, well fought and well finished.

3. Afonso de Albuquerque to King of Portugal on treatment of Muslims in conquered areas[14]

I leave no town or building of the Mussalmans. Those who are taken alive, I order them to be roasted…

4. Duarte Nunes, bishop of Dume, on the need to root out idolatry in Goa, 12 January 1522[15]

It would be a service to God to destroy these temples, just in this island of Goa, and to replace them by churches with saints. Anyone who wishes to live in this island should become a Christian, and in that case may retain his lands and houses just as he has them at present; but, if he is unwilling, let him leave the islands…It may be that these people will not become good Christians, but their children will be…and so God will be served…

5. On the contributions of Miguel Vaz, Vicar-General of India and the Jesuit, Francis Xavier, Garcia da Orta[16]

That fishery belongs to the King our Lord. It should yield much for there is so much zeal for the faith among more than fifty thousand Christians who do the work there. This Christianity was the work of one man, no less virtuous than learned, named Miguel Vaz, who was Vicar-General of India. This conversion to Christianity was afterwards increased by Master Francisco, theologist, who was a principal of this holy company jointly with Father Ignacio, whose virtues and sanctities, if they were written down, would make a large book.

6. Order of Portuguese Governor of 30 June 1541 on conversion of Hindus[17]

All the Hindu temples be destroyed, not leaving a single one on any of the islands.

7. Francis Xavier, of the Society of Jesus, on his experiences in Travancore in a letter of January 1545[18]

All the heathen are filled with admiration at the holiness of the law of God, and express the greatest shame at having lived so long in ignorance of the true God. They willingly hear about the mysteries and rules of the Christian religion, and treat me, poor sinner as I am, with the greatest respect. Many, however, put away from them with hardness of heart the truth which they well know. When I have done my instruction, I ask one by one all those who desire baptism if they believe without hesitation in each of the articles of the faith. All immediately, holding their arms in the form of the cross,

declare with one voice that they believe all entirely. Then at last I baptize them in due form, and I give to each his name written on a ticket. After their baptism the new Christians go back to their houses and bring me their wives and families for baptism. When all are baptized I order the temples of their false gods to be destroyed and all the idols to be broken in pieces. I can give you an idea of the joy I feel in seeing this done, witnessing the destruction of the idols by the very people who but lately adored them. In all the towns and villages I leave the Christian doctrine in writing in the language of the country. I prescribe at the same time the manner in which it is to taught in the morning and evening schools.

8. Fr. Nicolas Lancilotto in a letter dated 5 December 1550 from Goa[19]

Whereas all those who came out here were soldiers, who went about conquering lands and enslaving people, these same soldiers began to baptize the said people whom they enslaved without any respect and reverence for the sacrament, and without any catechizing or indoctrination. And since the inhabitants of these countries are very miserable, poor and cowardly, some were baptized through fear, others through worldly gain, and others for filthy and disgusting reasons which I need not mention… Many people come in order to be baptized, and I ask them why they want to become Christians. Some reply because the lord of the land tyrannizes and oppresses them, and others reply that they must become Christians because they have nothing to eat. I then make them a little speech, explaining briefly what it means to be a Christian and why they should become one, for which purpose they must come for fifteen or twenty days to the church for instruction in the Christian faith, after which I will baptize them. They usually answer that they will become Christians if I baptize them there and then. Otherwise they will go away and not return, and this in fact is what they do.

9. Criticism of the high-handed methods of the Jesuits by Antony de Heredia, himself a Jesuit, who was in India between 1551-1561 and was expelled from the Order for other reasons on return to Portugal[20]

With regard to the propagation of Christianity, the manner of it was so outrageous that it could not but cause scandal throughout the whole of India. We claimed that we did not force our religion on anyone. But in

practice they saw us forcing our religion on the inhabitants of our territories, after we had stated, and made an agreement with them, that they would be allowed to live without constraint and in peace…

10. Father Prancudo in a letter dated 15 November 1560 to the Portuguese Fathers on the attitude of Hindus of Damao[21]

They regard us as being so accursed that if we set foot, not in their houses, but merely on the porch, they tear down the house and build another one in place we have touched. If they give us something to drink, they will not use that vessel again…

11. Fr. James Fenicio on his meeting with the Todas in the Nilgiri Hills[22]

I asked if they would follow all my instructions, and they said they would. Then I asked if they would leave off worshipping the buffalo and the 300 pagodas. They replied that they feared that the buffaloes and pagodas would do them some harm…

12. Father Jerome Xavier on Akbar's attitude towards Christianity[23]

We are very confused…when we try to find out the real intentions of the King – and we do not understand him. On the one hand he makes much over our religion as well as over the images of Christ and Our Lady and at the same time abominates Mafumede [Mohammed] and all his works; yet, on the other hand, he follows the ways of the Gentiles, adoring the sun in the morning and praying at night, and also at noon and midnight. The Gentiles have much influence over him…

13. A document written in 1595 by Francis Pais, while giving an account of the rents of the temples in the islands of Goa[24]

Since the goal of the conversion of infidels was the most important incentive that led the King our Lord to conquer these parts of India, once the island of Goa was conquered and its inhabitants at peace and accepting to be his vassals, the king sought to bring his holy intention to execution. He was informed that many inhabitants of the island were already Christians, but that the rest remained strong in their pagan faith. This was because they had been allowed to perform their rites and ceremonies to the idols they adore. The king therefore ordered that these idols be destroyed

and that none would exist in the island of Goa and within its boundaries, and that in the lands under his dominion no pagan worship would be allowed. The purpose was that with this rigour of mercy *(rigor de misericordia)* they would forget their pagan cult and be converted to our holy faith, as already many had accepted and continue to accept conversion. In the fulfilment of this holy decision in the year [fifteen] forty the above mentioned idols were broken and destroyed.

14. Robert De Nobili, a Jesuit missionary at Madurai, on his attempts to adapt to the lifestyle of caste Hindus in a letter to Pope Paul V in 1619[25]

…With the permission of Father General I left Rome in 1603 and after two years spent travelling I arrived in Goa. Soon after I came to Cochin, and thence to Madura. There I remarked that all the efforts made to bring the heathens to Christ had all been in vain. I left no stone unturned to find a way to bring them from their superstition and the worship of idols to the faith of Christ. But my efforts were fruitless, because with a sort of barbarous stolidity they turned away from the manners and customs of the Portuguese and refused to put aside the badges of their ancient nobility.

When I noticed that certain Brahmins were highly praised because they led lives of great hardship and austerity and were looked upon as if they had dropped from the sky, I thought that, if to win popularity among the pagans, and raise themselves in their esteem, they contrived to keep perpetual chastity and weaken their bodies by watching, fasting and meditation, I could, to win them to Christ, conform myself to their mode of life in all such things which were not repugnant to the holiness of the Christian doctrine, for it seemed to me that with divine help I could do for God's sake, what they did with wicked cunning to win vain applause and worldly honours.

Therefore I professed to be an Italian Brahmin who had renounced the world, had studied wisdom at Rome (for a Brahmin means a wise man) and rejected all the pleasures and comforts of the world.

I had already learned Tamil and Sanskrit, which among them holds the same place as the Latin among us…

15. Conversion of Mughal princes to Christianity, William Finch[26]

All this moneth also was much stirre with the King about Christianitie, hee affirming before his nobles that it was the soundest faith, and that of Mahomet lies and fables. He commanded also three princes, his deceassed brothers sonnes [Tahmuras, Bayasanghar and Hoshang, the three sons of the late Prince Daniyal], to be instructed by the Jesuites, and Christian apparell to be made for them, the whole city admiring…those three princes were christened solemnly, conducted to church by all the Christians of the citie to the number of some sixtie horse, Captaine Hawkins being in the head of them, with St. Georges colours carried before him, to the honour of the English nation, letting them flie in the court before Sha Selim himselfe. The eldest was named Don Philippo [after the King of Spain and Portugal; the baptism ceremony was performed by Father Xavier; Bayasanghar was christened Don Carlos], the second Don Carlo, the third Don Henrico; and on the ninth of September was christened another young prince, the Acabars [Akbar's brothers [Mirza Hakim] sonnes sonne, by the name Don Duarte; the King giving daily charge to the Fathers for their instruction, that they might become good Christians.

16. Carmelite missionaries have no knowledge of Indian reality, threaten to teach a military trick to Marathas if Aurangzeb does not permit conversions, Niccolao Manucci[27]

There can be no doubt that the missionaries who come from Europe bring with them much zeal. They expect on their arrival in these Indian lands that their labours will be very fruitful. But they know nothing, and have no experience of these people, nor the fitting way of dealing with them. I can give the following example. In the year 1680, being at the city of Aurangabad, I received a letter from a reverend father, a discalced Carmelite, whose name was Petro Paulo [heir to a principality in Naples and nephew of Pope Innocent XII].

Hearing me spoken of, he wrote informing me of his arrival at Surat from Persia. Then, without any beating about the bush, he went on to say I must speak to the king, Aurangazeb, and tell him to send an immediate order for the erection of a church at the port of Surat. He must also issue an order throughout his empire that missionaries should be admitted everywhere and openly allowed to convert Mahomedans and Hindus. If he raised objections to these demands, he (the Carmelite) would force the King of Persia to declare war against India by land and sea. He would also take other

measures by teaching a secret to the Mahrattahs. He knew about a matchlock that could be fired five to seven times after only once loading it, and whenever he chose to do so.

He really did know such a device, as I will explain presently. I replied to his letter by saying that when the Saviour of the world came to this earth He showed humility in spite of His omnipotence, and by His tender words won over to Himself people in many parts of the world. I had not done what he asked, in order not to risk the loss of both our lives without any profit; and I advised him against communicating that secret to the Mahrattahs, for as soon as they had learnt it they would kill him.

In the year 82 (1682] I came across this reverend father in the city of Goa. He paid me a visit and espying a matchlock in my room, he loaded it with five charges of powder, each with a ball rammed down on it. He then gave a salvo of five shots with great ease. But when he placed the powder-horn to the fire-pan, he did it so that no one could see. I was much amazed, and the Lord Viceroy Dom Francisco de Tavora having been told, he employed me as negotiator to get the Carmelite to teach them this secret. As a reward ten thousand *xerafins (ashrafis)* were offered, and other gifts. But the Carmelite informed me that the secret could be confided to no one but a leading member of his own house.

The above-mentioned friar went to Rome and came back to Surat as archbishop [of Ansira (Ancyra)] bringing a number of missionaries. In a short time he died of a purgative administered to him by the Jesuit fathers, who, after his death, realised fourteen rupees for the dose.

Four years in Mughal army, no results

On February 3, 1705, there arrived here in Madras a missionary priest of German race, called Andre Guilhermo Wil Thomacey, who had been one of the company brought out by the above archbishop. He had lived four years in the army of the Mogul; so I asked him what results he had obtained in all that time in that army. He answered me that he had worked a great deal with those people in the arts of medicine and mathematics. The only gain was to be changed from a very active man into one very weak and depressed. Owing to having been ill-treated for his complaint, he was unable to start in the monsoon for Europe.

17. Jesuits and the Mughal Emperors, Francois Bernier[28]

The *Jesuits* have a church in *Agra,* and a building which they call a college, where they privately instruct in the doctrines of our religion the children of five-and-twenty or thirty *Christian* families, collected, I know not how, in *Agra,* and induced to settle there by the kind and charitable aid which they receive from the *Jesuits*.

Invited by Akbar, Jahangir, oppressed by Shah Jahan

This religious order was invited hither by *Ekbar* at the period when the power of the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* was at the highest; and that Prince not only gave them an annual income for their maintenance, but permitted them to build churches in the capital cities of *Agra* and *Lahor.* The *Jesuits* found a still warmer patron in *Jehan-Guyre*, the son and successor of *Ekbar*; but they were sorely oppressed by *Chah-Jehan* the son of *Jehan-Guyre,* and father of the present King *Aureng-Zebe*. That Monarch deprived them of their pension, and destroyed the church at *Lahor* and the greater part of that of *Agra,* totally demolishing the steeple, which contained a clock heard in every part of the city.

The good Fathers during the reign of *Jehan-Guyre* were sanguine in their expectation of the progress of Christianity in *Hindoustan.* It is certain that this Prince evinced the utmost contempt for the laws of the *Koran,* and expressed his admiration of the doctrines of our creed. He permitted two of his nephews to embrace the Christian faith, and extended the same indulgence to *Mirza-Zulkarmin,* who had undergone the rite of circumcision and been brought up in the *Seraglio.* The pretext was that *Mirza* was born of Christian parents, his mother having been wife of a rich *Armenian,* and having been brought to the *Seraglio* by *Jehan-Guyre's* desire.

The *Jesuits* say that this King was so determined to countenance the Christian religion that he formed the bold project of clothing the whole court in *European* costume. The dresses were all prepared, when the King, having privately arrayed himself in his new attire, sent for one of his principal *Omrahs* whose opinion he required concerning the meditated change. The answer, however, was so appalling that *Jehan-Guyre* abandoned his design and affected to pass the whole affair as a joke.

They also maintain that when on his death-bed he expressed a wish to die a Christian, and sent for those holy men, but that the message was never delivered. Many, however, deny this to have been the case, and affirm that

Jehan-Guyre died, as he had lived, destitute of all religion, and that he nourished to the last a scheme which he had formed, after the example of his father *Ekbar,* of declaring himself a prophet, and the founder of a new religion.

I am informed by a *Mahometan,* whose father belonged to *Jehan-Guyre's* household, that in one of that King's drunken frolics he sent for some of the most learned *Mullahs,* and for a *Florentine* priest, whom he named Father *Atech* [Persian for fire], in allusion to his fiery temper; and that the latter having, by his command, delivered an harangue in which he exposed the falsehoods of the *Mahometan* imposture, and defended the truths of his own persuasion, *Jehan-Guyre* said that it was high time something should be done to decide the controversy between the *Jesuits* and *Mullahs.* 'Let a pit be dug,' he added, "and a fire kindled. Father *Atech,* with the Gospel under his arm and a *Mullah,* with the *Koran,* shall throw themselves into it, and I will embrace the religion of him whom the flames shall not consume." Father *Atech* declared his willingness to undergo the ordeal, but the *Mullahs* manifested the utmost dread, and the King felt too much compassion both for the one and the other to persevere in the experiment.

Whatever credit this story may deserve, it is indisputable that the *Jesuits* during the whole of *Jehan-Guyre's* reign were honoured and respected at this court, and that they entertained what appeared a well-grounded hope of the progress of the Gospel in *Hindoustan.* Everything, however, which has occurred since the death of that Monarch, excepting perhaps the close intimacy between *Dara* and Father *Buze,* forbids us to indulge in any such expectation…

Missions necessary

…I am decidedly favourable to this establishment of missions, and the sending forth of learned and pious missionaries. They are absolutely necessary; and it is the honour as well as the peculiar prerogative of *Christians* to supply every part of the world with men bearing the same, character and following the same benign object as did the Apostles. You are not, however, to conclude that I am so deluded by my love of missions as to expect the same mighty effects to be produced by the exertions of modern missionaries as attended the preaching of a single sermon in the days of the Apostles.

But conversions difficult, especially among Muslims

I have had too much intercourse with infidels, and am become too well acquainted with the blindness of the human heart to believe we shall hear of the conversion, in one day, of two or three thousand men. I despair especially of much success among *Mahometan*-subjects. Having visited nearly all the missionary stations in the East, I speak the language of experience when I say, that whatever progress may be made among *Gentiles* by the instruction and alms of the missionaries, you will be disappointed if you suppose that in ten years one *Mahometan* will be converted to Christianity. True it is that *Mahometans* respect the religion of the *New Testament*: they never speak of *Jesus Christ* but with great veneration, or pronounce the word *Aysa,* which means Jesus, without adding *Azeret,* or majesty. They even believe with us that he was miraculously begotten and born of a virgin mother, and that he is the *Kelum-Allah* and the *Rouh-Allah,* the Word of God and the Spirit of God. It is in vain to hope, however, that they will renounce the religion wherein they were born, or be persuaded that *Mahomet* was a false prophet. The Christians of *Europe* ought nevertheless to assist the missionaries by every possible means: their prayers, power and wealth, ought to be employed in promoting the glory of their Redeemer; but the expense of the mission should be borne by Europeans; for it would be impolitic to lay burthens on the people abroad; and much care should be had that want may not drive any missionary to acts of meanness. Missions ought not only to be liberally provided, but should be composed of persons of sufficient integrity, energy, and intelligence always to bear testimony to the truth, to seek with eagerness opportunities of doing good, – in a word, to labour with unwearied activity and unabated zeal in their Lord's vineyard whenever and wherever He may be pleased to give them an opening. But although it be the duty of every *Christian* State to act in this manner, yet there ought to be no delusion; credence ought not to be given to every idle tale, and the work of conversion, which in fact is full of difficulty, should not be represented as a matter of easy accomplishment.

C. Marriage ceremonies

A Kanarese wedding, Pietro Della Valle[29]

On May the nineteenth, one *Ventura da Costa,* a Native of *Canara,* was married. He was a domestick servant to Sig. *Alvaro da Costa,* a Priest and our Friend, Lord of a Village near *Goa*; for whose Sake, who was willing to honour his servant's wedding in his own House, I and some other Friends went thither to accompany the Bride and the Bridegroom to the Church of *San Biagio,* a little distant in another Village, which was in the Parish of the Bride, where the Ceremonies were perform'd in the Evening for coolness sake. The Company was very numerous, consisting of many *Portugal* Gentlemen, such, perhaps, as few other *Canarini* have had at their marriages. The Bride and Bridegroom came under Umbrellas of Silk, garnish'd with silver, and in other particulars the Ceremonies were according to the custom of the *Portugals*; only I observ'd that, according to the use of the Country, in the Company before the Married Persons there march'd a party of fourteen, or sixteen, men oddly cloth'd after the Indian fashion, to wit naked from the girdle upward, and their Bodies painted in a pattern with white Sanders, and adorn'd with bracelets and necklaces of Gold and Silver, and also with flowers and turbants upon their heads, in several gallant fashions, and streamers of several colours hanging behind them. From the girdle downwards, over the hose which these *Canarini* use to wear short, like ours, they had variously colour'd clothes girt about them with streamers, flying about and hanging down a little below the knee; the rest of the leg was naked, saving that they had sandals on their feet. These danc'd all the way both going and returning, accompanying their dances with chaunting many Verses in their own Language, and beating the little sticks which they carry'd in their hands, after the fashion the Country, formerly taken notice of at *Ikkeri.* And indeed the dances of these *Canarini* are pleasant enough; so that in the Festivities made at *Goa* for the Canonisation of the Saints *Ignatio* and *Sciavier,* though in other things they were most solemn and sumptuous, yet, in my opinion, there was nothing more worthy to be seen for delight than the many pretty and jovial dances which interven'd in this Tragedy. The marry'd Couple being return'd from Church to the Bride's House, we were entertain'd with a handsome Collation of Sweet-meats in the yard, which was wholly cover'd over with a Tent, and adorn'd with Trees and green boughs, the Company sitting

round, and the marry'd Couple, on one side at the upper end, upon a great Carpet under a Canopy. After which we all return'd home, and the Husband stay'd that night to sleep in his Wife's House.

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Chapter 15
Islam and Muslims

A. Muslim communities

B. Festivals

C. Marriage customs

D. Royal harems

E. Pilgrimages and Pirs

F. A Muslim view of how European nations differ

A. Muslim communities

1. Mappilas on the Malabar Coast, Duarte Barbosa[1]

And in this land of Malabar there are Moors in great numbers who speak the same tongue as the Heathens of the land, and go naked like the Nayres, but as a token of distinction from the Heathen they wear little round caps on their heads, and long beards "and they are so many and so rooted in the soil throughout Malabar that it seems to be they are a fifth part of its people over all its kingdoms and provinces.

2. Shias, Sunnis and Persian dominance, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[2]

The diversity which exists among the Musalmans consists not only in the different explanations which they give of their Koran, but also in the different opinions which they entertain regarding the first successors of Muhammad. From this cause two sects, entirely opposed to one another, have sprung; the one calling itself the Sunnis is followed by the Turks, the other the Shias, which is the sect of the Persians. I shall not delay here to say more as to the difference between these two sects, which divide the Musalman world, having spoken sufficiently of them in my accounts of Persia, and I shall only describe the present condition of this false religion, both in the Empire of the Great Mogul and in the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur.

At the first establishment of Islam in India the Christians of the East were very ostentatious *(estoient fort superbes)* but not very devout, and the Idolaters were effeminate people unable to make much resistance. Thus it was easy for the Musalmans to subject both by force of arms. This they did with so much success that many Christians and Idolaters embraced the Law of Muhammad.

The Great Mogul with all his Court followed the sect of the Sunnis, the King of Golkonda that of the Shias, and the King of Bijapur had in his territories both Sunnis and Shias. The same might also be said of the Court of the Great Mogul, on account of the number of Persians who came to serve in his armies. It is true that although they regard the Sunnis with horror they nevertheless follow, in outward show, the religion of the

Monarch, believing that to make or secure their fortune they may conceal their true belief, and that it suffices for them to cherish it in their hearts.

As for the Kingdom of Golkonda, Qutb Shah, who reigns at present [1625-72], maintains with great zeal the law of the Shias and as the nobles of his Court are nearly all Persians, they observe the customs of the sect of the Shias with the same strictness and the same freedom from restraint as in Persia.

I have elsewhere remarked that among the native Musalman subjects of the Great Mogul there are but few in positions of command; this is the cause why many Persians, oppressed by want, or ambitious of better fortune than they can hope for in their own country, go to seek for it in India. Being clever they are successful in finding means to advance themselves in the profession of arms, so that in the Empire of the Great Mogul as well as in the Kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur, the Persians are in possession of the highest posts.

Aurangzeb, especially, shows great zeal for the Sunni sect, of which he is so faithful a follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in external observance of the Law, which has been the veil by means of which he has concealed his usurpation of the kingdom. When he took possession of the throne he proclaimed that it was with the design of insisting upon the Law of Muhammad being observed in all its strictness, as it had been relaxed during the reigns of Shahjahan his father and Jahangir his grandfather. To show himself still more zealous for the Law he became a Dervish or Fakir, i.e. a professional beggar and under this false mantle of piety cleverly made his way to the Empire. Although he had, as I have said, numerous Persians in his service, he did not allow them to celebrate the festival of Hasan and Husain, sons of Ali, who were killed by the Sunnis, as I have mentioned in my account of Persia; and they themselves, to please the Emperor and advance their own fortunes, made no scruple about conforming themselves outwardly to the cult and customs of the Sunnis.

B. Festivals

1. Nauroz celebrations under Jahangir, William Hawkins[3]

This emperour keepeth many feasts in the yeare, but two feasts especially many be nominated. The one called the Nourous [Nauroz], which is in honour of the New-Yeares day. This feast continueth eighteene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of every mans roome or place where he lodgeth when it is his turne to watch; for every nobleman hath his place appointed him in the palace. In the middest of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich tent pitched, but so rich that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This tent is curiously wrought and hath many seminans [Hind. *shamiyana*, an awning] joyning round about it of most curious wrought velvet, embroidered with gold, and many of them are of cloath of gold and silver. These seminans be shaddowes to keepe the sunne from the compasse of this tent.

2. Muharram in Golconda, Jean de Thevenot[4]

When I thought my self sufficiently informed of the places on the Coast of *Coromandel,* I returned from *Masulipatan* to *Bagnagar,* and stayed there three weeks longer, because I would not go from thence but in company of *Monsieur Bazon,* who had some business still remaining to make an end of; so that I had as much time as I needed to see the Celebration of the Festival of *Hussein,* the Son of *Aly,* which fell out at that time. The *Moors* of *Golconda* celebrated it with more Fopperies than they do in *Persia;* there is nothing but Masquarades for the space of ten days; they erect Chappels in all the streets with Tents, which they fill with Lamps, and adorn with Foot-Carpets; the Streets are full of People, and all of them almost have their Faces covered with Sifted ashes; they who are naked cover their whole Body with them, and they who are cloathed their Apparel; but the Cloaths they wear on these days are generally extravagant, and their Head-tire much more; they all carry Arms; most part have their Swords naked, and the poor have Wooden ones; several drag about the Streets long Chains as big as ones Arm, which are tied to their Girdle; and it being painful to drag them, they thereby move the pity of Zelots who touch them, and having kissed their Fingers, lift them up to their Eyes, as if these Chains were holy Relicks. They make Processions, wherein many carry Banners, and others

have Poles, on which there is a Silver-Plate that represents *Husseins* hand; some with little Houses of a light wood upon their heads, skip, and turn at certain Cadences of a Song; others dance in a round, holding the point of their naked Swords upwards, which they clash one against another, crying with all their force *Hussein*: The publick Wenches themselves come in for a share in this Festival, by their extravagant Dances, Habits and Head-tire.

The Heathen Idolaters celebrate this Feast also for their diversion, and they do it with such Fopperies as far surpass the *Moors;* they drink, eat, laugh, and dance on all hands, and they have Songs which savour little of a doleful pomp, that the *Moors* pretend to represent: They observe only not to shave themselves during the ten days; but though it be prohibited to sell any thing except Bread and Fruit, yet there is plenty of all things in private Houses.

This Festival is hardly ever celebrated without Blood-shed; for there being several *Sunnis* who laugh at the others, and the *Chyais* not being able to endure it, they often quarrel and fight, which is a very proper representation of the Feast; and at that time there is no enquiry made into Man-slaughter, because the *Moors* believe, that during these ten days the Gates of Paradise are open to receive those who die for the *Musselman* Faith. At *Bagnagar* I saw one of these quarrels raised by a Tartar, who spake some words against *Hussein*: Some *Chyais* being scandalized thereat, fell upon him to be revenged, but he killed three of them with his Sword, and many Musket-Shot were fired: A Gentleman (who would have parted them) received a wound in the Belly that was like to have cost him his life, and seven were killed outright: Nay, some of the Servants of the *Grand Vizir* were engaged in it; and this chief Minister passing by that place in his *Palanquin,* made haste down that he might get on Horse-back and ride away. Next day after the Feast they make other processions, sing doleful ditties, and carry about Coffins covered with divers Stuffs, with a Turban on each Coffin, to represent the interment of *Hussein* and his Men, who were killed at the Battel of *Kerbela* by the Forces of *Calif Yezid*.

3. Ramzan at Governor's house at Hukeri, Belgaum district, Abbe Carre[5]

The whole town was *en fete* this day, particularly at the house of the Governor, all of whose officers were Mussulmans. They were celebrating, with much ceremony, their Romasan [Ramazan], or full moon, which is amongst them what we call mid-Lent. This Governor no sooner knew that a

Frank was in the town than he sent four of his officers to invite me to the feast. I would certainly have given much to avoid this party, as I needed rest more than these Moorish ceremonies, which I knew well; but, though I felt very ill, I went to him with one of my servants. He was surrounded by the principal men of the town, whom he had also invited to this ceremony, which they celebrate in a most admirable way. They have the custom [of fasting] during their Lent, which lasts for a moon. I say a moon because the Muhammadans count the days only by moons, as we count ours by months; and it is an essential part of their religion that every new moon is the occasion of great ceremonies and kisses of peace and friendship among them. They also wash their bodies, make special prayers, and wish each other prosperity by the words 'Bonbarech bachet, bombarek bachet [mubarak bashad, 'may it be fortunate'], which they recite, putting their hands in one another's, with several like antics, too many to recount. But to return to their fast; they neither eat nor drink, and refrain from many things from sunrise to the evening, when they can see the stars. This is undoubtedly a very difficult and austere thing for the devout and others who observe this fast; but in recompense they have all the night, which is generally passed in feasting and regaling themselves with every sort of licence and debauchery, as you will see by the following account.

The Governor, to whom, then, I was obliged to go, received me very politely. He made me sit near him on large Persian carpets, with which all the room was covered. I told him, when I saluted him, that I was far from well and wished to retire, so as to rest; but it was of no use. I had to remain; afterwards supper was served, which lasted three weary hours. A troop of instrument-players then entered, and sat down in a corner of the room, while at the same time came a dozen of courtesans, well dressed, bedecked with pearls and precious stones, and other sumptuous ornaments, which enhanced their beauty. They all saluted the Governor in their own fashion and retired to the middle of the room, where they sat in the form of a crescent, singing quite nicely for about half an hour. Then, becoming more animated by their songs and the sound of the instruments, they began to dance. They soon showed they were not novices in this line. The suppleness of their bodies, their agility and charm, the rhythm of their voices, and their skill in showing their passions by their gestures, were all absolutely perfect. They were really wonderful, and were much applauded by the guests and praised by the Governor. This was the best reward they could expect,

because these obliging ladies are compelled to attend every fete and rejoicing of the Governor. They must go dressed in their richest attire to amuse him without any sort of recompense: on the contrary they have all to pay him a yearly tax, which they extract from others who wish to employ them.

4. Ramzan at Surat, J. Ovington[6]

The *Moors* with a very rigid and avowed Abstinence, observe every Year one Month, a Fast, which they term the *Ramezan;* during which time they are so severely abstemious that they stretch not their Hands to either Bread or Water, 'till the Sun be set, and the Stars appear'; no, not the Youths of 12 or 13 Years of Age. Which makes the Penance so much the more rigorous and troublesome, in that a draught of Water in those warm parching Climates is so very rigid and avowed Abstinence, observe every Year one Month, a Fast, which they term the *Ramezan;* during which time they are so severely abstemious necessary, and so refreshing to such as are ready to faint with Thirst. This Fast is not kept always at the same Season of the Year, but begins its date Annually more early by Eleven Days. When I was at *Suratt,* this mortifying Custom was about the Month of *September,* at which time the *Moors* would begin to refresh themselves about the close of the Evening, and Eat then freely; and by an Early Collation in the Morning, before the dawning of the Light, prepare themselves for the drought and heat of the following Day. The Almighty, they told us, requir'd from *Mahomet,* that his followers should be oblig'd to this Austerity, the whole Circuit of the Year; but that the Holy Prophet, in compassion to the Faithful, obtain'd from God the confinement of it only to a Month, which would therefore highly aggravate their Crime, if they neglected the Dedication of so small a portion of the Year to this Religious Abstinence, tho' the observance of it had been injoyn'd after a more rigorous manner than it is. And to add to the Sanctity of this Celebrated and solemn Fast, their *Mullahs,* acted with a sacred Zeal, and lively concern for the Souls of the People, will at this time spend whole Nights in the *Musseets,* in chanting aloud alternately their Divine Hymns, till the approach of day breaks up their Devotions: And so they compleat their Fast, according to the strictest Rules of the most rigid *Asceticks,* by mixing Prayers and Watchings with their Abstinence; in which, as well as in their Publick Prayers and Religious Worship, they tie themselves up to a very nice and devout strictness, and

behave themselves with all those decencies of Respect, with that astonishing Reverence in the *Musseets,* as not to defile them with either their Eyes or Lips; not daring so much as to turn their Heads to gaze about, or utter the least word to one another. Which profound Respect casts an obloquy and deserv'd Reproach upon some Professors of a much purer Religion, and more Holy Faith, whose careless Deportment and familiar Address discountenance all the Religious decorum of Prayers, and might tempt those Heathens to conclude, that our Devotions were rather some light Diversion, than the effects of serious and sacred Thoughts.

C. Marriage Customs

Marriage ceremony at Agra, Francisco Pelsaert[7]

In arranging a marriage, the bridegroom has no share in the choice, still less has the bride, for the selection is made by the parents, or, if they are dead, by other friends. When a youth is from 15 to 18 years old, his friends seek for the daughter of a man within the circle of friendship; but this applies to the rich rather than the poor, because as a rule soldier marries soldier; merchant marries merchant, and so on according to occupation. If they know of no suitable match, there are female marriage-brokers, who know of all eligible parties; the parents will call these in, and ask if there is no rich young lady for their son. The brokers understand their business, and instead of one will suggest perhaps twenty-five. When the proposals have been thoroughly examined in regard to birth and present position, the parents choose the one which seems to be most suitable. Then the mother, or the nearest friends, go with the youth to the friends of the young lady they have chosen, even if they have no previous acquaintance, and, after compliments, ask if they will give the lady in marriage to the youth. After full discussion on both sides, there is usually an interval of some days, or, if they get an immediate assent, the youth, or bridegroom, sends a ring to the bride, with his compliments. She sends in return some betel, with a handkerchief or something of the kind, though the unfortunate bridegroom is not allowed to meet the ladies, still less to see if his future bride is white or black, straight or crooked, pretty or ugly; he must trust to his mother and friends. From this time on begins much merry-making in the house, with music and singing, and the congratulations of friends on both sides. When the bridegroom goes home with his friends, similar music begins there also, and this goes on continuously, night and day, with drums, pipes and other noise, provided by both parties, so that the whole neighbourhood is drowned in noise. At last the wedding-day comes. This is fixed for 15 or 20 days after the engagement, in order to give time for preparing the feast. Three or four days before it, the bridegroom and his parents go to the bride's house, with a great company of the whole tribe, and taking with them a large number of *gondas,* or large ornamented wooden dishes, full of confectionery, sugar, almonds, raisins and other fruits, and also a sum of money, 100 or 1000 rupees, according to their position. The money goes towards the expenses of the bride's relatives, most of which must be paid by the bridegroom, who

also provides the bride's jewellery. The procession comes to the bride's house with much music and drumming, and the visitors stay for the evening meal, returning home at night. The next evening the friends of the bride come with similar noise and pomp, and hundreds of lights; they bring to the bridegroom a representation, made of cotton, satin, and paper, in the form of ships or boats, ornamented with tinsel, and various colours and flowers. This is placed on the roof of the house till it falls to pieces. Then the women employed for the purpose anoint the bridegroom, and rub his hands and feet with *mehndi* (a powder made into a paste), till they are quite red; this is supposed to have been sent by the bride, and the occasion is called Mehndi day in consequence. The guests remain to sup with the bridegroom, and go home at night. The next day is the marriage-day. The bridegroom is dressed in red, and so garlanded with flowers that his face cannot be seen, and towards evening all the friends and invited guests gather, and accompany the bride-groom to the bride's house with the greatest possible display of lighted fireworks, drums, trumpets, music, and singers, so that everything may pass off without adverse comment. The bridegroom goes on horseback, with the male friends and a great cavalcade: the women follow in palanquins and carts, covered with the finest cloth that can be provided. The bridegroom goes to the place where the male guests are gathered, but he may not speak till the marriage is complete, but sits as if he were dumb. The ladies go into the female apartments, where there is music, singing, and dancing, as there is before the men, where the dancers sing and dance as skilfully as they can. It is the custom at all weddings and feasts to call in these people for the guests' entertainment. There are many classes of dancers, among them *lolonis,* who are descended from courtesans who have come from Persia to India, and sing only in Persian; and a second class, *domnis,* who sing in Hindustani, and whose songs are considered more beautiful, more amorous, and more profound, than those of the Persians, while their tunes are superior; they dance, too, to the rhythm of the songs with a kind of swaying of the body which is not lascivious, but rather modest. Other classes are named *horckenis* and *hentsinis,* who have various styles of singing and dancing, but who are all alike accommodating people. [The music] lasts till a quarter of the night has gone, when the Kazi's clerk and *moslena* [? *maulana]* comes, and he makes a prayer, and then joins them in marriage without the bride being present. The ceremony consists merely in the registration in the Kazi's book, showing that such and such a

person has acknowledged taking such and such a woman as his wife. When this is over, the meal is served, and they go to eat, after which there is music, singing, and dancing as before, lasting the whole night till the morning. Then they pack up the bride's belongings, that is to say, whatever she brings to the marriage is displayed and carried away. The bridegroom follows with the same pomp as when he arrived in the evening, except the lights and fireworks; then his bride, sitting in a palanquin; and then follow the lady friends of bride and bridegroom. In this way he takes his bride home. His house is ready; he goes in, and his wife is brought to him, whom he now sees for the first time, and he may congratulate himself if she happens to be pretty, or to suit his taste. The marriage must be consummated at once, while the ladies sit and sing at no great distance; otherwise the bridegroom would be deeply disgraced, and the married ladies would send him the spinning-wheel. When the marriage has been consummated, the mother and an old woman enter, and, after their investigation, they begin to scream or sing 'Mubarak!' or Good Luck! as if a great victory had been won. Then the bridegroom goes to his apartments for the day, and the bride to hers; and the friends take their leave and depart, after each has received the gift of a piece of cloth, the men from the bridegroom and the women from the bride.

What I have described is the Hindustani custom, but Moguls, and also Hindus, have different ceremonies.

D. Royal Harems

1. Wives of the nobility, Francisco Pelsaert[8]

Their *mahals* are adorned internally with lascivious sensuality, wanton and reckless festivity, superfluous pomp, inflated pride, and ornamental daintiness, while the servants of the lords may justly be described as a generation of iniquity, greed and oppression, for, like their masters, they make hay while the sun shines. Sometimes while they [the nobles] think they are exalted to a seat in heaven, an envious report to the King may cast them down to the depths of woe. Very few of them, however, think of the future, but they enjoy themselves to the uttermost while they can. As a rule they have three or four wives, the daughters of worthy men, but the senior wife commands most respect. All live together in the enclosure surrounded by high walls, which is called the *mahal,* having tanks and gardens inside. Each wife has separate apartments for herself and her slaves, of whom there may be 10, or 20, or 100, according to her fortune. Each has a regular monthly allowance for her *gastos* [expenditure]. Jewels and clothes are provided by the husband according to the extent of his affection. Their food comes from one kitchen, but each wife takes it in her own apartments; for they hate each other secretly, though they seldom or never allow it to be seen, because of their desire to retain the favour of their husband, whom they fear, honour, and worship, as a god rather than a man. Each night he visits a particular wife, or *mahal,* and receives a very warm welcome from her and from the slaves, who, dressed specially for the occasion, seem to fly, rather than run, about their duties. If it is the hot weather, they undress the husband as soon as he comes in, and rub his body with pounded sandalwood and rosewater, or some other scented and cooling oil. Fans are kept going steadily in the room, or in the open air, where they usually sit. Some of the slaves chafe the master's hands and feet, some sit and sing, or play music and dance, or provide other recreation, the wife sitting near him all the time. They study night and day how to make exciting perfumes and efficacious preserves, such as *mosseri* or *falonj,* containing amber, pearls, gold, opium, and other stimulants; but these are mostly for their own use, for they eat them occasionally in the day-time, because they produce a pleasant elevation of the spirit. In the cool of the evening they drink a great deal of wine, for the women learn the habit quickly from their husbands, and drinking has become very fashionable in the last few years. The

husband sits like a golden cock among the gilded hens until midnight, or until passion, or drink, sends him to bed. Then if one of the pretty slave girls takes his fancy, he calls her to him and enjoys her, his wife not daring to show any signs of displeasure, but dissembling, though she will take it out of the slave-girl later on.

Eunuchs

Two or three eunuchs, or more, who are merely purchased Bengali slaves, but are usually faithful to their master, are appointed for each wife, to ensure that she is seen by no man except her husband; and, if a eunuch fails in this duty, he, with everyone else to blame for the stranger's presence, is in danger of losing his life. They are thus held in high esteem by their master, but the women pay them still greater regard, for the whole management of the *mahal* is in their hands, and they can give or refuse whatever is wanted. Thus they can get whatever they desire – fine horses to ride, servants to attend them outside, and female slaves inside the house, clothes as fine and smart as those of their master himself. The wives feel themselves bound to do all this, in order that what happens in the house may be concealed from their husband's knowledge; for many, or perhaps most of them, so far forget themselves, that, when their husband has gone away, either to Court, or to some place where he takes only his favourite wife, and leaves the rest at home, they allow the eunuch to enjoy them according to his ability, and thus gratify their burning passions when they have no opportunity of going out; but otherwise they spare no craft or trouble to enable them to enjoy themselves outside. These wretched women wear, indeed, the most expensive clothes, eat the daintiest food, and enjoy all worldly pleasures except one, and for that one they grieve, saying they would willingly give everything in exchange for a beggar's poverty.

2. Royal seraglio at Bijapur, Abbe Carre[9]

The king in Bijapur has 1,400 women in his seraglio. This must not astonish you, because as in Europe the magnificence of our Christian princes is shown by a splendid stable of the finest horses from all over the world, so these Eastern princes show their power and grandeur by their seraglios, where they have women brought from every foreign kingdom... I say, then, that these women, shut up in the seraglio, can be justly called the king's flock, for the king alone can enter into this human fold. There are a quantity of eunuchs, who serve as sheep-dogs, as they prevent human wolves from

coming near this delicate and precious treasure, which serves only for the king's use and pleasure. It is the first heritage that a new king finds in the royal palace when he takes over possession, as no one, whatever his position, is allowed to enter into this fold, nor to take away a single one of the sheep, on the death of a king. It frequently happens, however, that when a king wishes to gratify a favourite or some person of quality, he gives him one of these human sheep as a present, just as we see in Europe that a prince or nobleman will sometimes reward a friend, or one of his gentlemen, with a present of a fine horse from his stable. The woman on whom the lot falls is delighted at the change of owner. They prefer to browse in new fields, more pleasant than the king's pastures, which often do not produce enough to feed his flock; it is so numerous that most of them have a meagre fare and suffer from hunger and a continual fast. And on carefully considering their lot, I cannot find any more grievous than theirs, which is a slavery of the most cruel kind one can imagine for a woman…

…They have no grilles, nor parlours, nor confidants to bring them news and letters, nor relations and friends to visit them. If a new one comes into this flock, she is so abashed that she cannot give any news of her country, relations, or circumstances to the others, nor even say what sort of animal a man is. No! no!! do not be astonished at what I tell you; they are not merely things I have heard, but what I have seen myself. They occur in every oriental country, where kings and nobles have brokers who are sent to Georgia (the home of the most beautiful women in Asia), Persia, Basra, the Red Sea, Arabia, and other eastern places. There they buy girls who, being destined for sale, have seen hardly anything of the outside world so that, when these dealers in human flesh deliver them to their masters, they are amazed and bewildered at being placed among so many women, who gently tame them, dress them in sumptuous clothes, and teach them what they have to do. The eunuchs, when shown to them at first, terrify these girls, who take them for monsters, and they are not far from wrong, as they have nothing manlike about them and have a frightful appearance, which can inspire only horror. I have noticed a strange thing about these monstrosities. The more hideous they are, the more they are sought after by these people, the reason being that they offer no temptation to the women whom they guard. They are mostly big scoundrels, whose very glance is capable of terrifying the bravest. Their colour is dreadful, and their faces ape-like, with

thick lips. It is not, therefore, surprising that these monsters – I can call them nothing else – are respected and feared by the people of the country…

As I have just said, these eunuchs are shown to the young novice, who is told that these are men and that all others are like them. This is to make the women loathe the sight of men; so that afterwards, when the king, prince, or other person for whom they are destined, arrives, and they find that he is more pleasant to look at, they conceive deeper love and affection for him. They imagine he is the only man in the world with that face, and that every other man is like the eunuchs, as they are never allowed to see anyone else.

The condition, then, of these poor ladies is indeed most miserable – no liberty, no hope of getting out or hearing anything sweet or agreeable except from a single man, or from these unnatural monsters in charge. You can thus judge of the condition of these oriental women, and see how unhappy they are, and how they have no pleasure or contentment but that of showing their beauty only to one man! It would be a real punishment to our French *belles,* if they were compelled to display their charms and attractions only to him to whom they are bound.

3. Women do not appear in public, Giovanni Careri[10]

The *Mahometan* Women do not appear in publick, except only the vulgar Sort, and the leud Ones. They cover their Heads, but the Hair hangs down behind in several Tresses. Many of them bore their Noses to wear a Gold Ring set with Stones.

E. Pilgrimages and Pirs

1. A party of Fakirs, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[11]

The following day I had another experience, which was a meeting I had with a party of Fakirs, or Musalman Dervishes. I counted fifty-seven of them, of whom he who was their Chief or Superior had been master of the horse to Shah Jahangir, having left the court when Sultan Bulaki, his grandson, was strangled by order of Shahjahan, his uncle. There were four others who, under the Superior, were Chiefs of the band, and had been the first nobles of the court of the same Shahjahan. The only garment of these five Dervishes consisted of three or four ells of orange coloured cotton cloth, of which they made waistbands, one of the ends passing between the thighs and being tucked between the top of the waistband and the body of the Dervish, in order to cover what modesty requires should be concealed, both in front and behind. Each of them had also a skin of tiger upon the shoulders, which was tied under the chin. They had eight fine horses, saddled and bridled, led by hand before them, three of which had bridles of gold and saddles covered with plates of gold; and the five others had bridles of silver, and the saddles also covered with plates of silver, and a leopard's skin on each. The other Dervishes had for their sole garment a cord, which served as a waistband, to which was attached a small scrap of calico to cover, as in the case of the others, the parts which should be concealed. Their hair was bound in a tress about their heads, and made a kind of turban. They were all well armed, the majority with bows and arrows, some with muskets, and the remainder with short pikes, and a kind of weapon which we have not got in Europe. It is a sharp iron, made like the border of a plate which has no centre, and they pass eight or ten over the head, carrying them on the neck like a ruff. They withdraw these circles as they require to use them, and when they throw them with force at a man, as we make a plate to fly, they almost cut him in two. Each of them had also a sort of hunting horn, which he sounds, and makes a great noise with when he arrives anywhere, and also when he departs, and also a rake, or instrument of iron, made something like a trowel. It is with this instrument, which the Indians generally carry in their journeys, that they level the places where they wish to halt, and some, collecting the dust in a heap, make use of it as a mattress and bolster in order to lie more comfortably. There were three of these Dervishes armed with long rapiers, which they had received,

apparently, from some Englishman or Portuguese. Their baggage consisted of four boxes full of Arabic and Persian books and some cooking utensils, and they had ten or twelve oxen to carry those among the troop who were invalids. When these Dervishes arrived at the place where I was encamped with my carriage, having then with me fifty persons, both people of the country, whom one engages, as I have said, for travelling, as also my ordinary servants, the Chief or Superior of the troop, seeing me well accompanied, inquire who that Aga [lord] was; and then asked me to surrender to him the position I occupied, it being more commodious than any other about the place for camping with his Dervishes. As they informed me of the quality of this Chief and the four Dervishes who followed him, I was willing to do them a civility and to yield that which they asked with a good grace; and so I ceded the place to them, and took another which suited me as well. Immediately the place was watered with a quantity of water, and made smooth and level, and, as it was winter and was somewhat cold, they lighted two fires for the five principal Dervishes, who placed themselves between them in order to warm themselves both before and behind. During the same evening, after they had supped, the Governor of the town came to pay his respects to these principal Dervishes and during their sojourn in the place sent them rice and other things which they were accustomed to eat. When they arrive in any place the Superior sends some of them to beg in the towns and villages and whatever food they bring, which is give them out of charity, is immediately distributed to all in equal portions, each being particular to cook his own rice for himself. Whatever they have over is given every evening to the poor and they reserve nothing for the following day.

2. Pilgrims to the shrine of Khwaja Banda Nawaz at Gulbarga, Abbe Carre[12]

Thursday, 9 March. After having marched all the morning while it was cool, I was surprised to find the road full of processions of fakirs and Hindus, which walked in a different manner from one another. Those going the same way as myself proceeded very quickly, as if they were in a hurry to reach their destination, while on the contrary those who were returning to the direction from which I had come, stopped frequently, some on the banks of a well-wooded stream to feast on the fruit, milk, and cakes, which they carried with them, while others danced and made merry with all sorts of

antics. The latter wore different marks: most of the men had a sort of cradle on their heads, covered by little streamers of cocks' feathers, bells, and the like. The women and children all carried sticks which they lifted in the air, for the wind to turn whirligigs on them, made of cloth in all sorts of colours. They also carried plates of copper, little pots, and a sort of caldron on which they beat as on our Basque drums. Others, who had shaved their heads, carried their hair on the end of sticks, as if it was a very precious possession.

These and a thousand other follies gave me much amusement all day and I could not imagine the reason for these extravagances. We arrived that evening at Trapour, a large town full of Hindus, where there is a good trade in painted [printed] cloths, chintzes, calicoes, and other sorts of merchandise. Here were still more of the same sort of folk that I had met on the road. This led me to enquire of a local Hindu, who came to speak to me, what it all meant. 'Why,' he replied, "don't you know that these are holy families, who have come from a great distance to worship their saint called Mundun la Heb, whom they have at Calberga, a large village about two leagues from here [the shrine of Khwaja Banda Nawaz]. Every year there is a pilgrimage there by a great number of people such as you have seen. They are thus sanctified when they return home." 'But,' I said, "what is meant by all those instruments and streamers paraded by them?" 'Those,' he said, 'are souvenirs of their pilgrimage, which they keep all their lives, and which they regard with much confidence and devotion in any afflictions or maladies that may befall them. They put their children, when sick, into those little cradles you saw, and are quite content, whether the child lives or dies, because the cradle had been in the saint's house and had been sanctified by him. The little banners carried by the women are put on the head, or into the hands, of a woman in childbirth for her safe delivery. The copper pots and plates are for the food of anyone who is dangerously ill, and those who carry their hair on the end of sticks are, as you saw, quite young girls. They cut their hair, while virgins, to get it sanctified by the saint, and keep it carefully to show that they were very young at the time of this pilgrimage.' The Hindu also told me of some disgraceful things, of which I cannot speak. I was astonished at the stupidity, coarseness and foolishness of these poor people, who, however, seem quite happy and contented, though leading a life which perhaps is the lowest and most infamous and unhappy in the world. Some of them [fakirs] have no other

pleasures but to cover their bodies with ashes, mud and filth, and all sorts of disgusting things, so that one can hardly imagine anything more hideous and horrible than this class of people. The most powerful of them, however, and those who are considered the wisest and the most judicious in this country, are esteemed and worshipped to such an extent that they are allowed to commit the most dreadful acts in a household, which is supposed to be sanctified thereby.

F. A Muslim view of how European nations differ, Niccolao Manucci[13]

When the sixth King of Gulkandah, Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, was on the throne [1611-72], he had serving in his artillery men of four European nations. As these great rulers delight in acquainting themselves with persons' characters through the actions they perform, he tried an experiment.

He sent word for the slaughter of a stag, and it was divided into joints. He then ordered the distribution of the pieces, one to each nation. The Englishman, without waiting until they handed it to him, laid hold on the biggest piece there was, and carried it off. From this the king said this nation loves to take things at its own risk. The Dutchman held out a hand humbly, and accepted the share offered to him. From this it was inferred that this nation is one of merchants who through their humility have become rich. The Portuguese refused his portion, telling his servant he might take it. At this the king said that this nation was over-proud, and would rather die of hunger than abandon its dignity, The Frenchman, without waiting for orders, laid hold of his sword, stuck it into two pieces, and throwing out his chest, marched off. Judging from this, the king said this nation was a valorous one, most generous, and fond of good living. He ordered the Frenchman to be appointed the captain over his artillery.

Whatever remained over of the venison he ordered to be divided among his suite. These men, with the greatest respect and homage, took each a piece, making demonstrations as if they thought it a holy relic, and saying, 'May God increase the days and the wealth of his Majesty.' Of them he said: "These people are flatterers and hypocrites, saying pleasant things to me in my presence."

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Chapter 16
Mughals In India

A. Mughal Emperors

B. Mughal polity

C. Mughal thrones

D. The Emperor’s jewels

E. Mughal princesses

F. Mughal forces

A. Mughal Emperors

1. Akbar

(a) Fr. Francis Henriques in a letter dated 6 April 1580 on Akbar[1]

He is very simple and courteous towards everyone, and always cheerful, but with a dignity such as one expects from a very great king. He is much loved as well as feared by his people, and is very hard-working…

(b) Appearance of Akbar, Father Antonio Monserrate[2]

This Prince [Akbar] is of a stature and a type of countenance well-fitted to his royal dignity, so that one could easily recognize, even at the first glance, that he is the King. He has broad shoulders, somewhat bandy legs well-suited for horsemanship, and a light-brown complexion. He carries his head bent towards the right shoulder. His forehead is broad and open, his eyes so bright and flashing that they seem like a sea shimmering in the sunlight. His eyelashes are very long, as also are those of the Sauromates, Sinae Niphones and most other north-Asiatic races. His eyebrows are not strongly marked. His nose is straight and small, though not insignificant. His nostrils are widely opened, as though in derision. Between the left nostril and the upper lip there is a mole. He shaves his beard, but wears a moustache like that of a Turkish youth who has not yet attained to manhood (for on reaching manhood they begin to affect a beard). Contrary to the custom of his race he does not cut his hair; nor does he wear a hat, but a turban, into which he gathers up his hair. He does this, they say, as a concession to Indian usages, and to please his Indian subjects. He limps in his left leg, though indeed he has never received any injury there. His body is exceedingly well-built and is neither too thin nor too stout. He is sturdy, hearty and robust. When he laughs, his face becomes almost distorted. His expression is tranquil, serene and open, full also of dignity, and when he is angry, of awful majesty. When the priests first saw him he was thirty-eight years of age. It is hard to exaggerate how accessible he makes himself to all who wish audience of him. For he creates an opportunity almost every day for any of the common people or of the nobles to see him and converse with him; and he endeavors to show himself pleasant-spoken and affable rather than severe toward all who come to speak with him. It is very remarkable how great an effect this courtesy and affability has in attaching to him the minds of his subjects. For in spite of his very heterodox attitude towards the

religion of Muhammad, and in spite also of the fact that Musalmans regard such an attitude as an unforgivable offence, Zelaldinus [Akbar] has not yet been assassinated. He has an acute insight, and shows much wise foresight both in avoiding dangers and in seizing favourable opportunities for carrying out his designs…

(c) Akbar's civility towards Jesuit Fathers, Antonio Monserrate[3]

Not to go into too many details, the Fathers frequently and freely admonished the King; but their conscientious readiness in doing this never lessened, still less put an end to, the kindly friendship of the King towards them. Nay more, when the King perceived that it was the sincerity of their hearts that led them to feel themselves free to correct him, he took it in such good part that he always seemed not only to favor them, but to heap honors upon them in his desire to show his affection towards them. For when they saluted him, which they did with uncovered heads, he answered with a nod and a bright smile. He did not allow them to keep their heads uncovered when they were in his presence. When a council was being held, or when he summoned them to his private audience-chamber for familiar conversation, he used to make them sit beside him. He shook hands with them cordially and familiarly. He frequently left the public audience-chamber to converse with them in private. Several times he paced up and down with his arm round Rudolf's shoulders. Once, when he was in camp, he desired another of the priests, in the middle of a crowd of his nobles, to help him fasten on his sword, which service the Father performed, amidst the envy and wonder of all the courtiers. He wished the priests to be sharers of his inmost thoughts, both in good and ill fortune – no common mark of love and kindness. He ordered his door-keepers to grant them entrance, whenever they wished, even into the inner courtyard of the palace, where only the most distinguished nobles had the right of entrance. He sent them food from his own table – a mark of distinction which he is said never to have conferred upon anyone before. He visited one of the Fathers when he was ill, and greeted him in Portuguese as a sign of respect. There would have been no end to his gifts, had the Fathers not frequently told him that all they needed was food and clothing, and these of the most simple description. This reply pleased him so much that he repeated it publicly: and each month sent them as much money; under the guise of alms, as he thought would be sufficient for their daily expenses.

2. Jahangir

(a) Daily routine, William Hawkins[4]

Now here I meane to speake a little of his manners and customes in the court. First, in the morning about the breake of day he is at his beades, with his face turned to the west-ward. The manner of his praying, when he is in Agra, is in a private faire roome, upon a goodly jet stone [the famous black, slate throne still to be seen on the terrace of Agra fort], having onely a Persian lamb-skinne under him; having also some eight chaines of beads, every one of them containing foure hundred. The breads are of rich pearle, ballace rubyes, diamonds, rubyes, emeralds, lignum aloes, eshem, and corall. At the upper end of this jet stone the pictures of Our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone; so he turneth over his beads, and saith three thousand two hundred words, according to the number of his beads, and then his prayer is ended. After he hath done, he sheweth himselfe to the people, receiving their salames [salutations, Arabic *salam*] or good morrowes; unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, hee sleepeth two houres more, and then dineth and passeth his time with his women, and at noone hee sheweth himselfe to the people againe, sitting till three of the clocke, viewing and seeing his pastimes and sports made by men, and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of pastimes. Then at three of the clocke, all the nobles in generall (that be in Agra and are well) resort unto the court, the King comming forth in open audience, sitting in his seat-royall, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of the nobles standing within a red rayle, and the rest without. They are all placed by his Lieutenant-Generall. This red rayle is three steppes higher then the place where the rest stand; and within this red rayle I was placed, amonst the chiefest of all. The rest are placed by officers, and they likewise be within another very spacious place rayled; and without that rayle stand all sorts of horsemen and souldiers that belong unto his captaines, and all other commers. At these rayles there are many doores kept by many porters, who have white rods to keepe men in order. In the middest of the place, right before the King, standeth one of his sheriffes, together with his master hangman, who is accompanied with forty hangmen wearing on their heads a certaine quilted cap, different from all others, with an hatchet on their shoulders; and others

with all sorts of whips being there, readie to doe what the King commandeth.

(b) Birthday celebrations, William Hawkins[5]

This emperor keepeth many feasts in the yeare, but two feasts especially may be nominated. The one is called Nourous [Nauroz], which is in honour of the New-Yeares day…The other feast [Jahangir kept both lunar and solar birthdays] is some foure moneths after, which is called the feast of his birth-day. This day every man striveth who may be the richest in apparell and jewels. After many sports and pastimes performed in his palace, he goeth to his mothers house with all the better sort of his nobles, where every man presenteth a jewell unto his mother, according to his estate. After the bancket is ended, the King goeth into a very faire roome, where a ballance of beaten gold is hanged, with one scale emptie for him to sit in, the other scale being filled with divers things, that is to say, silver, gold, divers sorts of grains a little, and so of every kind of mettall a little, and with all sorts of precious stones some. In fine, he weigheth himselfe with these things, which the next day are given to the poore, and all may be valued to be worth ten thousand pounds. This day, before he goeth unto his mothers house, every man bringeth him his present, which is thought to be ten times more worth then that which he giveth to the poore. This done, every man departeth unto his home.

(c) Size of retinue, William Hawkins[6]

When hee rideth on progresse or hunting, the compasse of his tents may bee as much as the compasse of London and more; and I may say that of all sorts of people that follow the campe there are two hundred thousand, for hee is provided as for a citie. This king is thought to be the greatest emperour of the East for wealth, land, and force of men, as also for horses, elephants, camels, and dromedaries. As for elephants of his owne and of his nobles, there are fortie thousand, of which the one halfe are trayned elephants for the warre; and these elephants of all beasts are the most understanding.

(d) Interview with Jahangir, Sir Thomas Roe[7]

At the *durbar* I was led right before him, at the enterance of an outward rayle, wher mett mee two principall noble slaves to conduct mee nearer. I had required before my going leave to use the customes of my country;

which was freeely granted, soe that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first rayle I made a reverance; entering in the inward rayle another; and when I came under the King a theird. The place is a great court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sitts in a little gallery over head; ambassidors, the great men and strangers of qualety within the inmost rayle under him, raysed from the ground, covered with canopyes of velvet and silke, under foote layd with good carpetts; the meaner men representing gentry within the first rayle, the people without in a base court, but soe that all may see the King. This sitting out hath soe much affinitye with a theatre – the manner of the king in the gallery; the great men lifted on a stage as actors; the vulgar below gazing on – that an easy description will informe of the place and fashion. The King prevented [i.e. forestalled] my dull enterpreter, bidding me welcome as to the brother of my master. I delivered His Majesties lettre, translated; and after my commission, wheron hee looked curiously; after, my presents, which were well received. He asked some questions, and with a seeming care of my health, offering me his phisitions, and adivising mee to keepe my house till I had recovered strength; and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely send to him, and obteyne my desiers.

(e) Jahangir's passion for hunting and the courage of Anira, Francisco Pelsaert [8]

…The chief business that interests the King, and about which he asks questions, is in what places there is good hunting, sport being his greatest delight. He rides out to hunt in the afternoon when the sun's heat has diminished, or when he wakes up; then he dresses and mounts a horse, or takes his seat on an elephant, not considering whether there are many or few attendants, or none at all, disregarding rain or wind, and he will not return till he has caught something, whether with falcons, or with leopards. Hunting with leopards is a remarkable form of sport. These brutes are so accustomed to men that they are as tame as cats, whether they are reared from cubs or tamed when full grown. They are very carefully fed, and each has two men to look after him, as well as a cart, in which they sit, or are driven out, daily. When they come to a place where they sight buck, the leopard is released from the cart, his keepers show him the direction, and he creeps on his four feet until he gets a view, taking cover behind trees, plants or thickets, until he sees that his first quick rush and spring will be

successful, for that is his only chance. Most of the leopards are so well trained that they never, or very seldom, miss. Sometimes also, but very rarely, the king hunts buck with buck. For this form of sport, buck are so thoroughly tamed that when they have been set free, they will come back when called by their masters or keepers. When there is to be a hunt, a running noose, made of twisted sinews, is fastened on the tame buck's horns, and lies on his neck. When he sights a wild buck, he at once presents his horns to fight, and they push and struggle with their horns, until the tame buck feels that the noose has caught. Then he springs back and pulls so that they hold each other fast by the horns, until the men, who are standing or lying near, run up and capture the wild buck alive. These fanciers of buck derive great enjoyment or pastime from them, for they set them constantly to fight for stakes; but some of the animals are so furious that they will not yield, though they struggle till they fall dead, and they understand how to attack with their horns as well as if they had learned the art of fencing.

When the King was a young man, he preferred shooting to all other forms of sport; and he was a splendid shot. When forests or jungles which contained pig, lions, tigers and other dangerous beasts were pointed out to him, he went to the place, and killing lions and tigers was prohibited, unless information had previously been given to the King, who risked his life in such sport. A remarkable instance of this occurred in my time. The King was out lion-shooting at Rupbas near Agra. For some time a lion had been doing great harm, killing men and cattle, and the King went there for this special purpose, surrounding his lair with large numbers of men; but no one, even if he was attacked, was allowed to kill the lion with any weapon except a dagger, even though he might be wounded. The King was inside the circle with his gun, accompanied only by one soldier, all his lords being scattered to drive the lion towards him, when suddenly the lion jumped out of a thicket and sprang at him. His companion, a Hindu or Rajput horseman named Anira, seeing that he could not safely use his gun, and that the King was in imminent danger of injury, caught the lion by the neck, and held on as if dead, and wrestled with him. Sometimes one was on top and sometimes the other, and in the struggle the lion tore all the flesh of his arms and legs, indeed nearly his whole body, so that the bare bones showed everywhere, although the King had wounded the lion several times with his sword. At last men ran up, attracted by the shouting, and rescued Anira still

living. The King showed the greatest solicitude for his cure, and appointed him immediately to the rank of 500 horse, from which he has won promotion by his courage until he is now a noble of 3000 horse. There have doubtless been many similar stories or occurrences in other countries, but I want to emphasise the devotion displayed by such subordinates, who are ready to give their life for their master as if they were actuated by a passion of love.

(f) Jahangir's sons, Pietro Della Valle[9]

I know not whether by one or more Women, this King had four sons; the first is call'd *Sultan Chosrou;* the second, *Sultan Peruiz;* the third, *Sultan Chorrom,* now in rebellion, (to whom, when he return'd from a war which he had prosperously manag'd in *Dacan,* his father gave the title of *Sciahi Gihon,* which is interpreted, *King of the World;)* and the fourth, *Sultan Scehriar,* is yet a youth of small age. 'Tis possible others besides these have been born to him; but, being dead, either in childhood, or long ago, there is no mention made of them at present.

(g) Jahangir's treatment of Prince Khusro, Pietro Della Valle[10]

... *Sultan Chosrou* the eldest, who was a Prince of much expectation, well-belov'd, and, as they say, a friend in particular of the Christians, being at the government of I know not what Country, rebell'd against his Father, under pretext that the Kingdom by right belonged unto him, because indeed King *Ekbar,* his Grand-father, at his death left it to him his nephew, being then born, and not to *Selim* the Father, who was his son, being displeas'd with his Son *Selim,* for that one time in his life he attempted to rebel against him. So easie are Insurrections amongst these Infidels, and so little faith can Fathers have in Sons, and they in their own Fathers. With this pretence *Sultan Chosrou* once rais'd a great Army against his Father, but, coming to a battle, he was routed, and forc'd to surrender himself freely to his Father; who, chiding him with words rather gentle than otherwise, ask'd him to what end he made these tumults, knowing well that he held and kept the whole Kingdom for him? Yet his deeds were sharper then his words; for in the first place he caused all the chief captains who had follow'd him in the war to be cruelly slain, and shewing them so slain to *Chosrou,* as in his return with Triumph he made him to pass along with himself in the middle of a long row of them barbarously mangled in several manners, and to behold some of his faithfullest confidents sew'd up in beast's skins, and be

so left miserably to rot, he bade him see in what sort of people he had confided. Moreover he suffer'd him no longer to live freely, but committed him to the safe but honourable custody of certain Grandees of his court; and, which was worse, he caus'd his eyes to be sew'd up, as 'tis sometimes the custom here, to the end to deprive him of sight with out excaecating him, that so he might be unfit to cause any more commotions, which sewing, if it continue long, they say it wholly causes loss of sight; but after a while the Father caused this Prince's eyes to be unripp'd again, so that he was not blinded, but saw again, and it was only a temporal penance. Yet he was not delivered from prison, in which he liv'd so closely for two years that onely one person was suffer'd to be with him in the prison to serve him.

Nurmahal, who had apprehended that *Sultan Chosrou* would succeed his Father in the Kingdom, and desir'd to establish herself well, had frequently offer'd her Daughter to *Sultan Chosrou;* before she married her to *Sultan Scehriar,* but he, either for that he, had another Wife he lov'd sufficiently and would not wrong her, or because he scorn'd *Nurmahal's* Daughter, would never consent: insomuch that whilst he was in prison and was told by reiterated messages that if he would marry *Nurmahal's* Daughter he should be immediately set free, nevertheless he would not be brought to do it. His Wife on the contrary, who lov'd him as well as he lov'd her, obtain'd to be the person allotted to serve him in the prison, and accordingly went thither, and liv'd with him so long as he was there, never ceasing to persuade him to marry *Nurmahal's* Daughter, that so he might be deliver'd from those troubles; that for her part she was content to live with him as a slave, provided she saw him free and in a good condition; but he could never be prevailed with. Thus he liv'd in prison with his faithful and dear Wife, till the malice of his persecutors and his Father's anger being wearied, about two years after he was taken out of Prison; but still held in a more honourable custody.

For these things, *Sultan Chosrou* remaind always much in the hatred of *Nurmahal,* who despairing to marry her Daughter to him, gave her to *Sultan Scehriar,* as is above said…

…Now touching the rebellion and the beginning of it. *Sultan Chorrom,* after the alliance that he made with *Asaf Chan,* so wrought by the means of his Father in law, and *Nurmahal,* his Aunt, that the King granted him the

prisoner *Sultan Chosrou* into his own power, taking him out of the hands of him that kept him, and committing him to him to keep, yet with order to use him very well and have great care of him; and this because *Chorrom* refus'd to go to his Government, and to the war whereunto they sent him, unless he carried *Sultan Chosrou* with him, alledging that it was not convenient that he should be absent from the Court whilst *Sultan Chosrou,* his competitor and back-friend stay'd there. When he had got him into his hands he went to his Government, and there kept and treated him honourably a year or two: but afterwards, out of the intention which he always had to remove him out of his way to the succession of the Kingdom, he being absent (as some say) sent him poyson'd meats, appointing certain of his Captains who kept him to make him eat those meats by any means, fair or foul. The Captains punctually executed this order; but because *Sultan Chosrou,* becoming suspicious by their importunity to have him eat, would by no means taste of those meats, saying plainly that they intended to poyson him, the Captains, since there was no other remedy, and perhaps having order, leap'd all upon him, and he defended himself bravely, till at length having fell'd him to the ground they strangled him with a Bowstring. Others say that *Sultan Chorrom* himself slew him with his own hand publickly. Be it as it will, *Sultan Chosrou* dy'd of a violent death, and *Sultan Chorrom* was either by himself, or by mediation of others, the Murtherer.

In…the death of *Sultan Chosrou,* 'tis not onely suspected that there is some conspiracy of *Asaf Chan,* and *Nurmahal,* his ancient enemies in secret, but also that the King of *Persia* is of intelligence with them, who about the same time, or a little before, on his side made the warr of *Candahar,* in which the coldness which the *Moghol,* shew'd, proceeded, no doubt, either from his not being well inform'd, because perhaps *Nurmahal* and *Asaf Chan,* who were his chief Counsellors, suffered not true intelligence to be signifi'd to him, or perhaps because the evil carriage of *Sultan Chorrom* hath hitherto necessitated him to stand in suspense. 'Tis true the last Advertisements from *Agra,* that the King, as I said, sent *Asaf Chan* to remove the treasure from thence, argue that the King still entrusts him, and consequently either that he is not in fault, or that his fault is not yet known. The doubt will be best clear'd by Time. *Sultan Chosrou* left a little Son behind him, whose name is *Sultan Bulachi.*

(h) Khusrau regarded a pir by Hindus and Muslims, Pietro Della Valle[11]

…I should not, however, willingly pass over some of their holy men whom I have seen in their lifetime, particularly Sultan Khusru, the eldest son of the present King. He was murdered in the fort at Burhanpur, in February, 1621, at the instance of his younger brother Sultan Khurram, because he was thought to be next in succession to the throne; the murder was committed by a slave named Raza, who during the night strangled him with a *lungi,* or cloth, so as to raise the less suspicion of violence, and suggest a natural death. His body was brought to Agra, and taken thence to Allahabad, to be buried beside his mother. In the excitement or mourning which followed his death, for he was much beloved by the common people, although he was held a prisoner by his brother under the King's orders, some mendicants presumed to make a representation of a grave, at a spot where the bier or corpse had rested for a night on the journey, and announced to the common people that their God had in their sleep ordered them to do so, because Khusru was an innocent martyr; and consequently that everyone should come to make offerings at similar shrines every Thursday, and their prayers would certainly be granted, because Khusru occupied as great a position in heaven as he had held on earth. This devilish folly made such headway in various towns, such as Burhanpur, Sironj, Agra, and Allahabad, that both Hindus and Moslems in vast numbers went in procession every Thursday with flags, pipes, and drums to his worship; he was accepted as a true *Pir,* or saint; and they carried matters so far that they were foolish enough never to take an oath except by "the head of the Sultan," which was regarded as more binding than if they had sworn by God Himself. His father the King prohibited this practice, saying that Khusru was in his lifetime a sinful, nay, a rebellious son, and if he was really murdered by his brother, the guilt attached to the murderer, but did not operate to absolve Khusru, or to justify his being regarded as a saint. On this, Kasim Khan, the Governor of Agra, destroyed and obliterated the shrine, which had been built at great cost; the attendants or receivers of offerings were driven away; and everything that was found was confiscated for the King.

3. Nur Jahan, Pietro Della Valle[12]

He hath one Wife, or Queen, whom he esteems and favours above all other Women; and his whole Empire is govern'd at this day by her counsel. She was born in *India,* but of Persian Race, that is the Daughter of a Persian, who coming as many do into *India,* to the service of the *Moghol,* hapned in time to prove a very great man in this court, and, (if I mistake not) Chan, or Viceroy, of a Province. She was formerly Wife in *India* to another Persian Captain, who serv'd the Moghol too; but, after her Husband's death, a fair opportunity being offer'd, as it falls out many times to some handsome young Widows I know not how, *Sciah Selim* had notice of her, and became in love with her. He would have carried her into his Haram, or *Gynaceo,* and kept her there like one of his other Concubines, but the very cunning and ambitious Woman counterfeited great honesty to the King, and refus'd to go into his Palace; and, as I believe, also to comply with his desires, saying that she had been the Wife of an Honourable Captain and Daughter of an Honourable Father, and should never wrong her own Honour, nor that of her Father and Husband, and that to go to the King's *Haram,* and live like one of the other Female-slaves there, was unsuitable to her noble condition. Wherefore if his Majesty had a fancy to her he might take her for his lawful Wife, whereby his Honour would be not onely not injur'd, but highly enlarg'd, and on this condition she was at his service. *Sciah Selim* so disdaign'd this haughty motion at first that he had almost resolv'd in despight to give her in Marriage to one of the Race which they call *Halalchor,* as much as to say *Eater-at-large,* that is to whom it is lawful to eat everything, and for this cause they are accounted the most despicable people in *India.* However the Woman persisting in her first resolution, intending rather to die than alter it, and Love returning to make impetuous assaults on the King's Heart; with the help, too, as some say, of Sorceries practis'd by her upon him, if there were any other charms (as I believe there were not) besides the conditions of the Woman, which became lovely to the King by sympathy; at length he determin'd to receive her for his lawful Wife and Queen above all the rest. And as such she commands and governs at this day in the King's Haram with supream authority; having cunningly remov'd out of the Haram, either by marriage, or other handsome wages, all the other Women who might give her any jealousie; and having also in the Court made many alterations by deposing, and displacing almost all the old Captains and Officers, and by advancing to dignities other new ones of her own creatures, and particularly those of her blood and alliance. This Queen

is call'd at this day Nurmahal, which signifies, *Light of the Palace;* a Name, I believe, conferr'd on her by the King, when he made her Queen. She hath a Brother, who is still in great favour with the King, and of great power, and is the *Asaf Chan* whom I mention'd above, and one of whose Daughters is one of the Wives of *Sultan Chorrom* now in rebellion; whence some, not without ground, suspect that the present rebellion of *Sultan Chorrom* is with some participation of *Asaf Chan,* and of *Nurmahal* herself; perhaps upon design that the Kingdom may fall to him after the death of the Father.

Sultan Scehriar hath also to Wife a Daughter of *Nurmahal* by her first Husband, for by the King she hath hitherto no Children. Wherein appears the prudence of this Woman, who hath so well establish'd herself with alliances in the Royal Family.

4. Emperor Shahjahan prisoner in his palace, Jean de Thevenot[13]

Now after all the Air of Agra is very incommodious [unpleasant] in the Summer-time, and it is very likely that the excessive heat which scorches the Sands that environ this Town, was one of the chief causes which made King *Cha-Gehan* change the Climate, and chuse to live at *Dehly.* Little thought this Prince that one day he would be forced to live at *Agra,* what aversion soever he had to it, and far less still, that he should be Prisoner there in his own Palace, and so end his days in affliction and trouble. That misfortune though befel him, and *Auran-Zeb* his third Son, was the cause of it, who having got the better of his Brothers, both by cunning and force, made sure of the Kings Person and Treasures, by means of Soldiers whom he craftily slipt [introduced] into the Palace, and under whose Custody the King was kept till he died.

So soon as *Auran-Zeb* knew that his Father was in his Power, he made himself be proclaimed King: He held his Court at *Dehly,* and no party was made for the unfortunate King, though many had been raised by his bounty and liberalities. From that time forward *Auran-Zeb* Reigned without trouble; and the King his Father dying in Prison about the end of the year One thousand six hundred sixty six [22 January 1666], he enjoyed at ease the Empire, and that so famous Throne of the *Moguls;* which he had left in the Prisoners appartment to divert him with. He added to the precious Stones that were set about it, those of the Princes his Brothers, and particularly the Jewels of *Begum-Saheb* his Sister [Jahanara Begum]), who

died after her Father; and whose death (as it was said,) was hastened by Poison. And in fine, he became absolute Master of all, after he had overcome and put to death *Dara-Cha* his Eldest Brother, whom *Cha-Gehan* had designed for the Crown. That King is interred on the other side of the River, in a Monument which he began, but is not finished [he is in fact buried alongside Mumtaz Mahal].

5. Execution of Prince Dara on orders of Aurangzeb, Niccolao Manucci[14]

Those executioners of tyranny and barbarity arrived at the garden of Khizrabad at seven O'clock at night. They entered the room where the afflicted prince was walking up and down repeating the words referred to: *Muhammad mara mi-kushad, ibn-ullah mara jan mi-bakhshad* [Muhammad kills me, and the Son of God gives me life; interpreted as Dara's desire to convert to Christianity at this moment]. They laid hands upon him, and, showing neither compassion nor respect, flung him to the ground and cut off his head. Leaving the body to welter in its blood, they carried the head with all haste to Aurangzeb's presence. It was then eight O'clock at night, and he was in the garden of the palace. Such was the tragic and lamentable fate meted out to the unhappy prince Dara, first-born and heir to the Mogul empire, loved and cherished by his father, Shahjahan, and respected by the people. Neither his good qualities nor his rank sufficed to deliver him from the evil designs of Aurangzeb, nor from the ill-effects of his own bad qualities.

When Aurangzeb learnt that the head of Dara had arrived, he ordered it to be brought to him in the garden on a dish, with the face cleaned of the blood on the surface and a turban on the head. He called for lights to be brought so that he might see the mark borne by the prince on his forehead, and might make sure that it was the head of Dara, and not that of another person. After he had satisfied himself, he told them to put it on the ground, and gave it three thrusts in the face with the sword he carried by way of staff, saying, "Behold the face of a would be king and emperor of all the Mogul realms. Take him out of my sight."

He gave secret orders to place it in a box, to be sent by runners to the eunuch Atbar can [Iti'bar Khan], who had charge of Shahjahan's prison, with orders to deliver it to him when seated at table. It was to be offered in his name as a *plat...*

On receipt of Aurangzeb's orders, Iti'bar Khan, to comply with them, waited until the hour when Shahjahan had sat down to dinner. When he had begun to eat, Iti'bar Khan entered with the box and laid it before the unhappy father, saying: "King Aurangzeb, your son, sends this *plat* to your majesty, to let him see that he does not forget him." The old emperor said: "Blessed be God that my son still remembers me'. The box having been placed on the table, he ordered it with great eagerness to be opened. Suddenly, on withdrawing the lid, he discovered the face of Prince Dara. Horrified, he uttered one cry and fell on his hands and face upon the table, and, striking against the golden vessels, broke some of his teeth and lay there apparently lifeless.

6. Aurangzeb

(a) Birthday celebrations at Shahjahanabad, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[15]

After finishing all my business with the Emperor, when I went to take leave of His Majesty on the first of November 1665, he told me he was unwilling that I should depart without having witnessed his fete, which was then at hand, and that afterwards he would give orders that all his jewels should be shown to me. I accepted, as in duty bound, the honour he conferred on me; and thus I was a spectator of this grand festival, which commenced on the fourth of November and lasted five days. It is on the anniversary of the Emperor's birthday that they are in the habit of weighing him and if he should weigh more than in the preceding year, the rejoicing is so much the greater. When he has been weighed, he seats himself on the richest of the thrones, of which I shall speak presently, and then all the nobility of the kingdom come to salute him and offer presents. The ladies of the court also send gifts and he receives others from the Governors of Provinces and other exalted personages. In diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, gold and silver, as well as rich carpets, brocades of gold and silver, and other stuffs, elephants, camels, and horses, the Emperor receives in presents on this day to the value of more than 30,000,000 livres.

(b) Severe life-style, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[16]

Since Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, has occupied the throne of the Moguls, which he usurped from his father and brothers, he has imposed on himself, as I have said, a severe form of penance, and eats nothing which has enjoyed life. As he lives upon vegetables and sweetmeats only, he has

become thin and meagre, to which the great fasts which he keeps have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet of the year – [this comet was first seen in Europe and lasted four weeks], which appeared very large in India, where I then was, Aurangzeb drank only a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died, for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him, and since that time has never enjoyed perfect health.

I remember seeing the Emperor drink upon three different occasions while seated on his throne. He had brought to him on a golden saucer, enriched with diamonds, rubies and emeralds, a large cup of rock-crystal, all round and smooth, the cover of which was of gold, with the same decoration as the saucer. As a rule no one sees the Emperor eat except his womenkind and eunuchs, and it is very rarely that he goes to dine at the house of any of his subjects, whether it belongs to a Prince or to one of his own relatives...

(c) Size of royal guard accompanying Emperor, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[17]

When the Emperor goes to the mosque in his pallankeen one of his sons follows on horseback, and all the Princes and officers of the household on foot. Those who are Musalmans wait for him upon the top of the steps to the mosque, and when he comes out they precede him to the gate of the palace. Eight elephants march in front of him, four carrying two men each, one to guide the elephant, and the other, seated on its back, bearing a standard attached to a hand pike. Each of the four other elephants carries a seat or kind of throne on its back [howdah], one of which is square, another round, one covered, and another closed with glass of many kinds. When the Emperor goes out he has generally 500 or 600 men with him for his bodyguard, each man armed with a kind of hand pike. Fireworks are attached to the iron blade; these consist of two rockets crossed, each of the thickness of the arm, and a foot in length; when ignited they will carry the hand pike 500 yards. The Emperor is also followed by 300 or 400 matchlock men, who are timid and unskilful in firing, and a number of cavalry of no greater merit. One hundred of our European soldiers would scarcely have any difficulty in vanquishing 1,000 of these Indian soldiers; but it is true, on the other hand, that they would have much difficulty in accustoming themselves to such an abstemious life.

Meagre diet of royal army

For the horseman as well as the infantry soldier supports himself with a little flour kneaded with water and black sugar, of which they make small balls; and in the evening, whenever they have the necessaries, they make khichari, which consists of rice cooked with a grain of the above name in water with a little salt. When eating it they first dip the ends of their fingers in melted butter, for such is the ordinary food of both soldiers and poor people…

(d) Aurangzeb on hunt, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[18]

Once a fortnight the Emperor goes out to hunt, and while *en route,* and also while the chase lasts, he is always mounted on his elephant. All the animals which he shoots, are driven within musket range of his elephant. Ordinarily these are lions, tigers, deer, and gazelles – because, as for wild boars, he as a good Musalman does not wish to see them.

(e) Aurangzeb in old age, still eager for war, Niccolao Manucci[19]

This old king [Aurangzeb] still shows his eagerness for war by the gestures he uses on the march. While seated in his palanquin, he unsheathes his sword, makes cuts in the air, first one way, then the other, and, smiling all the while, polishes it with a cloth, then returns it to its scabbard. He does the same with his bow, to show that he can still let fly an arrow. But most of the time he sits doubled up, his head drooping so much that his beard lies on his chest, and it looks to you as if it grew out of his throat. When his officers submit any petition, or make report to him of any occurrence, he gently raises his head and straightens his back. He gives them such an answer as to leave no opening for reply, and still looks after his army in the minutest particulars.

But these who are at a distance pay very little attention to his orders. They make excuses, they raise difficulties; and under cover of these pretexts, and by giving huge sums to the officials at court, they do just as they like. If he would only abandon his mock saint-hood, and behead a few of those in his empire, there would not be so much disorder, and he would be betterobeyed. It is from this cause that they countermine him by working on his various scruples.

(f) Keeps up appearance of devoutness, Niccolao Manucci[20]

He continues to show himself devout and abstinent. During the fast he says his prayers for twenty-four hours on end, his head on the ground, eating

nothing, and never moving his body. The queen, Udipuri, beholding all this make-believe, roused him, and told him he had been so many hours at his prayers that it was necessary for his majesty to eat something. Upon this he raised his head and sharply reproved the queen for having withdrawn him from the delights he was enjoying, by which he suggested that he had entered into heavenly glory, and now despised earthly enjoyments.

From time to time he plunges into similar fits of devotion, and among the ignorant common people the belief in his false saintship goes on increasing…

Miseries of camp life

…his army is a filthy, dirty place, more like a scourge sent by God, judging by the daily mortality of men and animals. The common people are dealt with as mere animals after they are dead. Their bodies are searched to see if they have any money, and after the feet have been tied together with a rope, they are dragged out of the camp and thrown into the first hole to be found. The same is done to the animals, and both serve as aliment for wolves, dogs, and crows.

A great stench is caused in this way, and no measures are taken to get rid of this filthiness. Many a time, under such circumstances, I have found myself unable to bear the evil smell, and been forced to urge my horse to the gallop to get away from it, holding my nose as I did so. Sometimes I was even compelled to vomit, human nature being unable to bear such a grievous thing. The flies are in such numbers that there is no means of eating your food in peace.

Travellers setting out from this army are not protected against the attacks of the Mahrattahs and other robbers; and when you are delivered from this peril, you fall into the hands of the *juncaneiros* (junkaneers, customs officers), or publicans. These take what they please unjustly and by force, and if they know that anyone has money on him, they rob him, cut his throat, and bury him. This is the condition into which the saintly rule of this king has fallen.

Royal claimants to the throne

The existing pretenders to this empire number seventeen princes of full age. First there are the sons of the king, already old men, as can be verified from their ages previously given. Then his grandsons are men with grey beards,

some of them already forty-five or forty-six years of age, some younger. There are great grandsons, some of whom have reached twenty-four or twenty-seven years. I say nothing of great-great-grandsons, or the women of the blood-royal belonging to his family. What an event to behold will be the tragedy following the death of this old man! One only of these princes can succeed, and thereby protect his family; the rest of them will be decapitated, or lose their lives in various other ways. It will be a much worse tragedy than that which happened at the end of King Shahjahan's reign.

(g) Aurangzeb writes to the rebel Prince Akbar, criticises Rajputs, Niccolao Manucci[21]

Although the King Aurangzeb had occupation enough in fighting the Mahrattahs, in conquering different rajahs, and many other enterprises, he never overlooked the question of getting his son Sultan Akbar into his power. This son, then in Persia, was invited back by many letters, none of which had any effect. At last, in the year 1689, he wrote him one in the most loving terms. It was also the last one sent; its terms were as follows:

'My beloved son, light of my eyes, part of my heart, Akbar! I write to you, swearing upon the word of the Ruler over kings, and be God my witness, that I esteem and love you more than my other sons. You were ever my solace and consolation, and lightened my afflictions when you were present. Now that you are so far away, I feel their whole weight, and must endure them. You became disobedient, and were led away by the Rajputs, those demons in human form; thus you lost the favour of Heaven, and were abandoned by it. What can I do? and what remedy can I offer you for the troubles under which you are now suffering? When I think on these things, I continue in travail and great sorrow, so that I have lost the desire for longer life. I endure the greatest grief at seeing you so far from this realm, deprived of your princely title, removed from power, and stripped of your dignities in the State. Because I love you deeply, I weep bitterly over your wretched condition. Yet did you disregard your youth and loyalty to your family, and are forced to live thus far separated from wives, sons, and daughters. From your self-will you fell a prisoner into the hands of those demoniac Rajputs. They treated you like a ball, struck first by one side and hurled back by the other. Thus were you compelled to take refuge first in one place, then in another, In spite of all these things, although you have

been guilty of such heavy crimes, yet, impelled by the love I bear you, I have no desire to inflict farther punishment'.

After these words followed two verses, which continued the letter; their sense was as follows:

'In spite of a son being only a little ashes,

Yet is he a salve to the suffering eyes of parents.'

'Now, Fortune seeks to favour you. If you have repented of your errors you can come to my Presence, and advance to meet me sure that your sins will be remitted; that I shall not forget to favour you and aggrandize you even in a manner that will exceed your wildest dreams of greatness. Thus will you be recompensed for the sufferings and the labours you have undergone.

'This invitation is not given solely from a desire to see you present here, but to obviate your being, as you are now, ruined, solitary, lost, and dishonored.

'I do not speak of the Rajah Jaswant Singh, who was the chief of all the Rajputs and the follower of Dara. O son! Trust not in such nor heed their words, for they will sell you falsified goods yielding you no profit, and in the end causing nothing but regret. Understand, and accept it as infallible, that what I tell you will be for your good, and points out the only right road. Retain it, therefore, in memory, for never again shall I write to you.'

(h) Prince Akbar replies, Niccolao Manucci[22]

'I state, being the meanest among your Majesty's sons, I, Akbar in reverent obeisance and humility and respect, that I have received your Majesty's letter. A thousand times do I give thanks for the honours, kindnesses, and favours that your Majesty metes out to me. Thereby have I received great joy and much consolation. The letter arrived at an auspicious moment, and I took it with all the humbleness and obedient duty that is owing to your Majesty's high dignity. Its mere receipt has brought me comfort. I am now informed as to your orders, and continue to be very joyful at seeing and reading again and again all that your pen has condescended to write to me, and the instruction thereby imparted. I reply on all the heads, which I record with brevity, as is fitting for one who adheres to truth and justice.

'Your Majesty writes to me that you love me, although I became disobedient, and was deprived of rank and dignity because I had placed myself in prison [among the Rajputs]. My lord, just as the son ought to be

the obedient servant of his father who has conceived him, and ought to follow rightful orders as his father dictates, so must a father give reasonable commands in order that the son may find himself under a necessity to obey. Thanks be to God! I have not been wanting in due respect and reverence, nor in any way have I failed in my obedience as a son. I acknowledge the great grace and favour of your Majesty; so grateful am I that I cannot display it sufficiently. In fact, of all that you promise me, were there only to be granted a small fraction, or even of that small fraction only the minutest particle, I should rest content.

'As it seems to me, since I was the youngest you ought to have shown me love and done me favour greater than that accorded to your other sons. However, I do not live devoid of hope, knowing you to be a tender-hearted father. Your Majesty has acted against the world's rule. You favoured your other sons; me you outraged. To your eldest son [Prince Muazzam, given the title Shah Alam] you conceded the title of king, and in addition have declared him heir to the throne. In what system of justice or from what tribunal was there ever such a decision heard of? All the sons ought to share in the paternal estate. Your Majesty, to the very contrary of this, has raised one to greatness, has enriched another and overweighed him with titles, while the others are forsaken and in poverty. But where is the code and system in which such things can be discovered? O veritable king of truth, in thy equity all are equal! His mode of conduct is clear, and notified to all the world, and His works are registered in His scriptures. God will assign greatness to him who the most pleases Him.

'Your Majesty was my teacher, who showed me the road I ought to tread, and your example was imitated and followed by all others. And who is he who can decry my acts, when I followed the road that my father had taught me to go? Our first father, Adam, forfeited the favour of Heaven for two grains of corn, while I have been sent to perdition for one grain alone. But I should be a fool if I did not know how to sell it profitably.

'Bygone kings, such as the great Taimur-i-lang and King Shahjahan, went through and endured great labours, and to the end continued to be powerful and happy. He who refuses to undergo hardships can never become great or obtain the favour of Heaven or live in prosperity. Flowers do not exist without thorns, nor mountains without serpents.

[Here follow two verses to this effect:]

‘If Fortune means to favour me,

A sharp sword will not wound me.’

‘As is usual, fatigue is followed by repose; therefore I hope by the grace of God to be thus favoured, and freed from the hardships and troubles that at present I am suffering. In regard to your remark about Jaswant, who was the greatest of the Rajputs and a friend of Dara, as all the world knows, you advise me not to trust such people. To this I reply that your Majesty says well; but your Highness should be careful, to speak no further thereof. For it is quite certain that Dara was not loved by that tribe; he was their enemy. Had he retained their friendship he would not have been defeated. King Shahjahan was fond of that tribe, being (as he was) related to them, and by their weapons made himself King of Hindustan.

‘By the help of these people the great Mahabat Khan made a prisoner of King Jahangir, and chastised his enemies. Let your Majesty remember what Rajputs, men of this tribe, have done in your very presence at the Court of Dihli. They fought with such bravery that their deeds have been entered in the world’s chronicles. In ancient story no record of equal valour can be anywhere discovered. Jaswant was the man who in the battle against Shah Shuja was guilty of such a defect that he merited to be rigorously punished instead of being pardoned. Yet your Majesty passed this over because you not only knew the man, but feared him. It is he who, being corrupted and deceived by your Majesty’s pretences and magic arts, omitted to espouse the cause of Dara. If he had taken that side your Majesty would not at this day be reigning; for it was he (Jaswant) who won you the victory.

‘Who can doubt that these Rajputs deserve to be praised for their fidelity? This right they earned when, although deprived of their chieftain, they took the little children of the deceased rajah under their charge, and fighting desperately, offered up their lives. Three hundred of their horsemen held out for twelve hours continuously against all the forces at your court, killing many famed and veteran warriors, finally retreating in safety. They are, then, worthy of praise, this tribe, as much for their fidelity as for their valour.

‘When the kings of Hindustan, its princes and potentates, or the chief generals, desired to enrol soldiers, for each one whom they required a hundred offered themselves. At the present time it takes you three years to

recruit a few men. From what does this difficulty proceed, and what fact could tell you more? Yet from the first day in your Majesty's reign all are lords, governors, and generals, but none have any loyalty; the soldiers are impoverished and unprovided with arms, famous writers produce nothing and have no employment, the traders are assassinated or deprived of their goods, and the people destroyed. The lands of the Dakhin, which are so vast, and once seemed like a terrestrial Paradise, are nowadays uncultivated, unproductive, and uninhabited.

'What can I say about the kingdom of Bijapur, once the jewel of India, and now entirely undone? The city of Aurangabad, founded by your Majesty, and the chief place in that province, was devastated by the enemy because it bore your name, and is now like a little quicksilver that disappears suddenly, being at this day no more than a mound of earth.

'The cause of this ruin was the tax imposed on the Hindus, which was converted into a profit to the enemy, who have done so much harm to the population, and subjected them to such hardships and tyrannies, worrying them on all sides, until the whole land has been reduced to desolation.

'Upon what subject can I say anything good of your Majesty? The ancient and noble families are all extinct. The government, the rules, the counsels and advice needed for the welfare of the State, are all in the hands of low, ill-bred persons, such as weavers, washermen, barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, and such-like. Your Majesty puts your trust in hypocrites wearing huge turbans, and accepted as theologians because they carry a Quran under the arm and hold a chaplet in their hand. Yet are these men nothing but snares of Hell, with their hypocritical exterior of piety. They give false counsel, and by their appearance mislead the world. From this class of riffraff your Majesty has selected your privy councillors and courtiers. These are your guardian angels, your Gabriel, Michael the Angel, Raphael, and Michael the Archangel, men who are dealers in adulterated wares. In public audience they produce a feather or a straw, which to your Majesty they can make appear as a mighty mountain.'

'…Seeing the destruction of this kingdom, and your inability even then to rule it, I felt forced to withdraw in deep dejection at the sight of such disorders, in order to restore my equanimity and live in peace, with the decorum befitting the refinement of my habits. May your Majesty live long! Quit the government, and I will rule the kingdom as it ought to be done.

Journey to Mecca, and when you have done so all men will tell of your greatness. During all these years you have ruled in grandeur and done what you pleased. Now that the shadows fall it is time to retire and begin to care for your soul. Your Majesty urges me to return to the Presence. Willingly would I do so if my youth did not inspire me with some fear. However, if your Majesty were only at the head of a small company, I, as the least among your sons, would come and throw myself at your feet and obey you in every particular.

‘I refrain from writing here any more, as I might, not wishing to weary you: and may the sun ever shine on your Majesty along with your sons.’

B. Mughal Polity

1. Justice in Jahangir's India, Francisco Pelsaert[23]

As regards the laws, they are scarcely observed at all, for the administration is absolutely autocratic, but there are books of law, which are in charge of their lawyers, the Kazis. Their laws contain such provisions as hand for hand, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; but who will excommunicate the Pope? And who would dare to ask a Governor "Why do you rule us this way or that way? Our Law orders thus." The facts are very different, although in every city there is a kachhahri, or royal court of justice, where the Governor, the Diwan, the Bakhshi, the Kotwal, the Kazi, and other officers sit together daily, or four days in the week. Here all disputes are disposed of, but not until avarice has had its share. All capital cases, such as thefts, murders, or crimes are finally disposed of by the Governor, if the criminals are poor and unable to pay, and the sweepers drag them out to execution with very little ceremony. In the case of other offences the criminals are seldom or never executed; their property is merely confiscated for the Governor and Kotwal. Ordinary questions of divorce, quarrels, fights, threats, and the like, are in the hands of the Kotwal and the Kazi. One must indeed be sorry for the man who has to come to judgment before these godless 'unjudges'; their eyes are bleared with greed, their mouths gape like wolves for covetousness, and their bellies hunger for the bread of the poor; everyone stands with hands open to receive, for no mercy or compassion can be had except on payment of cash. This fault should not be attributed to judges or officers alone, for the evil is a universal plague; from the least to the greatest, right up to the King himself, everyone is infected with insatiable greed, so that if one has any business to transact with Governors or in palaces, he must not set about it without "the vision of angels', for without presents he need expect very little answer to his petitions. Our honourable employers need not deign to be surprised at this, for it is the custom of the country.

2. Writ of Jahangir limited, Francisco Pelsaert[24]

…it is important to recognise also that he is to be regarded as King of the plains or the open roads only; for in many places you can travel only with a strong body of men, or on payment of heavy tolls to rebels. The whole country is enclosed and broken up by many mountains, and the people who

live in, on, or beyond, the mountains know nothing of any king, or of Jahangir; they recognise only their Rajas, who are very numerous, and to whom the country is apportioned in many small fragments by old tradition. Jahangir, whose name implies that he grasps the whole world, must therefore be regarded as ruling no more than half the dominions which he claims, since there are nearly as many rebels as subjects. Taking the chief cities for example, at Surat the forces of Raja Piepell [not identified] come pillaging up to, or inside, the city, murdering the people, and burning the villages; and in the same way, near Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, and many other cities, thieves, and robbers come in force by night or day like open enemies. The Governors are usually bribed by the thieves to remain inactive, for avarice dominates manly honour, and, instead of maintaining troops, they fill and adorn their *mahals* with beautiful women, and seem to have the pleasure-house of the whole world within their walls.

3. The Great Mughal a foreigner in India, Francois Bernier[25]

It is material to remark that the *Great Mogol* is a Mahometan, of the sect of the *Sounnys*, who, believing with the Turks that Osman was the true successor of *Mahomet*, are distinguished by the name of *Osmanlys*. The majority of his courtiers, however, being Persians, are of the party known by the appellation of *Chias,* believers in the real succession of *Aly.* Moreover the Great Mogol is a foreigner in *Hindoustan,* a descendant of *Tamerlan,* chief of those Mogols from Tartary who, about the year 1401, overran and conquered the *Indies.* Consequently he finds himself in an hostile country, or nearly so; a country containing hundreds of *Gentiles* to one *Mogol,* or even to one *Mahometan*. To maintain himself in such a country, in the midst of domestic and powerful enemies, and to be always prepared against any hostile movement on the side of *Persia* or *Usbec,* he is under the necessity of keeping up numerous armies, even in the time of peace. These armies are composed either of natives, such as *Ragipous* and *Patans,* or of genuine *Mogols* and people who, though less esteemed, are called *Mogols* because white men, foreigners, and *Mahometans.* The court itself does not now consist, as originally, of real *Mogols;* but is a medley of *Usbecs*, *Persians, Arabs,* and *Turks,* or descendants from all these people; known, as I said before, by the general appellation of *Mogols.* It should be added, however, that children of the third and fourth generation, who have the brown complexion, and the languid manner of this country of their

nativity, are held in much less respect than new comers, and are seldom invested with official situations: they consider themselves happy, if permitted to serve as private soldiers in the infantry of cavalry.

4. Communications in Mughal India, Francisco Pelsaert[26]

The King's letters or farmans to the chief lords or princes are transmitted with incredible speed, because royal runners are posted in the villages 4 or 5 kos apart, taking their turns of duty throughout the day and the night, and they take over a letter immediately on its arrival, run with it to the next village in a breath, and hand it over to another messenger. So the letter goes steadily on, and will travel 80 kos between night and day. Further the King has pigeons kept everywhere, to carry letters in time of need or great urgency. No doubt this is done at home also in the case of sieges, but only for short distances, whereas this King possesses the largest area of all the kingdoms of the world. The length of it from Surat northwards to Kashmir is 1100 kos, or 800 [Holland] miles, taking 1½ kos to the mile. The stages are: Surat to Burhanpur, 150 kos; thence to Agra, 350 k.; Agra to Lahore, 300 k.; and from Lahore to Kashmir 300 k. The route by Ahmadabad is 50 kos nearer. Towards the North-West, the distance from Lahore, by Multan, to Kandahar is 600 k. On the East, it is 1000 k. from Agra to the sea coast through Purop, Bengal, and Orissa. In the West, Kabul is 300 k. from Lahore; and in the South West, the kingdom extends to Tatta, Sind and Bakkar…

C. Mughal Thrones

The Peacock Throne, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[27]

It should be stated that the Great Mogul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls. The principal throne, which is placed in the hall of the first court; resembles in form and size our camp beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, that which faces the court being open. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large balass ruby [from a locality on the banks of the Shignan, a tributary of the Oxus], cut en cabochon, with four emeralds round it, forming a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four balass rubies surround it. The emeralds are table-cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all showy stones, but very flat. There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to ascend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the Emperor's back, is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others placed at his sides are flat. Moreover, a sword, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows, are suspended from this throne, and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and of the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones respectively is enriched.

I counted the large balass rubies on the great throne, and there are about 108, all cabochons, the least of which weighs 100 carats, but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds, there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flaws; the largest may weigh 60 carats, and the least 30 carats. I counted about 116; thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne opposite the court there is a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies and emeralds round it, and when the Emperor is seated he has this jewel in full view. But in my opinion the most costly point about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each, At 4 feet distance from the throne two umbrellas are fixed, on either side, the sticks of which for 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. These umbrellas are of red velvet, and embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

This is what I have been able to observe regarding this famous throne, commenced by Tamerlane and completed by Shahjahan; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of the cost of this great work, have assured me that it amounts to 107,000 lakhs [it should be 1070 lakhs] of rupees which amount to 160,500,000 livres of our money.

Behind this grand and magnificent throne a smaller one stands, in the form of a bathing-tub. It is of oval shape, about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy…

The other five thrones are arranged in a superb hall in another court, and are covered with diamonds, without any coloured stones. I shall not give a minute description of them for fear of wearying the reader, not forgetting that one may become disgusted with the most beautiful things when they are too often before the eyes. These five thrones are disposed in such a manner that they from a cross, four making a square, the fifth being in the middle, but somewhat nearer to the two which are placed furthest away from the people.

D. The Emperors' Jewels

1. Jahangir's jewels and wealth, William Hawkins[28]

He is exceeding rich in diamants and all other precious stones, and usually weareth every day a faire diamant of great price; and that which he weareth this day, till his time be come about to weare it againe he weareth not the same; that is to say, all his faire jewels are divided into a certaine quantitie or proportion to weare every day. He also weareth a chaine of pearle, very faire and great, and another chaine of emeralds and ballace rubies. Hee hath another jewell that commeth round abouth his turbant full of faire daimants and rubies. It is not much to bee wondered that he is so rich in jewels and in gold and silver, when he hath heaped together the treasure and jewels of so many kings as his forefathers have conquered, who likewise were a long time in gathering them together, and all came to his hands. Againe, all the money and jewels which his nobles heape together, when they die come all unto him, who giveth what he listeth to the noblemens wives and children; and this is done to all them that receive pay or living from the King. India is rich in silver, for all nations bring coyne and carry away commodities for the same; and this coyne is buried in India and goeth not out; so it is thought that once in twentie yeeres it commeth into the Kings power.

2. A view of the Great Mughal's jewels, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[29]

On the first day of November 1665 I went to the palace to take leave of the Emperor, but he said that he did not wish me to depart without having seen his jewels, and witnessing the splendour of his fete.

Early in the morning of the next day five or six of the Emperor's officers and others on behalf of Nawab Ja'far Khan, announced that the Emperor wished to see me. Immediately on my arrival at the Court the two custodians of the royal jewels, of whom I have elsewhere spoken, accompanied me into the presence of His Majesty; and after I had made him the customary salutation, they conducted me into a small apartment, which is at one of the ends of the hall where the Emperor was seated on his throne, and whence he was able to see us. I found in this apartment Akil Khan, chief of the jewel treasury, who, when he saw us, commanded four of the imperial eunuchs to bring the jewels, which were carried in two large

wooden trays lacquered with gold leaf, and covered with small cloths made expressly for the purpose – one of red and the other of green brocaded velvet. After these trays were uncovered, and all the pieces had been counted three times over, a list was prepared by three scribes who were present. For the Indians do everything with great circumspection and patience, and when they see anyone who acts with precipitation, or becomes angry, they gaze at him without saying anything, and smile as if he were a madman.

The first piece which Akil Khan placed in my hands was the great diamond [Kohinoor], which is a round rose, very high at one side. At the basal margin it has a small notch and flaw inside. Its water is beautiful, and it weighs 319½ ratis, which are equal to 280 of our carats – the rate being 7/8th of our carat. When Mir Jumla, who betrayed the King of Golkonda, his master presented this stone to Shahjahah, to whose side he attached himself, it was then in the rough, and weighed 900 ratis, which are equivalent to 787½ carats; and it had several flaws.

If this stone had been in Europe it would have been treated in a different manner, for some good pieces would have been taken from it, and it would have weighed more than it does, instead of which it has been all ground down. It was the Sieur Hortensio Borgio, a Venetian, who cut it, for which he was badly rewarded; for when it was cut he was reproached with having spoilt the stone, which ought to have retained a greater weight; and instead of paying him for his work, the Emperor fined him 10,000 rupees, and would have taken more if he had possessed it. If the Sieur Hortensio had understood his trade, he would have been able to take a large piece from this stone without doing injury to the Emperor's jewel, and without having had so much trouble in grinding it; but he was not a very accomplished diamond cutter.

After I had fully examined this splendid stone, and returned it into the hands of Akil Khan, he showed me another stone, pear-shaped, of good form and fine water, and also three other table diamonds, two clear, and the other with some little black spots. Each weighed 55 to 60 ratis, and the pear 62½. Subsequently he showed me a jewel set with twelve diamonds, each stone of 15 to 16 ratis, and all roses. In the middle a heart-shaped rose of good water, but with three small flaws, and this rose weighed about 35 or 40 ratis. Also a jewel set with seventeen diamonds, half of them table and

half rose, the largest of which could not weigh more than 7 or 8 ratis, with the exception of the one in the middle, which weighed about 16. All these stones are of first-class water, clean and of good form, and the most beautiful ever found. Also two grand pear-shaped pearls, one weighing about 70 ratis, a little flattened on both sides, and of beautiful water and good form. Also a pearl button, which might weigh from 55 to 60 ratis, of good form and good water. Also a round pearl of great perfection, a little flat on one side, which weighs 56 ratis. I ascertained this to be the precise weight, and that Shah Abbas II, King of Persia, sent it as a present to the Great Mogul. Also three other round pearls, each of 25 to 28 ratis, or thereabouts, but their water tends to yellow. Also a perfectly round pearl of 36½ ratis, of a lively white, and perfect in every respect. It is the only jewel which Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, has himself purchased on account of its beauty, for the rest either came to him from Dara Shikoh, his eldest brother, he having appropriated them after he had caused his head to be cut off [Shah Jahan, who was still alive, had a large number of precious stones with him, which were handed over to over to Aurangzeb after the former's death], or they were presents made to him after he ascended the throne. I have elsewhere remarked that the Emperor has no great regard for jewels, priding himself only on being a great zealot of the law of Muhammad.

Akil Khan also placed in my hands, for he allowed me to examine all at my ease, two other pearls, perfectly round and equal, each of which weighed 25¼ ratis. One is slightly yellow, but the other is of very lively water, and the most beautiful that can be seen. It is true, as I have elsewhere said, that the Prince of Arabia, who has taken Maskat from the Portuguese, possesses a pearl which surpasses in beauty all others in the world; for it is perfectly round, and so white and lively that it looks as though it was transparent, but it only weighs 14 carats. There is not a single monarch in Asia who has not asked the Prince of Arabia to sell him this pearl. Also two chains, one of pearls and rubies of different shapes pierced like the pearls; the other of pearls and emeralds, round and bored. All the pearls are round and of diverse waters, and from 10 to 12 ratis each in weight. In the middle of the chain of rubies there is a large emerald of the 'old rock', cut into a rectangle and of high colour, but with many flaws. It weighs about 30 ratis. In the middle of the chain of emeralds there is an oriental amethyst, a long table, weighing about 40 ratis, and the perfection of beauty. Also a balass ruby cut en cabochon, of fine colour and clean pierced at the apex, and weighing 17

melscals [mishkals]. Six melscals make one once (French). Also another cabochon ruby of perfect colour, but slightly flawed and pierced at the apex, which weighs 12 melscals. Also an oriental topaz [probably worn by Aurangzeb at his coronation] of very high colour cut in eight panels, which weighs 6 melscals, but on one side it has a small white fog within.

These, then, are the jewels of the Great Mogul, which he ordered to be shown to me as a special favour which he has never manifested to any other Frank; and I have held them all in my hand, and examined them with sufficient attention and leisure to be enabled to assure the reader that the description which I have just given is very exact and faithful, as is that of the thrones, which I have also had sufficient time to contemplate thoroughly.

E. Mughal Princesses

1. Restrictions on movement, intrigues among wives, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[30]

The Princesses, whether they are the Emperor's wives, his daughters, or his sisters, never leave the palace except when they go to the country for a few days' change of air and scene. Some of them go, but rarely, to visit the ladies of the nobles, as for example the wife of Ja'far Khan, who is the Emperor's aunt. This is not done except by the Emperor's special permission. The custom here differs from that in Persia where the Princesses make their visits only at night, accompanied by a great number of eunuchs, who drive away all persons whom they meet on the road. But at the court of the Great Mogul the ladies generally go out at nine O'clock in the morning, and have only three or four eunuchs to accompany them, and ten or twelve female slaves who act as ladies of honour. The Princesses are carried in pallankeens covered with embroidered tapestries, and every pallankeen is followed by a small carriage which contains only one person. It is drawn by two men, and the wheels are not more than a foot in diameter: The object in taking these carriages is, that when the Princesses arrive at the houses they are going to visit, the men who carry the pallankeens are allowed to go only to the first gate, where the eunuchs compel them to retire; the Princesses then change into the carriages, and are drawn by the ladies of honour to the women's apartments. For, as I have elsewhere remarked, in the houses of the nobles the women's apartments are in the centre, and it is generally necessary to traverse two or three large courts and a garden or two before reaching them.

When the Princesses are married to nobles of the Court they become the rulers of their husbands, who, if they do not live as they desire, and do not act according to their commands, as they possess the power of approaching the Emperor whenever they wish, they persuade him to do what they please, to the disadvantage of their husbands; most frequently asking that they be deprived of their offices. As it is the custom that the firstborn, although he be the son of a slave, succeeds to the throne, when the Princesses in the imperial harem become aware that there is one among them with child, they immediately use all conceivable methods to cause a miscarriage. When I was at Patna in the year 1666, Shaista Khan's surgeon, who is a half-caste

(mestice) Portuguese, assured me that the Princess, wife of Shaista Khan, in one month had caused miscarriages to eight women of his harem, as she would not permit any children but her own to survive.

F. Mughal Forces

Aurangzeb's horses and elephants, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier[31]

In the first court, on the right hand, there is a special tent under which, during the Emperor's festival, the principal baladines of the town are obliged to attend to sing and dance while the Emperor is seated on his throne. To the left there is another place, also covered by a tent, where the principal officers of the army and other officers of the guard and of the Emperor's household are in attendance.

In the same quarter, during the time the Emperor remains seated on his throne, thirty horses are kept, all bridled, fifteen on one side and fifteen on the other, each held by two men. The bridles are very narrow, and for the most part enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and pearls, while some have only small gold coins. Each horse has upon its head, between the ears, a bunch of beautiful feathers, and a small cushion on the back with the surcingle, the whole embroidered with gold; and suspended from the neck there is a fine jewel, either a diamond, a ruby, or an emerald. The least valuable of these horses costs from 3,000 to 5,000 ecus, and there are some worth 20,000 rupees, i.e. 10,000 ecus The Prince [Muhammed Akbar, fourth son of Aurangzeb], who was then only seven or eight years old, rode a small horse, the height of which did not exceed that of a large greyhound, but it was a very well-made animal.

Half an hour, or, at the most, one hour after the Emperor is seated on his throne, seven of the bravest elephants, which are trained to war, are brought for his inspection. One of the seven has its howdah ready on its back, in case the Emperor wishes to mount; the others are covered with housings of brocade, with chains of gold and silver about their necks, and there are four which carry the royal standard upon their backs; it is attached to a hand pike which a man holds erect. They are brought, one after the other, to within forty or fifty paces of the Emperor, and when the elephant is opposite the throne it salutes His Majesty by placing its trunk on the ground and then elevating it above its head three times. On each occasion it trumpets aloud, and then, turning its back towards the Emperor; one of the men riding upon it raises the housing in order that the Emperor may see whether the animal is in good condition or not, and has been well fed. Each has its own silken cord, which is stretched round its body in order to measure whether it has

increased in girth since the previous year. The principal of these elephants, of which the Emperor is very fond, is a large and fierce animal which has 500 rupees *per mensem* for its expenses. It is fed with the best food and quantities of sugar, and is given spirits to drink. I have elsewhere spoken of the number of elephants kept by the Emperor, to which I add here that when he rides out on his elephant the Omrahs follow him on horseback, and when he rides a horse the Omrahs follow on foot. After the Emperor has inspected his elephants he rises, and accompanied by three or four of his eunuchs enters his harem by a small door which is behind the oval-shaped throne.

After the Emperor has remained about half an hour in his harem, he comes out with three or four eunuchs to seat himself in the middle one of the five thrones, and during the five days of the festival, sometimes his elephants are brought, sometimes his camels, and all the nobles of his Court come to make their accustomed presents. All this is done with much magnificence, and with surroundings worthy of the greatest monarch in the East, the Great Mogul being in power and wealth in Asia what the King of France is in Europe, but having nothing comparable with him in might if he waged war with a valiant and clever people like our Europeans.

□

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Chapter 11

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Chapter 12

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Chapter 13

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Chapter 14

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Chapter 16

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The India They Saw

Foreign Accounts : 18th-Mid 19th Century

Edited by

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(Volume IV)

by

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Prabhat Books

A Division of Prabhat Prakashan

ISO 9001:2008 Publishers

Introduction

In the wake of the commercial and political expansion of Europe in the eighteenth century, there was a remarkable increase in the number of Europeans visiting India, not merely for trade but also in search of her fabled ancient wisdom. For the rising middle classes of Europe, India increasingly came to embody not merely a principal source of their economic prosperity, but "a symbol of the re-discovered human soul." Philosophers, scholars and poets were repulsed by the "provincialism" of Europe, which they considered a rather insignificant appendage to Asia. The European rediscovery of India's cultural heritage led to the emergence of Orientalist scholarship and a belief that India, not Egypt, was the original home of the arts and sciences.

From the early eighteenth century missionaries also became active in India. A German Protestant mission was established at Tranquebar, a small Danish colony on the Coromandel Coast, in 1706 by Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg. He was succeeded by Benjamin Schultze, who completed the translation of the Old Testament in Tamil begun by his predecessor. Barely fifty miles from Tranquebar, the Jesuits set up their own mission under the Italian, Costanzo Beschi, who arrived in India in 1710 and stayed till his death in 1747. The Protestants and Jesuits engaged in frequent disputes on how best to spread Christianity in India. However, the general shift of political power to the British in South India saw the eventual retreat of the Jesuits and the growing influence of the German Protestants who came under the wings of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in London.

French interest

Meanwhile three important centres of Indic studies emerged in Europe – France, England and Germany. The new interest in the East manifested itself first in France as a quest for original texts in various languages and their exact translations. In 1727, the French Royal Librarian, the Abbe Bignon, resolved to enrich the royal collection with oriental works. Etienne Fourmont's *Memoire,* written that year, gave a precise account of the texts to be acquired. Among those particularly sought were "the main Indian works on Indian chronology, the history of their kings, the religion and

customs." There was, additionally, a demand for books on geography and medicine, as well as dictionaries and grammars. Indian texts were then a rarity in Europe. Accordingly, the French Governor-General in Pondicherry, Lenoir, was instructed to assist in the acquisition of manuscripts.

Lenoir entrusted the work to French Jesuit missionaries in India, who had been engaged in a systematic study of Indian languages. They had already completed voluminous Tamil and Sanskrit dictionaries. A French Capuchin monk, Francois-Marie de Tours, who lived in the Chandernagor "Thibet Mission," had authored a Hindustani dictionary that had been deposited with the *Propaganda* in Rome in 1704.

The Governor-General and the Jesuit Father, Le Gac, reached an agreement whereby the Compagnie des Indes (to be reimbursed by the King of France) would provide the requisite funds and paper, and two copies made of every manuscript, one for the Royal Library in France, the other for the Pondicherry Jesuit Mission.

As a result, 287 Indian texts reached Paris between A.D. 1729 and 1735, to constitute the Bibliotheque nationale's earliest Indian collection. Among them was a complete *Rig Veda* in *Grantha* characters, which arrived in the French capital in 1731. In 1732, Father Pons sent 168 books from Chandernagore that included several Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries, numerous works on mythology, philosophy, astronomy, astrology, poetry, laws, customs, worship, and twenty-five *Puranas*. At about the same time, Tamil and Telugu grammars, a Telugu-French dictionary and a Telugu-Sanskrit dictionary came from Karnataka. By 1736, Paris possessed several copies of the *Bhagavata Purana*, a *Mahabharata* in seventeen volumes, the '*Book of Manu'*, various *Upanishads*, a *Rig-Veda* on palm leaves, and several *Ramayanas*, among other texts.

In 1740, Father Jean Francois Pons presented an account of the studies conducted by the Jesuits, which was published in Part XXVI of the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses* in 1743. In a well-known letter of 23 November 1740, Father Pons professed his admiration of Sanskrit and a philosophy he called "*philosophie morale,*" that he had encountered in discussions with people in India. Father Pons made a preliminary analysis of indigenous books on grammar. He translated one of them, along with the *Amarakosha*, the best-known of the eighteen dictionaries he was familiar with.

The Jesuit Hanxleden, who resided at the Malabar mission from 1699 till his death in 1732, had probably been the first European to write a Sanskrit grammar in Latin for his own use and to attempt a dictionary. In the second half of the eighteenth century, an Austrian Carmelite, Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo, collected some important linguistic and theological works. The first Sanskrit grammar *printed* in Europe (in Rome in 1790) was in fact that of Bartholomaeo.

Besides the Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries, there were other Frenchmen active and interested in India. Guillaume le Gentil and M. Bailly, for instance, were engrossed in the astronomical observations of the Hindus. Several Frenchmen were in service in the Indian states, and some of their manuscript collections also eventually found their way to France. In India, the two main centres of French interest in Indian culture were Lucknow (1757-1800) and the Sikh kingdom of Punjab (1822-1849).

The Bibliotheque nationale obtained three important collections that belonged to Anquetil-Duperron, Jean-Baptiste Gentil and Antoine-Louis Polier. Anquetil-Duperron, the great scholar and explorer, arrived in India 1754 in search of the *Zend Avesta,* and the complete *Vedas* as well as the means of reading them. While in Bengal, he obtained from M. Gentil a copy of the *Oupanek'hat*, the Persian translation of the *Upanishads* that had been undertaken by the Mughal Prince, Dara, in the previous century.

In 1771, Anquetil-Duperron published his translation of the *Zend Avesta* in French, which he also translated into Latin. This was the first approach to an Asian text wholly autonomous of Biblical and Classical traditions. In 1786, Anquetil-Duperron presented his translation of the *Upanishads* from the Persian text prepared by Dara. Anquetil-Duperron was an admirer of Indian civilization as was evident from his *Inde en rapport avec l'Europe* (1798). He had done considerable work in Sanskrit by the time of his death, and also left some work on Malabar and Telugu. He gave one hundred and eighty Indian manuscripts to the Royal Library, which he had gathered between 1758-9 and 1761.

His compatriot, Jean-Baptiste Gentil, also collected manuscripts and paintings while in India. His collection, which he [1]donated to the Bibliotheque royale on his return to France, consisted of one hundred and thirty-three volumes. It was assembled between 1757 and 1775. While in

India, Jean-Baptiste Gentil had married an Indian girl from whom he had a son.

Another Frenchman, Antoine-Louis Polier, arrived in India in 1758 and stayed on for thirty years. He was permitted to copy the *Vedas* by the Raja of Jaipur, which he did in eleven in-folio volumes, now in the British Museum. Polier lent his set of the *Vedas* to Sir William Jones, who kept them for a year in his private library. Polier also studied Sikh religion and history and possessed a copy of the *Adi Granth*. His *Mythologie des Indous* was published posthumously in 1809. He was one of the first Europeans to take an interest in Indian music and dance. William Jones, in his correspondence, was ecstatic at Polier's discovery of the *Ragavibodha* of Sumanatha, and at his lending him (Jones) his own manuscript.

Between 1768 and 1781, the Frenchman, Pierre de Sonnerat, a learned student of the botanist, Philibert Commerson, made several trips to the East Indies and India. He, too, came in search of the *Vedas,* but was unsuccessful in his venture. Sonnerat's *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, published in 1782, attested to his appreciation of Indian civilization. He placed the inception of wisdom in India and wrote that it gave religions and laws to all other peoples and that the Egyptians and Greeks were indebted to it.

Much information on India was collected from 1730 to 1789. By the time of the French Revolution, the Bibliotheque nationale had one of the richest collections of Indian manuscripts in Europe. Many Frenchmen in India also had oriental libraries, including Pierre de Bruey, the French Resident at Surat, Claude Martin at Lucknow, and Raymond (Lamaka). Indeed Frenchmen of varied origins and professions demonstrated significant curiosity about India.

French intellectuals also focused on a 'scientific' analysis of Indian history. In 1772, Joseph de Guignes, indirectly aided by the talented Tamil scholar Maridas Pillai, interpreter for the Compagnie des Indes at Pondicherry, discovered the link between Chandragupta and Sandracottus, a breakthrough commonly attributed to Sir William Jones. French thinkers also debated on the reasons for India's defeat first by Islam and subsequently by European powers.

Frenchmen used authentic (and sometimes, unknowingly, fake) Indian texts for their philosophical speculations and philological studies. Their studies led them to the theory of kinship between Indian and European

languages. In 1767, after thirty-five years of field research in India, the Jesuit missionary, Father Coeurdoux (1691-1779), a pioneer in comparative grammar, aided by Maridas Pillai discovered the linguistic links of Greek and Latin to Sanskrit. His findings were, however, published only in 1808, after William Jones' work on the subject had been widely read in Europe.

Indic studies convinced French scholars of the need to jettison Judeo-Christian conceptions of time. The de-Christianization of history and the weakening hold of Biblical revelation were among the unanticipated consequences of the introduction of Indian and Chinese cultures to Europe. Perhaps conscious of this fallout, Father Coeurdoux in Pondicherry had, before 1772, prepared a text demonstrating the possibility of reconciling Biblical data and Indian history. He also wrote on Hindu manners and customs. (It has lately been alleged that Abbe Dubois (1765-1848) found a copy of this work in Pondicherry and, after some modifications, gave it to the British official, Mark Wilks, as his manuscript in 1806. Wilks forwarded the manuscript to Fort St. George with the recommendation that it be purchased by the East India Company, which it was in 1808. In 1816, an English translation was published under Wilks' supervision.)

Voltaire launches India

In a sense Voltaire (1694-1778) could be said to have launched India in Europe. He first presented his views on India in the *Essai sur les moeurs*, which were elaborated in the 1750s as more writings began to appear, especially those of the Englishmen, J.Z. Holwell, and Alexander Dow. Voltaire stated that the arrival of India had enabled him to correct the view of J.B. Bossuet, according to whose world history, "everything in the world was done for the sake of the Jewish nation." Voltaire said that henceforth the balance in favour of India and China, the real elders of the family of mankind, would be restored.

He wrote to his friend, Jean Sylvain Bailly, the future mayor of revolutionary France, "Everything came to us from the Ganges, astronomy, astrology, metempsychosis, etc." Further, "our religion was hidden deep in India" and "incontestably comes to us from the Brahmans." Alluding to the Anglo-French rivalry in India which resulted in three Carnatic wars between 1740 and 1761, Voltaire stated, "Our nations have mutually destroyed each other on that very soil where we went to collect nothing but money, and where the first Greeks travelled for nothing but knowledge."

British contribution

A significant section of early Englishmen in India also found in Indian culture "a deep and appealing wisdom." John Z. Holwell (1711-1798), in his *Interesting Historical Events, relative to the Provinces of Bengal and the Empire of Indostan* (1767), declared that "the world does not now contain annals of more indisputable antiquity than those delivered down by the ancient Brahmins." He avowed that the people "from the earliest times have been an ornament to the creation if so much can with propriety be said of any known people upon earth."

Alexander Dow (1735-1779), author of the three-volume *The History of Hindostan* (1770), stated that the primeval truths of the Hindus owed nothing to Jews or Christians. "The Brahmins," he declared, "contrary to the ideas formed of them in the west, invariably believe in the unity, eternity, omniscience and omnipotence of God: that the polytheism of which they have been accused, is no more than a symbolical worship of the divine attributes…" Further, "The system of religion which they profess is only perfectly known in the effect which it has upon the manners of the people. Mild, humane, obedient, and industrious, they are of all nations on earth the most easily conquered… Revolution and change are things unknown; and assassinations and conspiracies never exists. Penal laws are scarce known among the Hindoos; for their motives to bad actions are few… it is to the ingenuity of the Hindoos, we owe all the fine manufactures in the East."

The Glasgow historian, William Robertson, in his *An Historical Disquisition Concerning Ancient India* (1791) stated, "Many facts have been transmitted to us, which, if they are examined with proper attention, clearly demonstrate that the natives of India were not only more early civilised, but had made greater progress in civilization than any other people…" It was from their ancient writings, he said, that they derived "the most liberal sentiments which they entertain at present, and the wisdom for which they are now celebrated has been transmitted to them from ages very remote."

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, following the British ascendancy in Bengal, individual efforts to acquire access to Indian philosophy and literature were replaced by the systematic endeavours of a number of officials of the East India Company. Learning became directly

linked to the requirements of administration. The concerted efforts to amass and interpret local laws and customs stabilized British authority and aided further expansion.

The great patron of Indic studies was the Governor-General, Warren Hastings. As a result of his appeal, Brahmins versed in the *Shastras* gathered at Fort William and drafted a comprehensive treatise on Indic law. This was subsequently translated into Persian and, in 1776, into English by Nathaniel Halhed as *A Code of Gentoo Laws.* Halhed also published a Bengali grammar.

With Hastings' backing Charles Wilkins, who joined the East India Company in 1770, engaged in the study of Sanskrit. Wilkins had been the first to discover, and in 1778 to use, methods of engraving, casting, and setting Bengali characters for printing. In 1784, he translated the *Bhagavad Gita*, the first translation in a European language directly from a Sanskrit text. This was followed, in 1787, with a translation of the *Hitopadesha.*

The year 1783 saw the arrival of Sir William Jones to India. In 1784, the Asiatic Society was founded, and after Hastings refused its presidency, Jones selected for the post. In 1788, the journal, *Asiatic Researches*, was started, which was to exercise considerable influence on intellectual circles in Europe. In 1789, came Jones's translation of Kalidasa's *Shakuntala,* which went through five reprints in England between 1790 and 1807. In 1792, appeared his translation of the *Gita Govinda*, the poem of mystic love that deeply affected the first German Romantics. In 1794, Jones's *Institutes of Hindu Law* was posthumously published (it was completed by H.T. Colebrooke). Its French translation (*Laws of Manu* or *Manava Dharmashastra),* appeared in 1833 and the German translation in 1837. It was through this work that Indian cosmogony became widely known in Europe. The Frenchman, Joseph Guigniaut wrote, "The cosmogony of the *Manava Dharmashastra* is the broadest and most comprehensive we have thus far encountered."

Henry T. Colebrooke arrived in India in 1783, the same year as William Jones. His *Digest of Hindu Law* was published in 1797. Colebrooke was the first systematic expounder of Indian philosophy and was appointed Professor of Sanskrit and Hindu law at Fort William College in 1801. In 1805, his paper on the *Vedas* was published in the eighth volume of *Asiatic Researches*. His *Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus,*

written after thirty years of study and experience, was widely read in scholarly circles in Europe. After thirty-eight years in India, Colebrooke returned to England in 1815.

The last of this group, H.H. Wilson, arrived in India in 1808. Wilson translated *Megha Duta*; *or Cloud Messenger* in 1813 and in 1819 presented the first practical Sanskrit-English dictionary. He subsequently also published a translation of the *Vishnu Purana* and the first book of the *Rig Veda*.

But the growing political ascendancy of the British in India dampened the early exuberance for Indic studies, though discoveries continued to be made in numismatics, epigraphy and archeology. The Governor-Generalship of Lord Wellesley made it abundantly clear that the British would soon emerge as the paramount power in the subcontinent. In 1798, the Nizam of Hyderabad was compelled to sign a subsidiary treaty by which his troops were brought under British control and he himself ceased to be an independent ruler. In 1799, the British secured final victory over the state of Mysore. In 1801, Awadh was compelled to cede half its territories to the British. The final breakthrough came with the Second Anglo-Maratha War, in which the British worsted the Marathas in a series of battles across the Deccan and North India. In 1803, the British forces entered Delhi and ousted the Marathas from the imperial capital.

As conquerors, the British began to feel the need to justify their conquests and exalt their own race and religion. It was now also imperative to impart a sense of superiority in young Company officials, who had thus far been getting Brahminized under the spell of Indian literary and cultural traditions. Out of such concerns, Wellesley established the Fort William College at Calcutta in 1800 to train Company officials in India.

Several other forces were at work to turn the tide against India. The Industrial Revolution in England had created the need to convert India into a market for machine- made British goods. Meanwhile, the Evangelicals pressed for the Christianization and Anglicization of India, which, they felt, would lead to permanent British rule and also change Indian lifestyle to the advantage of British manufacturers. The Evangelicals allied with the Utilitarians to launch a tirade against Indian culture and force the retreat of the Orientalists.

In 1825, the Frenchman, Joseph Guigniaut stated that he depended more on German than English works for information on Hindu religion. “These latter are very important,” he said, “despite being written, for the most part, from a narrow point of view and a rather unphilosophical spirit. The route mapped by Jones, Robertson, and the learned Thomas Maurice was soon abandoned in England, and the Christian missionaries contributed, through their often tainted picture of the moral and religious state of these people, a great deal to the diffusion of a host of false ideas about the ancient religion of the Hindus.” The German, Wilhelm Schlegel complained to H.H. Wilson in 1827 about the English not taking enough interest in Indian culture. The resistance of the English elite to the revelation of India became pronounced in the 1830s. In 1835, the colonial government also stopped funding the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

It is significant that while the English had founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, just a couple of years after their conquest of Bengal, a chair in Sanskrit was established in England as late as 1833. Also, though William Jones had made a contribution to comparative philology in his oft-quoted address to the Asiatic Society in 1786, the Philological Society was established in London in 1842, well after the discipline had attained maturity in France and Germany.

What accounted for the late renewal of Britain’s interest in Indology and the newly emerging disciplines? It appears to have been linked to the nascent German nationalism and the emerging German-French rivalry. Indology played a pivotal role in buttressing German nationalism. The rising German nationalism allied with British imperialism against the common foe, France. The alliance was also dictated by Germany’s dependence on England for access to Indian literary works. The arrival of Chevalier Bunsen as ambassador of Prussia to England in 1841 signalled Anglo-German collaboration on the intellectual and political plane. The following year the Philological Society was founded in England, to be followed, in 1843, with the Ethnological Society. Bunsen was instrumental in bringing Max Muller to England, who did much to popularize the Aryan race and invasion theory. Britain used German scholars in an understated manner to further her imperial designs in India.

A view was also developing among a section of British missionaries that Sanskrit could aid in the conversion of high caste Hindus. Colonel Joseph

Boden, who established the chair of Sanskrit at Oxford, hoped that the translation of the Bible into Sanskrit would facilitate the evangelization of India.

France again

In the early nineteenth century, France again played a pivotal role in communicating new discoveries to Europe. Paris became the hub of oriental scholarship and attracted researchers from all parts of the world, particularly Germany. In 1803, an officer in the British Navy, Alexander Hamilton, was in Paris where he had come to collate oriental manuscripts at the Bibliotheque nationale for an edition of the *Hitopadesha*. Hamilton had lived long in India and married a Bengali woman. While he was in Paris, war broke out between France and England and he was kept a paroled prisoner. During this time he taught Sanskrit, among others, to Constantine Volney, Louis Langles, Claude Fauriel, the Latin scholar Burnouf and the newly arrived German, Friedrich Schlegel.

Among the founders of Indian studies in Germany who studied Sanskrit in Paris may also be mentioned Othmar Frank in 1808 and Franz Bopp in 1813. In 1814, the first European chair of Sanskrit was established in Paris and Leonard de Chezy selected to occupy it. He was succeeded, in 1832, by Burnouf who provided great momentum to the study of Sanskrit and linguistics.

What has been described as an Oriental Renaissance, a second Renaissance, became interchangeable with Indic Renaissance. The term denoted the revival of the atmosphere in the nineteenth century brought about by the arrival of Sanskrit texts in Europe. Arthur Schopenhauer wrote, “Sanskrit literature will be no less influential for our time than Greek literature was in the fifteenth century for the Renaissance.”

Germany

Indology received great impetus in Germany. Indian literature and philosophy came at a time when the German middle class had consciously begun rejecting Latin influences as part of its cultural and social revolt. Till the end of the eighteenth century, French had been the spoken and written language of the educated sections in Germany. But rivalry with France made the German middle class became aware of its own language and civilization. German writers like Johann Herder opposed French influence, and enthusiastically welcomed translations of Indian literary and

philosophical works. For Germans, India seemed the epitome of freedom, justice, and natural simplicity which the West had lost long ago. During the 1790s, the impact of oriental studies spread rapidly as the *Laws of Manu*, *Shakuntala*, *Gita Govinda* and *Asiatic Researches* were translated into German.

Germany had no material interests and responded spiritually to India. Friedrich Schlegel, hailed as "the inventor of the Oriental Renaissance," wrote in 1803, "Everything, yes, everything without exception has its origin in India." He proclaimed India with Greece and Germany, the most philosophical of nations. "If one considers," he said, "the superior conception which is at the basis of the truly universal Indian culture and which, itself divine, knows how to embrace in its universality everything that is divine without distinction, then, what we in Europe call religion or what we used to call such, no longer seems to deserve that name. And one would like to advice everyone who wants to see religion, he should, just as one goes to Italy to study art, go to India for that purpose where he may be certain to find at least fragments for which he will surely look in vain in Europe."

Johann Herder was impressed with Anquetil-Duperron's translation of the *Zend Avesta* and himself rendered parts of Charles Wilkins' *Gita* in verse. In 1791, Georg Forster sent him William Jones's version of *Shakuntala*. On its basis, Herder spread among the Romantics the idea of placing the cradle of the divine infancy of the human race in India. The idea was taken up by his disciple, Friedrich Maier. In 1802, Maier published his complete *Gita* and *Gita Govinda,* which had an extraordinary impact on Romantic circles.

Friedrich Schlegel's *The Language and Wisdom of the Indians* (1808) was the first German contribution to Indology. Friedrich wrote, "May Indic studies find as many disciples and protectors as Germany and Italy saw spring up in such great numbers for Greek studies in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and may they be able to do as many things in as short a time. The Renaissance of antiquity promptly transformed and rejuvenated all the sciences; we might add that it rejuvenated and transformed the world. We could even say that the effects of Indic studies, if these enterprises were taken up and introduced into learned circles with the same energy today, would be no less great or far-reaching." In 1818, a chair of Sanskrit was established in Germany.

However, after the fall of Napoleon, political reaction set in all over Europe. There was a preoccupation with the patriotic themes of nationalistic revival on the one hand, and, on the other, with what in literary history is called the Victorian attitude to life. The response of the German mind to India began to be coloured by the same conflict and dualism.

Hegel, who based his conclusions on India on the writings of the English Evangelist, Charles Grant, and the French missionary, Abbe Dubois, stated, "They all agree in one point that there can be nothing more devoid of moral sentiments than the Indian nation." Hegel was of the view that India was not a nation but only a "people," the lowest and most primitive form of social organization. A "state" alone incarnated the "mind" of the people; its history was the history of that all-pervading universal mind. A people who, for whatever reason, had lost their "statehood," had no history of their own.

Hegel and Goethe withdrew from India. Both applied western preconceptions and ideologies to India. Hegel's concept of history and Goethe's concept of beauty were manifestations of a cultural tradition inherently western.

This volume covers the period from A.D. 1700 to 1850. A significant number of travellers visited India during this century and a half. They included astronomers, scientists, naturalists, traders, soldiers of fortune, missionaries, colonial officials and their relatives. The accounts available to us are primarily those written in English. A considerable amount of the work in French and the rich accounts of the early Danish missionaries on the Coromandel Coast, for instance, have yet to be translated into English and hence remain beyond our reach.

Select List of Travellers and Writers (in alphabetical order)

Anquetil-Duperron visited India from 1755 to 1761 when he collected Sanskrit texts and Zoroastrian manuscripts.

Barr, Lieut. William of the Bengal Horse Artillery accompanied Sir Wade to Peshwar

Broughton, Thomas D. (1778-1835) was Military Resident with the Marathas in 1809 and spent a year at the camp of Daulat Rao Sindhia.

Buchanan, Claudius, a Scotsman, was appointed chaplain of the East India Company. He arrived in India in 1797.

Buchanan, Francis travelled through the territories ruled by Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan on the instructions of Lord Wellesley in 1800-1801 to collect information on the state of agriculture and commerce, as well as on arts, religion, manners, customs, history and antiquities of the region.

Burnell, John was an Ensign in the East India Company's service at Bombay, from where he wrote at least a part of the "Account" of the island in letters to his father. The first of these is dated May 12, 1710.

Burton, Richard (1821-1890) came to India in 1842 and joined the Bombay Native Army. He made an extensive study of Mohammedan life and customs in the Baroda and Sindh Surveys..

Carey, William (1761-1834) was a member of the Baptist Missionary Society and arrived in India in 1793.

Chevalier, Jean-Baptiste was among the most remarkable French agents in India, known mainly for his diplomatic activities in Bengal when he was Governor of Chandernagore (1767-1778). He made a journey to Assam in 1755.

Daniell, Thomas and William were artists who visited India from 1786 to1794.

Davidson, C.J.C. was Lt. Colonel of Engineers, Bengal.

Deane, Ann was the wife of Charles Deane, an officer in H.M. 24th Light Dragoons. She wrote an account of her travels in India from 1804 to 1814.

De Grandpre, L. was an officer of the French Army who visited India in 1789.

Dow, Alexander was a Scotsman. He was appointed an Ensign in the East India Company's Bengal Army in 1760 and had risen to the rank of Captain at the time of his death in India in 1779.

Dubois, Abbe was a French Jesuit who lived in central and south India from 1792 and 1823.

Duff, Alexander was a Scottish missionary connected with the Church Missionary Society. He came to Calcutta in 1830.

Eden, Emily was the sister of Lord Auckland, who was appointed Governor-General of India in 1835. She and her sister, Fanny, accompanied him to India They travelled with the Governor-General's party on a long tour of the country which took them to Kanpur, Lucknow, Delhi, Simla and the Sikh kingdom then ruled by Ranjit Singh.

Eden, Fanny was the sister of Lord Auckland.

Elwood, Anne Katherine was married to Colonel Charles Elwood of the East India Company's Bombay Army. She set out for Bombay in Oct 1825. In 1828, she published an account of her journey and stay in Bombay and her tour of Kutch.

Elphinstone, Mountstuart (1779-1859) entered Company service in 1795. He held several important posts in India including that of Governor of Bombay.

Falkland, Amelia was the wife of Viscount Falkland, who was appointed Governor of Bombay in 1848. She accompanied him to India, where they stayed till 1853.

Fay, Eliza was the wife of the barrister Anthony Fay, who prepared the ground for the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the old Supreme Court of Calcutta. She arrived in India soon after her marriage in 1779.

Fenton, Bessie was born in Ireland and was the first cousin of Sir Henry Lawrence. She married Neil Campbell, a Lieutenant in H.M. 13th Foot and came with him to India in 1827.

Forbes, James joined the East India Company in 1766, and left India in 1783 after seventeen years of service.

Forster, George, in the civil service of the East India Company, traveled through northern India and Afghanistan, Persia, Russia beginning in the year 1782.

Gardner, Alexander was appointed Colonel of Artillery in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He died at Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, in 1877.

Graham, Maria (later Lady Callcot) was the daughter of Commissioner for Navy in Bombay. She and her brother and sister sailed with him in December 1808. She married Lieutenant Thomas Graham in Bombay in 1809.

Grant, Charles was an Evangelist and the first to argue for the Anglicization and Christianization of India. He arrived in India as a servant of the East India Company in 1767 and stayed till 1790. He rose to be a Director of the Company.

Griffith, William arrived in Madras in 1832, and immediately received his appointment as Assistant-Surgeon in the service of the East India Company. In 1835 he was attached to the Bengal Presidency, and was selected to form one of a deputation, consisting of Dr. Wallich and himself as botanists, and Mr. MacClelland as geologist, to visit and inspect the Tea-forests (as they were called) of Assam, and to make researches in the natural history of that almost unexplored district. Thereafter he journeyed over nearly the whole extent of the East India Company's extra-peninsular possessions in pursuit of botanical knowledge.

Halhed, Nathaniel was the son of a Director of the Bank of England. He came to India as a Writer of East India Company in 1771. He knew Persian and also claimed to be the first European to be able to conduct the Company's correspondence in Bengali and the first to see the link between Bengali and Sanskrit. He published *Gentoo Code* in 1776 and a *Grammar of the Bengal Language* in 1778. He left India with Warren Hastings in 1785.

Hamilton, Captain Alexander travelled, by land and sea, between the Cape of Good-hope and the Island of Japan from 1688 to 1723.

Heber, Bishop was the second Bishop of Calcutta. He toured Upper India in the year 1824-1825.

Hodges, William was a famous scenery painter. He visited India from 1780 to 1783.

Holwell, John Z. was born in Dublin and served as a surgeon in the East India Company's service in Bengal. He was incarcerated in the Black Hole. He briefly became Governor of Bengal in 1760, before he left India. He

wrote several works on India, and had a grasp of Bengali and Hindustani and also knew Arabic.

Hooker, Joseph was a surgeon, naturalist, traveller and author of several scientific works. He toured the Himalayas between 1847 and 1851. He dedicated his *Himalayan Journals* to his friend Charles Darwin.

Ives, Edward (d. 1786) was a surgeon and traveller. He was present at many of the transactions he described (during the years 1755, 1756, 1757) and his personal intimacy with the senior Company official, Watson, gives his historical narrative considerable importance. His account of the manners and customs of the inhabitants, and of the products of the country reveal him to be an acute observer.

Jacquemont, Victor was a French naturalist who visited India from 1828 to 1831.

Jones, William was a classical scholar, a historian, a gifted linguist, who mastered many European and Asiatic languages. He was appointed judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta in 1783 when he went to India for the first time. An eminent Orientalist, he founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 and dominated the intellectual life of the British community in India. Among his major translations were the *Institutes of Hindu Law* and Kalidasa's play *Shakuntala*.

Kindersley, Jemima was the wife of Lt.-Col. Nathaniel Kindersley. She was the first English lady to visit Calcutta. She presented a vivid account of life in Calcutta and Allahabad during the years 1765-69.

Lawrence, Sir Henry (1806-1857) served as Resident at Lahore from 1846 to 1849, and was appointed President of the Punjab Board of Administration after the annexation of the state in 1849. He played a sterling role in the Revolt of 1857 in which he lost his life.

Lawrence, Honoria was the wife of Sir Henry Lawrence whom she married in Calcutta in 1837. She travelled with her husband over large parts of north India and died at Mt Abu in 1854.

Leonowens, Anna Harriette (1834-1914) was born in India and lived there till 1856, when she left for Penang.

Long, Rev. James (1814-1887), of the Church Missionary Society, arrived in Calcutta in 1840. As a member of the Government Record Commission he was given access to the early records of the East India Company in Bengal.

Macintosh, William visited in during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings.

Mackenzie, Mrs. Colin married Captain Colin Mackenzie, a veteran of the First Afghan War and came to India in 1846 where she lived till 1853. She wrote about philanthropic and missionary work in which she was interested.

Masson, Charles was an English officer stationed in the Punjab and Afghanistan. He drew attention to Indo-Grecian exchanges in ancient times as revealed by his study of ancient coins.

Metcalfe, Charles (1785-1846) served as Resident at Delhi (1811-1819; 1825-1827), and Hyderabad (1820-1825) and was Provisional Governor-General of India in 1835-36.

Mitchell, James was the purser of the H.M.S. *Harwich* and visited Calcutta in 1747 -1748.

Moorcroft, William made the most successful attempt to penetrate into Central Asia from Hindustan. It was made without the encouragement of the Government of India. Moorcroft was the first European to cross the Himalayas. His objective was to penetrate to Turkistan, the country of a breed of horses which he wanted to domesticate in India.

Mundy, Captain was aide-de-camp to Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief in India.

Munro, Thomas was commissioned in the Indian army in 1780. He served as Governor of Madras from 1820 to 1827.

Nugent, Maria was the wife of George Nugent, appointed Commander-in-Chief in India. She arrived with him in 1812. George resigned in 1813 and they returned to England.

Orlich, Captain Leopold Von, was a German army officer in pre-mutiny India when Lord Ellenborough was the Governor-General. He came to join the British campaign in Afghanistan but the war was over before he reached India on 6 August 1842. He could only witness the return of the armies. He stayed on and travelled the country which he described as a land of wonders. His account is in the form of letters to two eminent Germans.

Orme, Robert arrived in India in 1742 and was appointed a Writer in the Company's civil service. He was promoted to a Factor. He wrote the early history of the East India Company in India up to the year 1762.

Osborne, William was Military Secretary to the Governor-General, Lord Auckland and also his nephew. He met Ranjit Singh in the last years of his life, while on a diplomatic mission to Lahore.

Parkes, Fanny was married to Charles, a civil servant in the East India Company. They arrived in 1822 and left in 1845.

Pons, Father Jean-Francois was a French Jesuit. The letters he sent letters to France from South India in 1740 reveal his awareness of the nature and range of Hindu philosophy.

Postans, Marianne (later Young) married Thomas Postans, an officer in the East India Company's Bombay Native Infantry in 1833 and came with him to India.

Ripa, Father Matteo was born on March 29, 1682, at Eboli, Lucania, in the Diocese of Salerno. He visited Calcutta in February 1709 on his way to China. His is one of the few missionary accounts of Bengal in those early days.

Roberts, Emma came to India in 1828 with her elder sister, who was married to Captain Robert McNaghten of the 61st Bengal Infantry. She returned to England in 1832. She again came in 1839 and died in Poona in 1840.

Robertson, William was a historian and his work on India, published in 1791, was regarded as authoritative. It went through several editions.

Sherwood, Mrs. Martha Mary was married to Henry Sherwood, an officer in H.M. 53rd Foot. The regiment was posted to India in 1805. They returned to England in 1816. She became an ardent evangelist and a close friend of the missionaries Daniel Corrie and Henry Martyn.

Sleeman, W.H. (1788-1856) served in the Sagar and Nerbudda territories from 1820, and was later Resident at Gwalior (1843-1849) and at Lucknow (1849-1856).

Stanhope, Philip Dormer ("Asiaticus") visited Calcutta from the September to December 1774 and his description of the British social life in this city is a literary masterpiece. He was of the First Regiment of Dragon Guards. He spent five years in different parts of India, three of which were spent in the service of the Nabob of Arcot,

Stavorinus, John Splinter (1739-1788), Rear Admiral in the service of the States-General, undertook two voyages to the Cape of Good Hope,

Batavia, and Bengal, during the years 1768-1771. He was the first Dutch to give us his impressions of Calcutta. He came to Calcutta in 1768, three months after the departure of Mrs. Kindersley.

Temple, Sir Richard joined the East India Company in 1847 and was Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab in 1854. He held several other top posts and retired as Governor of Bombay.

Tod, Colonel James (1782-1835) came to India in 1799. He negotiated the treaties that brought the Rajput chieftains under British suzerainty. He recorded Rajput history in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*.

Twining, Thomas was a civil servant of the East India Company whose account of his observations and travels in India beginning in 1792 was preserved by his son, T.T. Twining and edited for publication by Rev. William Twining.

Valentia, Viscount came to India as a tourist and to pursue his botanical interests. He arrived in 1802 and stayed for four years. He wrote admiringly of Lord Wellesley, met many Indian princes, including the Raja of Tanjore with whom he conversed in English. He visited the Peshwa and also had a brief interview with the young widow of Nana Fadnawis, the Maratha statesman. He claimed to have shaken hands with the Rani of Ramnad.

Vigne, G.T. came as a private traveller and was not in the service of the East India Company. He was the first foreigner to describe the game of polo (*chaughan*). His account was first published in 1842.

Wendel, Father was a French Jesuit missionary who came to India in 1751. He died at Lucknow in 1803.

Wilkins, Charles came to Bengal as a Writer in 1770 and went on to become one of the leading early Orientalists. He was the first Englishman to acquire a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit, of which he published a grammar in 1779. He translated the *Gita*, the *Hitopadesha* and the *Panchatantra*. He prepared the first Bengali and Persian types and set up printing presses at Calcutta for oriental languages.

Williamson, Captain Thomas author of *East India Vade-Mecum; or, complete Guide to Gentlemen intended for the Civil, Military, or Naval Service of the Hon. East India Company* (1810) wrote of all the knowledge he had acquired of eastern India from a residence of twenty years in the Bengal Presidency in the military service of the Company.

Wilson, Rev. John (1804-1875) came to India in 1829 and lived in Bombay for 47 years as representative of the Scottish Missionary Society. He was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University in July 1857.

Ziegenbalg, Bartholomaeus (1683-1719) was the first Danish Protestant missionary to come to India. He studied Tamil and become the first Dravidologist. He arrived in Tranquebar in 1708-9.

1
Abundant India

A. Some observations on the land
B. Natural wealth
C. Climate
D. Animal kingdom
E. Mines

A. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE LAND

1. The varied shores of the Ganges, William Hodge[2]

From Mongheir I embarked, and returned by water to Calcutta; and here I had an opportunity of observing a series of scenery perfectly new; the different boats of the country, and the varied shores of the Ganges. This immense current of water suggests rather the idea of an ocean than a river, the general breadth of it being from two to five miles, and in some places more. The largest boats sailing up or passing down, appear, when in the middle of the stream, as mere points, and the eastern shore only as a dark like marking the horizon. The rivers I have seen in Europe, even the Rhine, appear as rivulets in comparison with this enormous mass of water. I do not know a more pleasant amusement than sailing down the Ganges in the warm season: the air, passing over the great reaches of the river many miles in length, is so tempered as to feel delightfully refreshing. After sun-set the boats are generally moored close to the banks, where the shore is bold, near a *gunge* or market, for the accommodation of the people. It is common, on the banks of the river, to see small Hindoo temples, with *gauts* or passages, and flights of steps to the river.

2. Conjectures regarding Bengal, De Grandpr[3]

…we must suppose the province of Bengal to be of no remote antiquity. It is a vast plain, without a single mountain of granite; the little hills which are met with are merely hardened clay; and, except towards the northern extremity, not a stone, even of a calcareous description, is to be found.

If we were assured by tradition, that the race of the Bramins are the true aborigines of the country, and that it has been inhabited from periods more remote than our chronology can trace, this fact would overthrow the system, not of the absolute retreat of the sea, but of its gradual and progressive

retreat; for there are proofs so strong on the most elevated parts of the globe of such elevations having been formerly covered by the water, that it is impossible to resist their evidence. Accordingly Bengal, at some period or other, must have been in the same situation. This being admitted, the principles of hydrostatics will make it impossible to suppose this province to have been cleared of its waters prior to places of a more elevated position. If we consider its trifling height, when compared with the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Gates, and lastly the mountains of Thibet, which seem to rise proudly above it, we must suppose it to be country in its infancy. The coast of Bengal is so low, that it cannot be seen at the distance of three leagues; a heavy sea would overflow it; and when the tide is unusually high, at the sizygies, the banks of the Ganges are under water. If I may offer the result of my own observation, Bengal is of the same age as the plain of India, which extends from the coast as far as the Gates, or perhaps a little more modern. This land is all on nearly the same level, and must consequently have been left by the ocean at nearly the same period…

The extraordinary fertility of this country evinces it to be of modern formation, and the retreat of the ocean is marked by irrefragable proofs. The Clive-islands have evidently been formed by the sea; the sand-banks called Brasses experience a slow but regular conformation, and will hereafter be converted into islands, when the Clive-islands will be joined to the continent. The bank called Seareef is a new bank, which the sea is adding to the others. Even the Ganges diminishes in depth; a circumstance that is not produced by the elevation of its bottom, for the violence of the current effectually prevents it, but by the water retiring to a lower level. When the French company was first established in this country, ships of war of seventy-four guns came to Chandernagore; but afterwards they were obliged to stop at Mayapoor, and at present can reach no further than Cadjery, a small village at the mouth of the river.

3. Favoured Hindostan, Maria Graha[4]

Nature seems to have taken pleasure in embellishing and enriching the favoured country of Hindostan with every choicest gift. Under a pure sky and brilliant sun the soil produces the most exquisite fruits, and the most abundant harvests; the rocks are rich in gems, the mountains teem with gold, and the fleecy pod of the cotton furnishes in profusion the light

garment fitted to the climate. In travelling in the interior, your eyes will often be enchanted with the most delicious landscapes. Amidst stupendous forests you will not unfrequently be charmed with a cultivated spot, where, if ever, you might realize the dreams of the poets, and indulge in that impassioned indolence which is the parent of poetry and of the fine arts.

4. Waterfall of Pappanassum, Thomas and William Daniel[5]

The Fall of Pappanassum is on the river Tumrabunni, a considerable stream in the district of Tinnyvelly. A few miles below the fall, that river passes the fort of Palamcotta, and thence proceeds in an easterly course towards the sea, into which it is received in the gulph of Manapar.

This magnificent cataract is held by the Hindoos in great veneration, and is accordingly visited by innumerable devotees. The only approach to it is by a single path on the right-hand side of the valley, whence, though near to the fall, it cannot be seen, owing to the interposition of a large mass of rock that projects into the water. The path is continued up the face of the rock by means of a flight of steps; and at the summit a gate is so placed, that all visitors must of necessity pass through it, but which nevertheless readily opens to all who are provided with a small fee for the bramins that guard the sacred portal.

Nothing can be more grand and impressive than when, on first throwing open the gate, this extraordinary scene bursts upon the sight. It would be difficult for those who have never seen a vast river precipitated down a rocky steep of considerable elevation to form an adequate idea of such a spectacle, accompanied by a noise so tremendous, that, comparatively, all other sounds are but whispers. Upon the minds of Hindoos, who attach ideas of a religious nature to these objects, such scenes must operate with great effect, and powerfully stimulate their piety. Indeed their prostrations, and other anticks of enthusiasm, on first beholding this tremendous object, are evident proofs of the intensity of their feelings.

5. The Binoa River, William Moorcrof[6]

The Binoa river rises in Chamba, from Yara ki joth about fifteen kos north-east of Baidyanathpur, and passing that place to the south, falls into the Byas opposite Kamlagerh, insulating with the Bakar khad the tract already noticed, called Molag. Its whole course is about twenty-seven kos, and it receives the Loni and the Sansari rivers. Both these rise in Kulu; the

former at Tatto-ani [hot spring], ten kos north-north-east from Baidyanathpur, and falls into the Binoa at Diwar, two kos from Baidyanathpur; the latter at a place distant from Baidyanathpur, six kos east by north, and falls into the Binoa about two kos from the place in the same direction. The Binoa varies much and suddenly at different seasons. In the cold weather it is fordable in many places; in the hot weather its depth is much increased by the melting of snows; in the rains it is a deep and rapid stream. We crossed it on skins at Golden Ghat, where it was sixty feet broad and eight deep. Fronting us was a bank of perpendicular rock forty feet high, over which the water from the rice grounds fell in two beautiful cascades…

6. James Fraser, the first European to reach the Gangotri in 1815 [so he claimed], described the experienc[7]

It is easy to write of rocks and wilds, of torrents and precipices; it is easy to tell of the awe such scenes inspire:... But it is not so simple, to many surely not very possible, to convey an adequate idea of the stern and rugged majesty of some scenes; to paint their lonely desertness, or describe the undefinable sensation of reverence and dread that steals over the mind while contemplating the deathlike ghastly calm that is shed over them; and when at such a moment we remember our homes, our friends, our firesides, and all social intercourse with our fellows, and feel our present solitude, and far distance from all these dear ties, how vain is it to strive at description! Surely such a scene is Gungotree.... We were now in the centre of the stupendous Himala, the loftiest and perhaps most rugged range of mountains in the world. We were at the acknowledged source of that noble river, equally an object of veneration and a source of fertility, plenty, and opulence to Hindostan; and we had now reached the holiest shrine of Hindoo worship which these holy hills contain. These are surely striking considerations, combining with the solemn grandeur of the place, to move the feelings strongly.

7.Gangotri, the sacred source of the Ganges, Emma Robert[8]

…the summit of a ridge whence the first view of the Ganges is obtained; a sight which never fails to raise the drooping spirits of the Hindoo followers, and which excites no small degree of enthusiasm in the breast of the Christian travellers. The sacred river, as seen from this height, flows in a

dark, rapid and broad stream, and, though at no great apparent distance, must still be reached by more than one toilsome march. From a height about two miles from Gungootree, the first glimpse, and that a partial one, is obtainable of that holy place, which lies sequestered in a glen of the deepest solitude, lonely and almost inaccessible, for few there are who could persevere in surmounting the difficulties of the approach. Considerable distances must be traversed over projecting masses of rough stones, flinty, pointed, and uncertain, many being loose, and threatening to roll over the enterprising individual who attempts the rugged way…

The grandeur of the scene which opened upon us, as we at length stood upon the threshold of Gungootree, cannot be described by words. Rocks were piled upon rocks in awful majesty, all shivered into points, which rise one upon another in splendid confusion, enclosing a glen of the wildest nature, where the Ganges, beautiful in every haunt, from its infancy to its final junction with the ocean, pours its shallow waters over a bed of shingle, diversified by jutting rocks, and even here shadowed by the splendid foliage of some fine old trees. The devotee who undoubtingly believes that every step that he takes towards the source of that holy river, which from his infancy he has been taught to look upon as a deity, will lead him into beatitude, is content to seek its origin at Gungootee, but the true source of the sacred stream lies still higher, in still more inaccessible solitudes: and it was reserved for the ardour of those who measured the altitudes of the highest peaks, and penetrated to the utmost limits of man's dominion, to trace the exact birth-place of the holy river. Captains Hodgson and Herbert, in 1818, found, at the height of thirteen thousand eight hundred feet above the sea-level, the Bhagarati, or true Ganges, issuing from beneath a low arch at the base of a vast mass of frozen snow, nearly three hundred feet in height, and composed of different layers, each several feet in thickness, and in all probability the accumulation of ages. Neither here, nor at Gungootree, is there anything resembling a cow's mouth, to support the popular fable, which must have been invented by persons utterly unacquainted with the true features of the scene in which the sacred river gladdens earth with its every-bounteous waters.

A pilgrimage to Gungootree is accounted one of the most meritorious actions which Hindoo can perform; and in commemoration of his visit to this holy place, a Ghoorka chieftain has left a memorial of his conquests

and his piety, in a small pagoda, erected in honour of the goddess on a platform of rock, about twenty feet higher than the bed of the river. The Brahmins who have the care of this temple are accommodated with habitations in its close vicinity, and there are few sheds for the temporary residence of pilgrims, many of whom, however, are content with such shelter as the neighbouring caves afford.

8. Source of the Jumna, Emma Robert[9]

By dint of untiring perseverance, and no small exertion of bodily strength, we at last found ourselves on the confines of eternal snow. As we approached Jumnootree, which is not accessible until the month of May, we found the river gliding under arches of ice, through which it had worn its passage, and at length, these masses becoming too strongly frozen to yield and fall into the current, the stream itself could be traced no longer, and, if not at its actual source, we stood at the first stage of its youthful existence. It is quite impossible to prevent a feeling of exultation from springing up in the mind, at the completion of a pilgrimage to a place so deservedly celebrated; an enterprise which few people have an opportunity of achieving, and still fewer the nerve to undertake. We had deemed it impossible that the awful grandeur of the preceding scene could have been heightened, yet standing on the snow which now completely covered the bed of the river, and beholding it from the place whence it emerged, we were as much struck with the sublimity of the landscape, as if we had come upon it suddenly, and without previous preparation. The glen is not more than thirty or forty feet in width, and the rocks on either side are of the noblest dimensions, and crowned with dark luxuriant foliage, while the impenetrable region beyond – solemn, majestic and wonderfully beautiful – seems absolutely to strike upon the soul, so strange are the sensations which it produces in the craving heart of man, as it defies the farther intrusion of his adventurous footsteps.

The most holy spot is found upon the left bank, where a mass of quartz and silicious schist rock sends forth five hot springs into the bed of the river, which boil and bubble at a furious rate. When mingled with the icy-cold stream of the Jumna, these smoking springs form a very delightful tepid bath, and the pilgrims, after dipping their hands in the hottest part, perform much more agreeable ablutions, where the temperature offers the

desirable medium between the scalding water above and the chilling stream below. It is usual with the devotees to make an offering of money to the divinity of the river, an offering which of course finds its way to the pocket of the officiating priest, who prays over the bathers, and marks them on the forehead in the most orthodox fashion with the sacred mud of the place….

The height of the snow-bed at Jumnootree is about ten thousand feet, and in the month of October, when all the snow that ever melts is melted at this place, it is possible to advance somewhat nearer source than at any other period of the year. Crossing the snowy bed whence the water emerges at Jumnootree, is a work of some difficulty, and when accomplished, we find that the infant river is divided into three streams, each forming a separate waterfall, and flowing over steep green hills. The lower of these are surmountable, but with great difficulty and some danger, as the stones are loose, and slip from under the feet…

Those persons who have proceeded as far as the present circumstances will admit, that is, about a mile beyond Jumnootree have ascertained that the most direct stream of the river does not arise from any part of Bundurpooch, but from the range that runs off it to the westward. As we stand at Jumnootree, these small streams are perceptible before their junction into one fall, which loses itself under a mass of snow, whence it issues near the hot springs before mentioned…

The forest stretches at least fifteen hundred feet above the snowy bed of the Jumna, before vegetation is entirely forbidden by the frosts of the giant heights beyond. The geologist may take a very interesting collection at Jumnootree; beautiful specimens of garnet, shorl, and tourmaline crystals being to be found: there is a considerable quantity of talcose gneiss rock, but the greater proportion is a coarse gneiss, while the granite summits of the mountain-peaks rise to the height of ten thousand feet above…

9. Himalaya Mountains, Bishop Hebe[10]

At last, soon after the sun rose, and just as we had reached a small rising ground, the mist rolled away and shewed us again the Himalaya, distinct and dark, with the glorious icy mountains, towering in a clear blue sky, above the nearer range. There were four of these, the names of three of which Mr. Boulderson knew, Bhadrinath, Kedar Nath, and the peak above the source of the Ganges, the Meru of Hindoo fable. The fourth, to the

extreme right, he did not know, and I could not find it in Arrow-smith's map. Bhadrinath, he told me, is reckoned the highest. From hence, however, it is not the most conspicuous of the four. That we saw the snow peaks at all, considering their distance, and that mountains twice as high as Snowdon intervened, is wonderful…

The Clwydian chain, indeed, is not crowned by such noble pinnacles as Bhadrinath and Gangotree, but I could not help feeling now, and I felt it still more when I began to attempt to commit the prospect to paper, that the awe and wonder which I experience were of a very complex character, and greatly detached from the simple act of vision. The eye is, by itself, and without some objects to form a comparison, unable to judge of such heights at such a distance. Carneth Llewellyn and Snowdon, at certain times in the year, make, really, as good a picture as the mountains now before me; and the reason that I am so much more impressed with the present view, is partly the mysterious idea of aweful and inaccessible remoteness attached to the India Caucasus, the center of earth.

10. Second chain of Himalayas, Bishop Hebe[11]

The only satisfaction to be derived from a journey through such a country, is to look steadily at the mountains beyond it, which increase as we advance in apparent magnitude and beauty. The snowy peaks, indeed, are less and less distinguishable; but the nearer range rises into a dignity and grandeur which I by no means was prepared for, and is now clearly seen to be itself divided into several successive ridges, with all the wildest and most romantic forms of ravine, forest, crag, and precipice. They are now perceptibly and obviously, even to the eye, the highest mountains I ever saw sufficiently near to judge of them.

11. Ascent of the Ghats, Bishop Hebe[12]

The views offered from different parts of this ascent are very beautiful, and much reminded me of some parts of the Vale of Corwen. The mountains are nearly the same height (from 2000 to 3000 feet above the level of sea,) with the average of Welsh mountains; and the freshness and verdure which clothes them during the rains, as well as the fleecy clouds continually sweeping over them, increased their likeness to the green dells and moist climate of Gwyneth. In one respect, and only one, the Ghats have the advantage, – their precipices are higher, and the outline of the hills

consequently bolder. That outline, indeed, is remarkable, consisting, in by far the majority of instances, of a plane table summit, or else a long horizontal ridge, supported by sides as steep and regular as if artificially scarped, with natural terraces at uncertain heights, each with its own precipice, affording a striking specimen of what is called the trap formation. There is a good deal of forest timber on the sides of these hills, and the gorges of the valleys are thickly wooded. The trees, however, are not, singly taken, of any great size, either here, or in the Deckan, or in Bombay, a circumstance in which these countries seem remarkably contrasted with Guzerat, and the greater part of northern India.

Waterfall at Candaulah

Near Candaulah is a waterfall, which flows all the year, and at this season is very full and beautiful. It falls in three or four successive descents down one of the highest precipices I ever saw, not less, I should apprehend, than 1200 feet, into a valley of very awful depth and gloom, through which its stream winds to join the sea, nearly opposite to Tannah, under the name of the Callianee river…

12. Beautiful Krishna Valley, Marianne Postan[13]

Few scenes are more lovely than the beautiful Valley of the Krishna, as seen from the open Temples of Mahabuleshwar. The smooth and brightly gleaming waters, like a silvery thread, wind their quiet way between the richly wooded hills, which form a vista of fertile shelter to the grassy banks; while the herds, feeding peacefully beside the sacred river, complete the scene, and afford a glimpse of pastoral beauty, the more fair and sweet, perhaps, as contrasted with sublime mountain solitudes of the immediate neighbourhood…

The climate of Mahabuleshwar is frequently sufficiently cold to render fires necessary, and is found highly renovating to constitutions exhausted by a long residence in the sultry plains. Fogs, in the autumn months, are prevalent, but are not found to produce either unpleasant or dangerous effects.

The walks and drives about the hills, are numerous and beautiful; long avenues, shaded by magnificent forest trees, afford noon-tide shelter, and permit the visitor the unusual and safe indulgence, of a mid-day stroll beneath their shade, while here and there an opening in the rich foliage,

affords a glimpse of the superb mountain-scenery around, arresting the step in admiration of its sublime and varied wonders. Bold peaks, towering and cloud-capt Ghauts, sparkling cascades, hill-forts, deep straths, and wooded glens, blend their magnificent effects in a succession of rich and glowing pictures, more wondrous and more grand, than even Italy with her bold Alps and smiling Pyrenees, can charm the traveller's eye withal. No snowy peaks, 'tis true, blushing in the rays of the sun-lit sky, form backgrounds to the scene, but veils of fleecy vapour, with mazy indistinctness, shroud the towering scraps of the eternal hills, while the clear atmosphere around, permits the eye to revel in the full majesty of these stupendous scenes, revealing the sun-lit valleys and the quiet occupation of their peasants, as clearly as it does the dense jungle of the mountain side, crowded with its wild and savage denizens.

13. Navigation of the Indus, Captain Leopold von Orlic[14]

We set out at day-break on Saturday the 17th September. The river, which was 600 feet in breadth at the place of embarkation, soon became twice as wide. The sun emerged from its wide watery expanse, and illumined once more the shining summit of the city of the sepulchres.…

The navigation of the Indus is very difficult on account of its shifting bed and violent current, which runs four miles an hour: we were therefore obliged to cast anchor every evening, and every day to take on board a new pilot. The slimy and dirty water of the river, when clarified by alum, becomes as clear as crystal, and very pleasant; but the cook on board the steamer would not take this trifling trouble, which would have added so greatly to our comfort. On the 18th, in the forenoon, the thermometer being at 98° Fahrenheit, we proceeded along the right bank; beautiful woods diversify the monotony of the country, and the fresh verdure of the meadows covered with yellow flowers enlivens the eye. We passed a preserve three miles in length, ornamented with the finest babul trees, and surrounded with hedges and a clay wall. This preserve abounds with barbiroussas, antelopes, jackals, hyenas, black and red partridges, parrots and other birds.

On this day we twice stuck upon a sand bank, from which however our engine, and the strong current, soon set us free. In the evening we anchored in a beautiful wooded inlet; the moon behind the shadowy trees, between

Jupiter and Venus, pouring her silver light through the foliage, while a cooling breeze wafted the perfume of the babul flowers towards us.

B. NATURAL WEALTH

1. The tamarind tree, Father Matteo Rip[15]

…the Tamarind tree, which grows there, is so famous among the English that, when they return to London and speak of what they have seen, they make a special mention of the Tamarind tree of Golicatan [Calcutta].

2. Tamarind tree delectable to behold, John Burnel[16]

The tamarind tree is very delectable to behold, being likewise very full of spreading branches, the leaves growing like to the box tree in England, but are shaped something more longer, and not of that hardness with the forementioned, but more pliable. It shooteth out a white flower, which hath no grateful flavour, which falling off, produces its fruit in shape of a peascod, being filled with a row of stones, covered with a brittle shell, which incloseth the pulp, being of a pleasant acid quality, and is a good commodity in Europe.

3. The Jaqua and other trees, Father Matteo Rip[17]

In the garden of the said Capuchins I saw for the first time on a tree a fruit which tickled my curiosity so much that I must describe it. It is called Giacca, or Taqua, as the Portuguese write it. The tree was of the size of a moderate oak and the fruit is of the size of a bag of middling size, about four palms long and proportionately thick, viz., a little than two palms in diameter; and because, if this fruit were to grow on the branches like other fruits, the branches would certainly not be able to bear its weight, Nature has wisely ordained that it should grow on the trunk. In the Island of Zeilan, in Malacca, and other parts of the Indies, they say that it grows from the roots underground, and the Indians know that it is ripe when they smell at the foot of the tree an unwonted odour emanating from the fruit. Those which hang from the trunk, they cut down when they have reached their proper consistency, and hang them up in their houses: and they know the fruit is ripe when it begins to emit a very sweet smell. Then, they make a cut into it, through which they pull out with their hand day after day a great quantity of yellow pods, which are very sweet, and each of them contains, like the date, a small nut which, when roasted has the taste of chestnuts.

The fig

What surprised me too, was the fig, both the tree and the fruit. The trunk of the tree, about twenty palms high by one palm, more or less, in diameter, is not ligneous, like that of other trees, but a mass of leaves, one within the other like an onion; hence, it is so tender that it can easily be cut with a knife. This tree has no twigs; it ends in the leaves, which around the top of the stem bend over in the shape of palm-leaves. These leaves are about four palms broad and very long, and they are not divided like those of the date-tree, but entire. It produces fruit only once and as early as six months after having been planted; and, as it is planted at all times, these excellent fruits can be had plentifully in the Indies all the year round. The fruit hangs down towards the ground from the top of the stem, and resembles a bunch of grapes, but one as much as three palms long and about a palm in diameter, while some grapes – a bunch has at times as many as a hundred – grow to the length of a palm or less, the girth being that of a middlesized hen's egg. When the cluster has reached its proper consistency, they pluck it, hang it up in their houses, and take the grapes in proportion as they see them turn yellow, for they do not become yellow at the same time. To eat the fruit, you take away the rind, and eat the inner pulp together with some tender small black seeds, the taste being very good. The tree is cut down when it has given its fruit, and sprouts spring up in its stead, which are transplanted and yield a bunch each after six months. Among our European Christians in the Indies it is commonly said that our first parents, Adam and Eve, covered themselves with the leaves of this tree in the earthly Paradise, one being enough to cover half of a man's body; and it was a Heretical surgeon who first made me remark besides that, when the fruit is cut across, it shows the image of a Crucifix.

Ananas

It was also particularly pleased to see and eat the ananas (*Ananasos*): hence, I wish to describe also here this other Indian fruit. It is produced, not by a tree, but by a plant which resembles somewhat the aloe. It looks at first sight like a pinecone, and that is why the Spaniards properly call it Pinnas. The smallest of these fruits is like a big pine-cone, and the biggest measure more than a palm in length and half a palm in diameter. When the green skin is removed with a knife, a yellow pulp appears, which is hard like that of an unripe apple, and has the smell of musk; the taste, which is between sweet and sour, is very pleasant, especially when the slices have been

steeped in water mixed with sugar. Even when still unripe, it can be preserved, and it is exported that way to Spain, where it is highly prized. Of its nature it is wholesome, but so hot that, if you leave a knife in it for a day only, they say it spoils and consumes it. I saw this plant, as also other Indian trees and their fruit, such as the coffee-tree in Vienna, where Prince Eugene, that great Hero of modern history, had imported them. I saw there too the coffee-tree with its fruit, all these trees being planted in a glass-house, where by means of stoves they imitated the hot climate of the Indies.

Papaya

There is still another fruit, the Papaya. Having bought two of them, I thought at first they were melons of the kind which the Neapolitans call Turkish; but, they differed in their seeds, which are like pepper. This plant, which I saw also in other places of the Indies which I visited, and again in Macao and Canton, produces fruit every month of the year, flowers and fruits yet unripe being found on it at the same time. The fruits are more fragrant than our melons, which they partly resemble in taste; and they grow round the top of the tree's stem like dates. On my return from China, I brought seeds with me, and planted them here. They grew four palms high, when, the winter supervening, they dried up, the trunk of the biggest tree of the kind being so tender that you could easily cut through it with a penknife…

4. The Russa tree, Edward Ive[18]

Near Calcutta is a large spreading tree called the *Russa*, which make a fine appearance when in full bloom. The natives say that this, and another near the Dutch settlement, are the only two in Bengal; they pretend likewise that they could never find the seed, which must certainly be a mistake, because there is abundance, and large. That they could not preserve them may be true, because the ants and other vermin are excessively fond of them, so that you can never find a pod untouched either by insects within, or ants; Mr. Thomas attended the tree daily for a considerable time to procure a whole pod, but in vain. The bark is brown and rough; the leaves are a deep green, but bright; they are pinnated, 4 pair and an odd one, or 5 pair on every pinna; several of these grow round every branch, which makes the whole bushy. The flower grows out between the lower leaves of the pinnae, on a short but strong footstalk; this divides and subdivides into a greater number,

so as to make the whole a hemisphere. On the top of each of these, is a flower of a bright crimson, orange and different shades down to yellow; they are monopetalous; the cup is about an inch long, divided above in four, ten stamina, and one style: they almost cover the tree, and there is a long succession of them, but little smell. The fruit is a pod of the shape and size of a large garden bean, containing 4 or 5 large fleshy seeds, which easily fall in two when dry; they are brown on the outside, white within, nearly square, but convex on the sides.

5. Fruits in Kashmir, William Moorcrof[19]

Abundance of fruit grows wild in Kashmir, and many thousands of acres, skirting the foot of the hills, are covered with apple and pear trees, and vines in full bearing; they are also cultivated, as are apricots, peaches, cherries and plums.

Walnut of four varieties

An article of horticultural cultivation is the walnut, of which there are four varieties; one called khanak, is wild, the other three, termed wantu, dunu, and kaghazi, are cultivated…

Grapes

There are said to be eighteen or twenty varieties of grapes in Kashmir, of which four only are of foreign introduction…

The Sanjit

The Sanjit, which has been noticed as growing in Ladakh, is still more plentiful in Kashmir. The tree has a beautiful appearance; its flowers are exquisitely sweet, and its fruit by distillation yields a beverage which the Chinese hold to be not inferior to that of the grape.

Horse-chesnut

The horse-chesnut is wild in the forests, and has not been reclaimed. The hazel is abundant, but it is so luxuriant in the production of wood and leaf, that the nuts, scarcely of the size of peas, do not come to perfection. The alder is of rapid growth, and the shoots, when the head happens to be destroyed, are straight, tall, and free from knots.

The Deodar

The most valuable tree of Kashmir is, however, the Deodar, a variety of cedar, the timber of which is extensively employed in the construction of houses, temples, and bridges: pieces of it from the Zein-ul-kadal bridge

were found little decayed, although exposed to the action of water for four hundred years.

Saffron

The crocus of Kashmir has long been celebrated for the excellence of its saffron. It produces freely the third year after being planted: the greater part is exported to Hindustan. Amongst other useful plants occur the Alisma plantago, and the Carthamus tinctorius…

6. Banyan tree covers an entire island, Bishop Hebe[20]

Another curiosity in this neighborhood is the celebrated *bur* or banyan tree, called Kuveer Bur, from a saint who is said to have planted it. It stands on, and entirely covers an island of the Nerbudda about twelve miles above Broach. Of this tree, which has been renowned ever since the first coming of the Portuguese to India, which is celebrated by our early voyagers and by Milton, and which, the natives tell us boasted a shade sufficiently broad to shelter 10,000 horse, a considerable part has been washed away with the soil on which it stood, within these few years, by the freshes of the river, but enough remains, as I was assured, to make it one of the noblest groves in the world, and well worthy of all the admiration which it has received.

7. Neem and peepal trees, Fanny Parke[21]

We have been occupied in planting a small avenue of *neem* trees in front of the house; unlike the air around the tamarind, that near a *neem* tree is reckoned wholesome – according to the Gujerati proverb, we had made no advance on our heavenward road until the avenue was planted, which carried us on one-third of the journey. No sooner were the trees in the ground, than the servants requested to be allowed to marry a *neem* to a young peepal tree *(Ficus religiosa),* which marriage was accordingly celebrated by planting a peepal and *neem* together, and entwining their branches. Some *pooja* was performed at the same time which, with the ceremony of the marriage, was sure to bring good fortune to the newly-planted avenue.

The *neem* is a large and beautiful tree, common in most parts of India *(Melia azadirachta* or margosa tree); its flowers are fragrant – a strong decoction of the leaves is used as a cure for strains.

Oil is prepared from the berry of the *neem (neem cowrie,* as they call it,) which is esteemed excellent, and used as a liniment in violent headaches

brought on by exposure to the sun, and in rheumatic and spasmodic affections. The flowers are fragrant: anything remarkably bitter is compared to the *neem* tree; '*yeh duwa kurwee hy jyse neem':* this medicine is bitter as *neem.*

The bacain, or maha nimba *(Melia sempervivens),* a variety of the *neem* tree, is remarkably beautiful. The *neem* tree will not become sweet though watered with syrup and clarified butter.

8. The Peepal, Honoria Lawrenc[22]

…a *peepul* tree, a kind of aspen, which strikes its roots into every crack and fissure of a building, and soon loosens the stones. The seeds are carried by birds, and are often deposited on the bark of another tree, where they take root, and completely smother their abode. There is among the natives a superstition that if a man who has planted a tree, dies in debt, the creditor comes in the form of a *peepul*, roots itself in the tree and destroys it.

9. Grove of bamboos at Revelganj, Honoria Lawrenc[23]

…we stopped in a grove of bamboos. Among the beauties of the vegetable world, this is conspicuous, from one root or bunch of roots, scores and hundreds of stems arise to the height of sixty or eighty feet, each perfectly straight tapering to the top, feathered with bunches of long narrow leaves and leaning from the center outwards, so that the clump has the shape of a hearse-plume. But in the aspect of the bamboo, there is nothing funereal. It is a bright green, its stems covered with a thin verdant bark, beneath which is the beautiful natural yellow varnish of the cane. This tree is the resort of fireflies. At night they seem like drops of light shaken from the branches.

10. Mango groves, Honoria Lawrenc[24]

In this *Zillah* [Gorakhpur] the mango *topes* are among its principal beauties, as well as advantages. To plant a *tope* is amongst the natives an act of religion and certainly one of benevolence. So much are these trees esteemed that a Hindoo will not cut down even one that is decayed, and I never observed one that appeared wantonly injured. The shade of the mango is so dense that it defies the sun, and does not favour the growth of weeds or jungle. It is in leaf all the year round, changing its foliage in March, but never becoming bare. The mango grows to a great size, especially in this district, where it rises to eighty or a hundred feet. A few feet above the root the trunk generally parts into two or three diversions,

which sub-divide into large branches, running upwards very much as a pear tree grows. But when a tree stands detached, it throws out its arms on every side, and looks not unlike a fine oak. After passing though jungle or even over fields when the sun has set, there is a dry warm feeling immediately on entering the tope. The trees are regularly planted in rows, so that standing in the midst, there is in every direction a lofty green vista, forming a noble avenue up to the camp.

C. CLIMATE

1. Two seasons, Robert Orm[25]

The climate of India is divided into two seasons: from the month of October to March, the wind continually blows from the northern, and in the other months from the southern points of the compass. These seasons, called by navigators monsoons, are suspended twice in the year, for the space of twenty or thirty days, whilst one of the reigning winds is losing, and the other acquiring strength. The southern winds, passing through regions inflamed by a perpendicular sun, and accompanying its approach, diminish nothing of its influence; the season of their duration is therefore very hot indeed. The northern winds, after having scoured the vast plains of Tartary, receive additional keenness in their passage over the summits of Mount Caucasus, covered with eternal snows: they bring intense cold into the countries which lay at the foot of the mountains; but do not carry more than a very moderate degree of it beyond the 30th degree latitude; for as during the whole time of their continuance the air is pure and unclouded, the sun has always heat at noon; and so much in the southern parts of India as to give Europeans very little, if any sense of cold, not more than that of the month of June in England.

2. The tropical Indian climate, Bessie Fento[26]

It would be impossible to convey to any one who has never been in the tropical climate the beauty, the luxury of such a scene; at such an hour, the air becomes so pure and balmy, the atmosphere so highly rarefied, the moon and stars shine with a brilliance unknown in our hemisphere. The most slender leaf seen between you and the deep blue sky is accurately defined; the waving boughs of the coca [coconut?] that seem at intervals to stir from some internal impulse are so beautifully contrasted with the thick foliage of the mango, glossy as the holly tree. The hum of grasshoppers is ceaseless,

and the banyan trees are white with doves whose soft note is perpetually heard. The glorious sun is now above the horizon…it is difficult to describe such a morning in downright prose, unless it were that of Walter Scott's novels…

3. Climate of Bengal, *A Voyage To Calcutta In 1761*, author unknow[27]

The climate of Bengal is perhaps as bad as any in the universe, and remarkably fatal to our countrymen. It abounds so much with standing waters and the earth is so much impregnated with saltpetre that when the Sun rarifies the water the air becomes absolutely putrid, and this occasions the frequency of agues and putrid fevers. In the winter season mists and fogs are very frequent in the evenings and mornings, which are very cold; yet the day is very hot. The whole country has a disagreeable aspect: so low that not a mole-hill is to be seen full of woods and thickets, the haunt of tigers.

4. A North-wester in Calcutta, Mrs. Nathaniel Kindersle[28]

Last night, or rather early this morning, we had for the first time since my arrival, what is called a *North-wester*, which are very frequent in the hot season; a *North-wester* is a violent storm of wind from that quarter, attended with thunder, lightning, and rain; the loudness of the thunder, the terrible flashes of lightning, the roaring of the wind, which carries all before it, and the deluge of rain, are altogether tremendous: it appeared as if every crack of thunder must tear roof of the house I was in from end to end.

The tempest being spent, was succeeded by the azure morn, and the radiant Sun; which tempered by the coolness of the earth, formed some hours of the most delightful climate that can be imagined, but was too soon followed by excessive heat, for after every *North-wester*, the heat sensibly increases till the rains commence. Every one now begins to look forward to that season, wishing it was come…

I sat down to give you an account of the weather and climate, which insensibly led me to the consequences of it: every thing but cold is in extremes here, the heat is intense, the rains floods, the winds hurricanes, and the hailstones I dare not tell you how large, lest you should think I have the licence of a traveller. But what I always hold with reverence and awe and at the same time with pleasure, is the lightning; not an evening passes without it; it is not that offensive glare of light I have been used to see, but a

beautiful fire, which plays amongst the clouds, and passes from one part of the heavens to another in every direction, and in every variety of vibration.

5. Seasons in the south, De Grandpr[29]

The winds, with the exception of a few irregularities, by no means frequent, blow from two parts only of the horizon; from the quarter between north-north-east and east-north-east for six months, and the remainder of the year from south-south-west, to west-south-west. The passing of the sun across the equator determines the alteration of season. The wind, while the sun is in the northern hemisphere, blows from the south-west quarter, and *vice versa*; the currents also are then reversed, and follow the direction of the wind. These seasons are called monsoons. During the prevalence of the south-west monsoon, the Gauts, intercepting the storms and clouds, prevent them from passing to the coast of Coromandel, where, the weather being then beautiful, the season called summer prevails. The coast of Malabar, on the contrary, is at that period subject to violent rains and squalls, and there they have what they call winter. The currents run in a southerly direction on the coast of Malabar, and on the other coast towards the north. Six months after the winds change to the north-east; and the mountains producing a similar effect on the contrary side, stop the rains and storms in their course, and detain them on the coast of Coromandel, and accordingly that of Malabar has summer in its turn. The currents then run in a southerly direction on the former coast, and towards the north on the latter.

By means of this certainty of the seasons, the most indifferent vessels accomplish their voyages without difficulty, by taking advantage of the winds and currents.

6. The climate of the Deccan, Bishop Hebe[30]

The climate of the Deckan is highly praised during the rainy and cool seasons, and the hot winds are of no long duration. Its openness and height above the sea may be expected to render it salubrious.…The Concans are fertile, but generally speaking hot and unhealthy. Severndroog, however, and its neighbouring station of Dapoolie, in the southern Concan, being on an elevated part of the coast, enjoy a fine breeze, and have been fixed on as the site of a convalescent hospital for the European garrison of Bombay.

7. Climate of Guzerat, Bishop Hebe[31]

Guzerat is reckoned one of the worst climates in India, being intensely hot the greater part of the year, with a heavy thickness of atmosphere which few people can endure. It is in the same latitude with Calcutta, and seems to be what Bengal would be without the glorious Ganges.

8. Climate in the Assam region, William Griffit[32]

The climate is certainly very cool and cold, the thermometer ranging from about 56° to 66° in-doors at this time of the year. The rains are said to be the coldest part of the year; they are excessive, commencing in April and ceasing in October. It occasionally rains for fifteen or sixteen days in succession, and without intermission; and nine or ten inches have been known to fall in twenty-four hours. Since we have been here, inclusive of this, we have had four days of wet weather, of which three were continued rain. Both were ushered in by the sudden irruption of heavy mists from below, which soon spread over the country, obscuring every thing. These sudden irruptions occur during the partial breaking up of the rain, during which time the valleys are completely choked up with dense mists, the summits of the hills on the opposite side to that on which one stands being alone visible. After the rains were over, in the first instance, the plains, or rather the mass of haze hanging over them, presented a most curious spectacle.

The coldest weather we have yet experienced was at Maamloo, on the 27th, the thermometer at 8 p.m. being at 52°. This is remarkable, as Maamloo is rather below Churra.

D. ANIMAL KINGDOM

1. The Rhinoceros, Captain Alexander Hamilto[33]

…The distance between Sagor, the westernmost channel of the Ganges, and Chittagong easternmost, is about a hundred leagues, the maritime coast being divided into many small islands made by the currents of the Ganges, but very few are inhabited, because they are so pestered with tigers that there is little safety for other inhabitants and there are also many rhinoceroses on those islands, but they are not so dangerous neighbours as the tigers, yet, when provoked they will assault any living thing. Nature has endued him with two particular rarities out of her stores. One is a large horn placed on his nose. The second is a coat of mail to defend him from the teeth or claws of other fierce animals. His tongue is also somewhat of a

rarity, for, if he can but get any of his antagonists down, he will lick them so clean that he leaves neither skin nor flesh to cover their bones; but he is seldom known to be an aggressor, except when he meets with an elephant; then he sharpens his horn and assaults, though he is much inferior to the elephant in bulk and strength, being no bigger than a very large ox, yet he often overcomes in spite of the elephant's teeth.

2. Adjutant bird, Edward Ive[34]

In the evening excursions which I made with Captain Martin, Mr. Doidge, Mr. Thomas, and other friends near Calcutta, we had often observed an extraordinary species of birds, called by the natives *Argill*, or *Hurgill*, a native of Bengal. They would majestically stalk along before us, and at first we took them for Indians, naked. Upon discovering however that they were birds, we resolved to shoot one, to satisfy our curiosity relative to their exact magnitude and shape. For this, we frequently went out with some of our fulfils loaded with ball, others with *Bristol* drop; but, though we had several good marks, our repeated efforts were fruitless. We had always been attended by the *Bearers* of our *Palanquins*, in whose countenances we could not but discern the most evident marks of satisfaction, on our want of success; at length one of them gravely told us, "That if we tried to eternity to kill these birds, we should never succeed, for that the souls of the *Brahmins* possessed them". We at last grew weary of the pursuit, and gave it over. But one evening as I was retuning from Calcutta, to a house which had been lent me in the neighbourhood, I observed one flying very slowly over my head, and afterwards to perch on a tree by which I was to pass; I took not the least notice to my Bearers, until they were within the distance of 30 or 40 yards, when I ordered them to stop, and having in my Palanquin a loaded fulfil, I discharged it at the *Monster*, and brought him down.

The following are the exact marks and dimensions of this bird: The wings expanded 14 feet 10 inches. From the tip of the bill to the extremity of the claw, it measured 7 feet 6 inches. The legs were naked, and so was one half of the thighs; the naked parts were full 3 feet in length. The feathers of the wings and back were very strong, and of an iron colour. The feathers of the breast were long: Over the belly was a great deal of down, all of a dirty white. The bill was 16 inches round at the base, of different colours, and

nearly of a triangular shape. In the *craw* was a *Terapin* or land tortoise 10 inches long; and a large black male cat was found entire in it's stomach.

3. Tigers in Bengal, James Mitchel[35]

The Country is so much infested with Tygers that the windows and doors of the houses or rather mud hutts of Culpee are every night secured, although to the exclusion of the cooling breeze most grateful in that warm Climate. The Captains Steward of the *Winchester* sauntering in the twilight was seized by a Tyger within one hundred yards of the Town and carried amongst the Pady (Rice) then in the ear; where his body was found next morning and the road perceived thro the Pady the Tyger had taken as he came or went; having only sucked the blood, the Natives knew he would return to mangle the Body, therefore they placed two stakes firmly in the ground with a strong Bamboo Bow betwixt them and two arrows drawn to the utmost stretch fixed to the Bow with wooden pins, to which strings were tyed and carried about twenty yards beyond the Body in the Tract he had made, and fastned to a dead Goat; according to expectation he returned, and meeting the dead Goat proceeded to tear him, unfixed the pins, the arrows flew off, one fixed in his shoulder, the other in his belly; he gave a hideous roar; the Natives assured he was wounded soon dispatched him; a large royal Tyger! the skin was purchased by Mr. Holt our[36]. Lieutenant.

4. Tigers numerous in Bengal, John Splinter Stavorinu[37]

Tigers are very numerous in the woods, and they often sally out into the inhabited places. I saw some of them, which were kept, in wooden cages, by the English at Calcutta, of the size of a large calf. The great men of the land take much pleasure in making them fight with other animals, elephants and buffaloes.

5. Capturing a tiger at Tehri, William Moorcrof[38]

The vicinity of Tiri is infested with tigers, and a kind of trap is used to catch them. This is a small chamber of loose, heavy stones, with a sliding door at one end, and a loop hole at the other. The door is kept raised by a slight moveable projection, and from the upper part of it a rope passes over the roof of the hut, which, entering it by the loop-hole at the other extremity, is tied to the neck of a goat, who is slightly fastened within. The tiger, attracted by his prey, enters the hovel, and attempts to carry off the goat. In the struggle that ensues, the door, shaken by the rope in contact

with it, frees itself of the slight impediment opposed to its descent, and, falling down by its own weight, secures the tiger. The animal is then shot through the loop-hole.

6. Goonh at Bareilly, Bishop Hebe[39]

In our return to Bareilly, I saw some interesting animals: a fine covey of wild peacocks arose at some little distance; a mungoose or ichneumon crossed the track, and at Mr. Hawkins's door we found a beautiful and rare animal of the deer kind, which had just been sent him as a present from the hills. It is now about the size of a large fallow-deer, with upright horns, not palmated, but is still young, and is expected to grow so tall and stout as to bear a saddle. It is of a brown colour, mixed with grey and black, and its hair very thick, and as coarse and strong as hogs' bristles. Mr. Hawkins said he thought it would turn the edge of a sword. It is a gentle and tame creature, eating from and licking the hands of any one who caresses it. It is called goonh, and is considered a great rarity in the plains, though among the mountains it is not uncommon, and sometimes used to carry the children of great men. It seems to be as yet unknown to European naturalists, at least I never heard the name, nor saw any drawing like it; were the horns palmated it would most resemble the elk.

7. The lion, Bishop Hebe[40]

The lion…is now ascertained to exist in considerable numbers in the districts of Saharunpoor and Loodianah. Lions have likewise been killed on this side the Ganges in the northern parts of Rohilcund, in the neighbourhood of Moradabad and Rampoor, as large, it is said, as the average of those in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope. Both lions, where they are found, and tygers, are very troublesome to the people of the villages near the forest, who having no elephants, have no very effectual means of attacking them with safety. The peasantry here, however, are not a people to allow themselves to be devoured without resistance, like the Bengalees; and it often happens that, when a tyger has established himself near a village, the whole population turn out, with their matchlocks, swords, and shields, to attack him. Fighting on foot, and compelled to drive him from his covert by entering and beating the jungle, one or two generally lose their lives, but the tyger seldom escapes; and Mr. Boulderson has seen some skins of animals of this description, which bore the strongest

mark of having been fought with, if the expression may be used, hand to hand; and were in fact slashed over with cuts of the tulwar or short scimitar.

8. The Condor, Bishop Hebe[41]

Mr. Fisher had some drawings of different parts of the Dhoon, which represented scenery of very great beauty and luxuriance, on a smaller and less aweful scale than Kemaoon. The animals seem much the same; but Lieutenant Fisher gave me a fuller account than I had yet received of the eagle, or as, from his statement, it rather seems to be, the condor, of these mountains. It appears to belong to this latter tribe from the bareness of its neck, which resembles that of the vulture, and the character of its beak, which is longer and less hooked than the eagle's and perhaps, too, from its size, which exceeds that of any eagle of which I have heard. Lieutenant Fisher shot one very lately at Degra, which measured thirteen feet between the tips of its extended wings, and had talons eight inches long. He was of a deep black colour, with a bald head and neck, and appears strongly to resemble the noble bird described by Bruce as common among the mountains of Abyssinia, under the name of "Nisser." This is, no doubt, the bird which carries away the children from the streets of Almorah. The one which Mr. Fisher shot could, he was sure, have carried up a very well-grown boy. Nor have I any doubt that it is the "rok" of the Arabians. In Sindbad's way of telling a story, so formidable an animal might be easily magnified into all which that ingenious voyager has handed down to us concerning his giant bird.

E. MINES

1. Diamond mines, Captain Alexander Hamilto[42]

The diamond mines being but a week's journey from Fort St. George, make them pretty plentiful there; but few great stones are now brought to market there, since that great diamond which Governor Pitt sent to England. How he purchased it Mr. Glover, by whose means it was brought to the Governor, could give the best account, for he declared to me that he lost 3000 pagodas by introducing the seller to Mr. Pitt, having left so much money in Arcot as security, that if the stone was not fairly bought at Fort St. George, the owner should have free liberty to carry it where he pleased for a market; but neither the owner nor Mr. Glover was pleased with the Governor's transactions in that affair.

Working of the mines

Some customs and laws at the mines are, when a person goes thither on that affair, he chooses a piece of ground, and acquaints one of the Moghul's officers, who stay there for that service, that he wants so many covets of ground to dig in; but whether they agree for so much, or if the price be certain, I know not. However, when the money is paid, the space of ground is enclosed, and some sentinels placed round it. The Moghul challenges all stones that are found above a certain weight – I think it is about sixty grains; and if any stones be carried clandestinely away above the stipulated weight, the person guilty of the theft is punished with death. Some are fortunate, and get estates by digging, while others lose both their money and labour.

2. Gold at Alaknanda, William Moorcrof[43]

Gold is found in some quantities in the sand of the river, particularly after a heavy fall of snow or rain in the neighbouring mountains. The men chiefly engaged in its extrication are from Nahan. Their apparatus consists of a wooden boat-shaped trough, two shallow trays of wood, a bamboo sieve, half a gourd, a little quicksilver, some pieces of skin, and scales and weights. The trough is four feet long, eighteen inches broad, and as many deep, with a hole near the bottom at one extremity. It is placed on the river edge, with the end in which the hole is, somewhat depressed. The sieve is formed of straight pieces of split bamboo, laid side by side, and is laid across the trough. One of the two persons employed in the operation spreads a trayful of sand upon the sieve, and the other, turning up its edge so as to prevent any of the sand from being carried off, pours upon it a gourd full of water. This he repeats until the water having the finer particles of the sand in suspension, filters through the interstices of the sieve, and leaves the stones and pebbles and coarser substances on the surface. As a sufficient quantity of these washings accumulates in the bottom of the trough, the water drains off through the hole in its lower extremity, and the mud which is left is then again washed for the gold. For this purpose it is taken up in the wooden trays and fresh water poured upon it: the trays are then turned round by the hand, and the coarser and lighter portions separated and removed form the heavier and finer, until the largest grains of gold become visible, and can be extracted, when they are wrapped up in the

pieces of skin. In order to recover the finer particles of the metal, the remaining portion of the sand is triturated with the quicksilver, and that again is driven off by heat. The operation is not source of great profit, as the washers gain, on an average, no more than four rupees a month. The gold, after fusion into a globule, is sold at the rate of six ratis weight for a Farokhabad rupee, or one tola of twelve mashas (about one hundred and seventy-three grains) for sixteen rupees. There were not above fifteen individuals engaged in this business when I was at Srinagar, but under proper encouragement it might afford a profitable occupation to hundreds.

3. Salt mines at Gumha, William Moorcrof[44]

Gumha owes its erection in this spot to the vicinity of salt mines, into one of which I descended. A horizontal shaft, about four feet square, extended from the side of the hill about twenty yards, where pine trees cut into notches from steps led down a slope to a second, and thence to a third shaft; the latter was perpendicular, and was descended by a bamboo ladder to the bed of salt. The sides of the passage were protected by hides, and a stream of water ran along the bottom. Torches of pine wood lighted us down, but I could see little except a large cavity, the root of which was formed of salt, and the bottom covered with shallow water. The salt occurs in solid masses in a rock of grauwacke, crossed by veins of quartz. As the art of boring is unknown, the mineral is discovered by digging. A horizontal gallery is cut from the face of the hill, and as it advances is roofed with deal spars supported by sections of the stem of the fir trees. If this, after passing some way, does not come upon the salt deposit, wells are sunk until it is found, and then other shafts are constructed accordingly. When the face of the bed is laid bare, a stream of water is conducted to it by trenches from some hill spring along the bottom of the galleries, until it covers the surface of the bed. It lies there for one day. On the second the workmen cut grooves in the bed for the water to pass, and on the third day they break up the moistened salt, and carry it out of the pit. On the fourth it is conveyed to the public office, where it is sold to traders who come hither from all the neighbouring districts. The produce varies according to the season and the number of mines open.

4. Iron ore at Monghir, Thomas Twinin[45]

…iron ore…abounds in the neighbouring hills [of Monghir]…This ore… is more precious than gold to the inhabitants of Monghir, sustaining by its abundant and cheap supplies an extensive manufactory of iron utensils of almost every description…

5. Iron and salt mines at Mandi, G.T. Vign[46]

The iron mines of Mundi are said to be very rich. They are to be reached by ascending, for about twenty miles, the banks of the Beyas. I did not visit them; but the Rajah procured specimens of the ore, and presented them to me. The greater proportion of them were of the kind of ore known by the name of glanz (sparkling) iron, and which is found abundantly, I am told, in the Isle of Elba. The matrix seemed to be of quartz.

The salt mines of Barung are about eight miles distant in a straight line, for three of which the path follows down the course of the river. I thought them well worth the visit. The salt is dug out from the mural sides of a quarry, and also from mines of no great depth in the earth. It is contained in sandstone; and my specimens of the formation, as I am informed, bear a close resemblance to the salt sandstone at Dunglass in Scotland. The salt from the salt range on the Attok is so much purer as to prevent, I believe, any very large deportation of the article from Mundi; although the Mundi salt is to be found in the principal bazaars of the Panjab.

6. "Mocha" Stones, Bishop Hebe[47]

In different parts of this province, particularly near the town of Kuppurgunge, are found numbers of cornelians and other pebbles, particularly of the kind called in England "mocha stones," which the shopkeepers of Cambay cut, polish, and set very neatly. The cornelians are always roasted in a strong fire before any thing is done to them; nor is it known, till this has taken place, whether they are worth any thing or no. The silversmiths of Cutch and Catteywar emboss very neatly, by filling the cup, watch-case, box or other vessel with gum-lac, and punching it in, to the figure required, with a small chisel. Major Sale shewed me a watch-case and small tankard, very prettily ornamented in this manner, with flowers, elephants, and different birds and animals. ¨

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Chapter 2
The People of India

A. Description of people
B. Appearance and dress
C. Diet
D. Dwellings
E. Hospitality
F. Economic condition of people
G. Domestic servants

A. DESCRIPTION OF PEOPLE

1. The state of morality among the Tamil people, Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg [in his foreword of August 30th, 1708 to the translation of the Malabarian Moral Philosophy, *Nidi Wunpa*[48]

And when I saw not unfitting equations and life rules were therein contained, I considered it indicated to translate this from the Malabarian language into High German. Not that we Christians do not have sufficient rules of morality in the Holy Scriptures for us to learn them from mere heathens, but merely and solely to see to what extent a heathen, devoid of the Scriptures, and only by virtue of natural enlightenment, can attain cognition of the law of morality, and how those Malabarian heathens equal those former Latin and Greek heathens in this, nay even surpass them absolutely. He, who would be instructed in this in detail, might read the *Biblothecam Malabaricam,* composed by myself and now sent to Europe, likewise the other two little books of morals which I have translated from the Malabarian into the German and sent along at the same time.

2. Erudition of the Malabarian people, Bartholomaus Ziegenbal[49]

Most Christians in Europe are of such opinion as though the Malabarian heathens were a rather barbarian people who know nothing of either erudition or moral ethics; yet all this stems from not having known their language properly and having jumped to conclusions from outward appearances. I myself must confess that when I first came among heathens, it was impossible for me to imagine that their language might be a language of proper rules and their life a proper life, but formed very many faulty conceptions on all their activity, believing that among them there were

neither civil nor moral laws. For this reason I find it very easy to forgive those who have never been among these heathens and harbour similar erroneous views, since I was myself still inclined to them when I had already been with these heathens for some time; however, as soon as I had learned to understand their tongue a little and was able to talk with these heathens about this and that, I was gradually freed from this misconception and I was able to harbour far better ideas about them. When I finally gained the complete knowledge of being able to read their books, and found that among them those very philosophical disciplines were taught which were being exchanged among the scholars of Europe and that they have proper written laws from which all theological matters must be derived and demonstrated on; I was greatly astonished by this and conceived a great desire to learn as much as possible about their heathendom from their own writings. Thereafter, I got myself one book after another, sparing neither time nor expense until now at last I have got so far through the diligent reading of their books and through the continued discussion with their Brahmins or priests, that I know something definite about them and am able to reason about it. Yet this is a very vast field, so if one would write something detailed about it, one would require a great deal of time and large volumes.

3. Impact of climate on the people, Robert Orm[50]

The texture of the human frame in India, seems to bear proportion with the rigidity of the northern monsoon, as that does with the distance from Tartary; but as in the southern monsoon heats are felt at the very foot of Mount Caucasus, intense as in any part of India, very few of the inhabitants of Indostan are endowed with the nervous strength, or athletic size, of the robustest nations of Europe.…

As much as the labourer in Indostan is deficient in the capacity of exerting a great deal of strength at an onset, so is he endowed with a certain suppleness throughout all his frame, which enables him to work long in his own degree of labour; and which renders those contortions and postures, which would cramp the inhabitant of northern regions, no constraint to him. There are not more extraordinary tumblers in the world. Their messengers will go fifty miles a day, for twenty or thirty days without intermission. Their infantry march faster, and with less weariness, than Europeans; but

could not march at all, if they were to carry the same baggage and accoutrements.

Exceptions to this general defect of nervous strength are found in the inhabitants of the mountains which run in ranges of various directions throughout the continent of Indostan. In these, even under the tropic, Europeans have met with a savage whose bow they could scarcely draw to the head of a formidable arrow, tinged with the blood of tigers whose skins he offers to sale. Exceptions to the general placid countenance of the Indians, are found in the inhabitants of the woods, who, living chiefly on their chace, and perpetually alarmed by summons and attacks from the princes of the plains, for tributes withheld, or ravages committed, wear an air of dismay, suspicion, treachery, and wildness, which renders them hideous; and would render them terrible, if their physiognomy carried in it any thing of the fierceness of the mountaineer.

The stature of the Indian is various: the northern inhabitant is as tall as the generality of our own nation: more to the south their height diminishes remarkably; and on the coast of Coromandel we meet with many whose stature would appear dwarfish, if this idea was not taken off by the slimness and regularity of their figure. Brought into the world with a facility unknown to the labours of European women; never shackled in their infancy by ligatures; sleeping on their backs without pillows: they are in general very straight; and there are few deformed persons amongst them…

4. Have not lost their original character, Robert Orm[51]

This great extent of country has, from the earliest antiquity, been inhabited by a people who have no resemblance, either in their figures or manners, with any of the nations which are contiguous to them; and although these nations have at different times sent conquerors amongst them, who have established themselves in different parts of the country; although the Mogul Tartars under Tamerlane and his successors have at last rendered themselves lords of almost the whole of it, yet have the original inhabitants lost very little of their original character by these mixtures; contrary to the effects of conquest in all the Christian, and in most of the Mahomedan empires, in which Cyrus, Vercingetorix, and Caesar, if risen from the dead, could not distinguish any traces of the men who obeyed them in Persia, in Gaul, and

in Italy; but this might Porus in India, on the very spot in which he submitted to Alexander.

A common personality

Besides the particular denominations which they receive from the casts and countries in which they are born, there is one more general, which is applied indiscriminately, to distinguish the original natives from all who have intruded themselves amongst them. Hindoo, from whence Indian, and throughout the millions of Indians which inhabit Indostan, although situated at such distances as would suffice to form them into several distinct nations, are visible the strongest marks of one general character, in their dispositions, in their observances, and in their form.

5. Gentoos humane and gentle, Robert Orm[52]

A people believing in metempsychosis, who are forbid by their religion to destroy the smallest insect; a people continually assembling to celebrate the festivals of their gods, who believe that acts of charity to the poor can atone for all their sins, who are fond to excess of the enjoyment of a domestic life, and extremely solicitous in the cares of it – such a people must acquire humane and gentle manners.

The Gentoos are very affectionate parents, and treat their domestics with great mildness. They are charitable, even to relieving the necessities of strangers: and the politeness of their behaviour is refined by the natural effeminacy of their disposition, to exceed even that of the Moors.

The sway of a despotic government has taught them the necessity of patience; and the coolness of their imagination enables them to practise it better than any people in the world. They conceive a contemptible opinion of a man's capacity, who betrays any impetuosity in temper.

Slavery has sharpened the natural finess of all the spirits of Asia. From the difficulty of obtaining, and the greater difficulty of preserving it, the Gentoos are indefatigable in business, and masters of the most exquisite dissimulation in all affairs of interest. They are the acutest buyers and sellers in the world, and preserve through all their bargains a degree of calmness, which baffles all the arts that can be opposed against it.

The children are capable of assisting them in their business at an age when ours scarce begin to learn. It is common to see a boy of eleven years into an

assembly of considerable men, make his obeisance, deliver his message, and then retire with all the propriety and grace of a very well-bred man.

It has before been said, that the Gentoos in general are a very timorous people. In the northern parts of the empires they are of stronger bodies, ruder manners, and have scarce a religion, when it is compared to the multitude of ceremonies and observances which the southern Gentoos adhere so strictly to: here they are better soldiers, and sometimes take the field against the Moors, but rarely with success.

6. Guillaume le Gentil was on a scientific mission in the Indian seas to observe the celebrated transit of Venus predicted on 6 June, 1761. He observed the charm of the peopl[53]

I doubt that there is another place on earth where one can be more relaxed than in India, where the country offers you so much attraction and charm and where, at the same time, people are so gentle.

7. Inoffensive people, *A Voyage To Calcutta In 1761,* author unknow[54]

The Gentoos…are gentle, harmless, and inoffensive people; adhering strictly to their own ancient customs and manners, notwithstanding that the Moors, who conquered them, are most as numerous as themselves. Simple indeed in their diet, but not so in their tempers, being greatly addicted to overreaching, and they think it meritorious to impose on a white man. They are slender in their persons and very agreeable featured.

8. 'An ornament to creation,' John Zephaniah Holwel[55]

[The Hindus are] a people, who from the earliest times have been an ornament to the creation – if so much can with propriety be said of any known people upon earth.

9. 'Mild, humane, obedient, and industrious…most easily conquered,' Alexander Do[56]

The Hindoos, or the followers of the Brahmin faith, are in number far superior to the Mahommedans in Hindustan. The system of religion which they profess is only perfectly known in the effect which it has upon the manners of the people. Mild, humane, obedient, and industrious, they are of all nations on earth the most easily conquered. Their government, like that of all the inhabitants of Asia, is despotic; it is, in such a manner, tempered by the virtuous principles inculcated by their religion, that it seems milder than the most limited monarchy in Europe. Some of the reigning princes

trace their families, with clearness, above four thousand years; many of them, in a dubious manner, from the dark period which we place beyond the flood. Revolution and change are things unknown; and assassinations and conspiracies never exist.

Penal laws are scarce known among the Hindoos; for their motives to bad actions are few. Temperate in their living, and delicate in their constitutions, their passions are calm, and they have no object but that of living with comfort and ease. Timid and submissive, from the coldness of a vegetable diet, they have a natural abhorrence to blood. Industrious and frugal, they possess wealth which they never use. Those countries, governed by native princes, which lay beyond the devastations of the Mahommedans, are rich, and cultivated to the highest degree. Their governors encourage industry and commerce; and it is to the ingenuity of the Hindoos, we owe all the fine manufactures in the East. During the empire of the Moguls, the trade of India was carried on by the followers of Brahma. The bankers, scribes, and managers of finance were native Hindoos, and the wisest princes of the family of Timur protected and encouraged such peaceable and useful subjects.

10. A strong and agile people, Fra Paolino Da Bartolomeo who was in India from 1776 to 178[57]

All the Grecian historians represent the Indians as people of greater size, and much more robust than those of other nations. Though this is not true in general, it is certain that the purity of the air, wholesome nourishment, temperance and education contribute, in an uncommon degree, to the bodily conformation, and to the increase of these people. Their new-born children lie always on the ground, as if they were thrown away or neglected; and they are never wrapped up with bandages, or confined in any other manner, as is done in Europe. Their limbs, therefore, can expand themselves without the least restraint; their nerves and bones become more solid; and when these children attain to the period of youth, they acquire not only a beautiful figure, but a sound, well turned, and robust bodily conformation. The frequent use of the cold bath, repeated rubbing the body with coconut oil and the juice of the *Ingia* plant, as well as their exercises, which have a great resemblance to the *Juvenilia*, and which I have often seen in Malabar, all contribute to increase their strength and agility. These advantages also

are seldom lost, unless some of these young people abandon themselves to debauchery, or weaken their bodies by too great labour or excessive perspiration.

11. A tranquil people, William Hodge[58]

The natives first seen in India by a European voyager are Hindoos, the original inhabitants of the Peninsula. In this part of India they are delicately framed, their hands in particular are more like those of tender females; and do not appear to be, what is considered a proper proportion to the rest of the person, which is usually above the middle size. Correspondent to this delicacy of appearance are their manners, mild, tranquil, and sedulously attentive; in this last respect they are indeed remarkable, as they never interrupt any person who is speaking, but wait patiently till he has concluded; and then answer with the most perfect respect and composure.

Simple and accommodating

A surprising spirit of cleanliness is to be observed among the Hindoos: the streets of their villages are commonly swept and watered, and sand is frequently strewed before the doors of the houses. The simplicity, and perfectly modest character, of the Hindoo women, cannot but arrest the attention of a stranger. With downcast eye, and equal step, they proceed along, and scarcely turn to the right or to the left to observe a foreigner as he passes, however new or singular his appearance. The men are no less remarkable for their hospitality, and are constantly attentive to accommodate the traveller in his wants. During the whole of the journey in my pallankeen, whatever I wanted, as boiling water for my tea, milk, eggs, &c. &c. I never met with imposition or delay, but always experienced an uncommon readiness to oblige, and that accompanied with manners the most simple and accommodating. In perfect opposition is the Mussulman character; –haughty, not to say insolent; irritable, and ferocious. I beg, however, to be understood of the lower classes; for a Moorish gentleman may be considered as a perfect model of a well-bred man. The Hindoos are chiefly husbandmen, manufacturers, and merchants, except two tribes – the Rajapoots, who are military, and the Brahmins, who are ecclesiastics. The Mussulmans may be classed as entirely military, as few of them exercise any other employment, except collecting the revenues, which under the Moorish governments have been always done by military force.

12. Preserved their traditions, the geographer, D'Anville who died in Paris in 178[59]

…the Indians, having never quitted their own country, have never mixed themselves with other people, we do not find that they have suffered at home any revolutions which have overset the constitution and custom of the country. The Scythians have formerly penetrated into India, and established themselves there; from thence it comes to pass, that we find Indo Scythia in the ancient Indostan. Several Mahomedan princes, and amongst others, Mahmud son of Sebah-takin, very zealous for Mussulmanism, have made conquests in India; and India has been governed for two centuries by a house whose origin is from Tartary, and whose religion is that of Mahomet. But these circumstances, which have unnaturalized, if we may be allowed the expression, other nations, have not had the same effect upon the Indians: they have preserved, besides several idioms which are proper to them, their religion and its ministers, Brachmans and Gymnosophists; their division into casts and tribes; distinguished every one by its profession, its rites and superstitions: in a word, all that is particular to themselves, and distinguishes them from other nations, since the earliest times.

13. Hindu simplicity a reason for their prosperity, Father Wende[60]

It should…be noted that this vogue, or rather vice, of cutting a great figure by the splendour of great expenditure is one of the contagions which the Moors or Mohammedans have introduced to and spread throughout Hindustan... For the most, it is just the contrary among the gentiles, that is to say, among those who in no way follow in the steps of the Moors. Although, in the general corruption which this monarchy has in the last years reached, one sees enough in Delhi, the Indian Babylon, and elsewhere, who follow the court's example and whose children are today in the same indigence and misery as those whose conduct they have emulated. I speak of those gentiles who, having entered commerce, are remote from those employments which more or less entail luxury. These are little concerned with appearance and making a fuss in the world with a greater entourage or more numerous domestics or more excessive costs than they had seen in the houses of their fathers and forebears. One observes the same domestics, the same livery, the same meals and more or less the same expenses in their households, although their property increases and their

riches multiply. And, it is in truth a matter worthy of attention that the gentiles pass on by descendance the same wealth, often augmented, while the Moors, and those who emulate them in their ways of living, deplete in little time the immense sums they have inherited, or which have come to their hands through fate. Temperance, sobriety and parsimony, as well as the science of commerce, must be sought in India amongst the gentiles. I would further say, that one finds antiquity respective of their food and clothing, in their general way of life, considering that one remarks therein simplicity, the surest and, I think, strongest proof of the most remote heritage. For, one must avow that the simplest and most natural usage which men make of things they need has been the first and only which they have embraced and through example transmitted to posterity. Many things of which we make today necessity are but luxury and corruption; whereas, one lived in another age just as content, and perhaps happier, without knowing of them.

14. Finances of Muslim princes administered by Hindus, Father Wende[61]

It has been observed elsewhere (*vide Memoires des Pattans*) that this economy and parsimony of the majority of gentiles was the reason for which usually they, and not the Moors, were employed by the *nawabs* and mighty personages, even Mohammedans, for the farming out of taxes and revenues of their governments, as well as in private affairs. It is they who everywhere manage all kinds of expenditure. One might imagine that it is because of the arrogance of the Moors, who think themselves too noble to tend to such matters, if one did not know from experience that with a Mohammedan at the head of an administration, where the revenues would fall to him, the master must expect to be badly paid and, at the end of a few years, be ruined before he knew it. Everywhere in Hindustan, at all the courts, beginning with the royal houses and even in those of wealthy private individuals, the *diwans*, or intendants, collectors, prosecutors, secretaries, inspectors, etc. are gentiles. It is to them that the Moors trust, putting in their hands the care and management of their affairs. The Moors, having consumed the revenues from the provinces of which they had the intendancy with balls, feasts, equipages and entourages to make themselves believe to be sovereign lords of the country of which they were intendants,

ceased then to be so, subsequently pursued by their masters when time came to account for the administration. Having sold the furniture, chattels and all things which one could confiscate (excepting on several occasions what one had been shrewd enough to place in security), they declared themselves *faqirs*, that is to say, weary of the world and resolved to leave it with the pretext of awaiting nothing more than a divine life, retired and removed from all troubles. A skullcap rather than a turban on the head, the simple habit or robe of a monk, reddish in hue, a rosary in place of sabre in hand, staff in the other, and what is more, the Koran under the arm, afforded immediate protection from the pursuit of the treasurer or other court representatives, as well as from the creditors. Rather like that race of privileged thieves in Europe who, establishing their success on the ruin of others, declare bankruptcy at an opportune moment to enjoy unmolested the fortune acquired through their devious and deceitful ways. The people of India are foolish enough to respect these rogues…

15. Of tranquil minds, William Macintos[62]

All history points to India as the mother of science and art. This country was anciently so renowned for knowledge and wisdom that the philosophers of Greece did not disdain to travel thither for their improvement…

The tranquility of their minds, even in the most trying circumstances, is expressed by a constant smile that sits gracefully on their placid countenances…the Hindoos are naturally the most inoffensive of all mortals…In Asia, particularly in India, both on this side and beyond the Ganges, there is a scrupulous tenacity of ancient customs and manners…

In refinement and ease [the Hindus] are superior to any people to the westward of them. In politeness and address, in gracefulness of deportment, and speech, an Indian is as much superior to a Frenchman of fashion, as a French courtier is to a Dutch burgo-master of Dort... The Hindoos, especially those of the higher Castes, are in their demeanor easy and unconstrained…but their ease and freedom is reserved, modest, and respectful... An Indian [is polite] because he respects you.

16. Hindus possessed valuable knowledge in the past, George Forste[63]

When this empire, its polished people, and the progress which science had made amongst them, are attentively considered; when, at the same period, a

retrospective view is thrown on the states of the European world, then immersed in, or emerging from, ignorance and barbarity, we must behold Hindostan with wonder and respect; and we may assert without forfeiting the claims of truth and moderation, that, however far the European world now out-strips the nations of the East, the followers of Brimha in the early period of life, were possessed of a fund amply stored with valuable materials of philosophy and useful knowledge. The humane mind will naturally feel a sense of sorrow and pity for a people, who have fallen from so conspicuous a height of glory and fortune, and who probably have contributed to polish and exalt the nations, who now hold them in subjection.

Crushed by invaders

Hindostan was overthrown by a fierce race of men, who in their rapid course of conquest, exerted the most furious efforts in leveling every monument of worship and taste. They massacred the priests and plundered the temples, with a keenness and ferocity, in which their first chiefs might have gloried. A people thus crushed, groaning under the load of oppression, and dismayed at the sight of incessant cruelties, must soon have lost the spirit of science, and the exertion of genius; especially as the fine arts, were so blended with their system of religion, that the persecution of the one, must have shed a baneful influence on the existence of the other. To decide on, or affix, the character of the Hindoo, from the point of view in which he is now beheld, would, in a large degree, be similar to the attempt of conveying an exact idea of ancient Greece, from the materials now presented by the wretched country.…

17. Civilisation earlier than Egyptian, George Forste[64]

The capacious space which Hindostan occupies on the face of the globe, the advantages it derives from soil and climate, and from its numerous rivers, some of them of the first class of magnitude, may be adduced as reasonable arguments of its having been peopled at a more early period of time than Egypt, which does not possess the like local benefits. If the degree of perfection which manufactures have attained, be received as a criterion to judge of the progress of civilization, and if it be also admitted as a test of deciding on the antiquity of a people, who adopt no foreign improvements, little hesitation would occur, in bestowing the palm of

precedence on Hindostan, whose fabrics of the most delicate and beautiful contexture, have been long held in admiration, and have hitherto stood unrivalled. Let me conclude this comparative view, with observing, and I trust dispassionately, that when we see a people possessed of an ample stock of science of well digested ordinances, for the protection and improvement of society – and of a religion whose tenets consist of the utmost refinement, and variety of ceremony – and, at the same time, observe amongst other Asiatic nations, and the Egyptians of former times, but partial distributions of knowledge, law, and religion – we must be led to entertain a supposition, that the proprietors of the lesser, have been supplied from the sources of the greater fund…

18. 'Liberal minded,' the anonymous author of *Hartly House, Calcutta* (1789), believed to be a young woman who wrote a year or two after her return to Britai[65]

If there are, as some tenets imply, a distinction of heavenly situations, will not this good-minded people occupy the first in rank; for nearest to the divine attributes of any thing you can have a conception of, is their kind-heartedness and probity.

In a word, their manners are highly interesting, from their simplicity and liberal-mindedness; and I blush to feel how superior to all that Christianity can boast, of peace and goodwill towards men.

... I felt myself in danger of becoming a *Braminate*, though all the wealth of Indostan could not bribe me to become a Mahometan.

19. Contribution of Hindus, Sir William Jone[66]

The Hindus are said to have boasted of three inventions, all of which, indeed, are admirable, the method of instructing of apologues, the decimal scale adopted now by all civilised nations, and the game of chess, on which they have some curious treatises; but, if their numerous works on grammar, logick, rhetorick, musick, all which are extant and accessible, were explained in some language generally known, it would be found, that they had yet higher pretentions to the praise of a fertile and inventive genius. Their lighter poems are lively and elegant; their epick, magnificent and sublime in the highest degree; their *Puranas* comprise a series of mythological histories in blank verse from the Creation to the supposed incarnation of Buddha; and their *Vedas,* as far as we can judge from that

compendium of them, which is called *Upanishat,* abound with noble speculations in metaphysicks, and fine discourses on the being and attributes of God. Their most ancient medical book, entitled *Chereca* [Charak], is believed to be the work of Siva; for each of the divinities in their Triad has at least one sacred composition ascribed to him; but, as to mere human works on history and geography, though they are said to be extant in Cashmir, it has not been yet in my power to procure them. What their astronomical and mathematical writings contain, will not, I trust, remain long a secret: they are easily procured, and their importance cannot be doubted. The philosopher, whose works are said to include a system of the universe founded on the principle of attraction and the central position of the sun, is named Yavan Acharya, because he had travelled, we are told, into Ionia: if this be true, he might have been one of those, who conversed with Pythagoras; this at least is undeniable, that a book on astronomy in Sanscrit bears the title of *Yavana Jatica,* which may signify the Ionick Sect; nor is it improbable, that the names of the planets and Zodiacal stars, which the Arabs borrowed from the Greeks, but which we find in the oldest Indian records, were originally devised of the same ingenious and enter-prizing race, from whom both Greece and India were peopled…

20. India early civilised, William Robertso[67]

Whoever…wishes to trace the commerce with India to its source must search for it, not so much in any peculiarity of the natural productions of that country, as in the superior improvement of its inhabitants. Many facts have been transmitted to us, which, if they are examined with proper attention, clearly demonstrate that the natives of India were not only more early civilised, but had made greater progress in civilization than any other people…

By the ancient Heathen writers, the Indians were reckoned among those races of men which they denominated *Autochthones* or *Aborigines*, whom they considered as natives of the soil, whose origin could not be traced. By the inspired writers, the wisdom of the East (an expression which is to be understood as a description of their extraordinary progress in science and arts) was early celebrated…

21. 'Lamentably degenerate,' the Evangelist, Charles Grant, who was the first to advocate the Christianization and Anglicization of Indi[68]

Upon the whole, then, we cannot avoid recognizing in the people of Hindostan, a race of men lamentably degenerate and base, retaining but a feeble sense of moral obligation, yet obstinate in their disregard of what they know to be right, governed by malevolent and licentious passions, strongly exemplifying the effects produced on society by great and general corruption of manners, and sunk in misery by their vices, in a country peculiarly calculated by its natural advantages to promote the happiness of its inhabitants.

22. Cheerful yet sober, Quintin Craufur[69]

The Hindoos are naturally cheerful, and are fond of conversation, of play, and of sports. They will spend almost the whole night in seeing dancing, and hearing music; yet none dance but the women, whose profession it is, and who devote themselves to the pleasure and amusement of the public.

They are nevertheless extremely sober; they eat only twice a day, in the morning and evening.…

The Hindoos are great observers of decorum; their manners are unaffected; they possess much natural politeness, and have an extraordinary degree of caution in not saying or doing any thing which they imagine may offend. The Brahmans in general shew the least civility, which is owing to the precedence they assume over the other casts, and the deference that is continually shewn them.

23. Hindus immersed in impurity, Rev. William Carey of the Serampore trio who were critical of native custom[70]

No people can have more surrendered their reason. In business they are not deficient, but in religion they seem without understanding. But a people can hardly be better than their gods. They have made themselves idols after their own hearts. Hindus have not the fierceness of American Indians, but this is abundantly made up for by cunning and deceit. Moral rectitude makes no part of their religious system; no wonder, therefore, they are immersed in impurity.

24. Hindus a self sufficient people, Sir Thomas Munr[71]

No nation will take from another what it can furnish cheaper and better itself. In India, almost every article which the inhabitants require, is made cheaper and better than in Europe. Among these are all cotton and silk manufactures, leather, paper, domestic utensils of brass and iron, and

implements of agriculture. Their coarse woolens though bad, will always keep their ground from their superior cheapness; their finer camblets are warmer and more lasting than ours…Their simple mode of living dictated both by caste and climate, renders all our furniture and ornaments for the decoration of the house and the table utterly unserviceable to the Hindus: living in low mud houses, eating on the bare earth, they cannot require the various articles used among us. They have no tables; their houses are not furnished, except those of the rich, which have a small carpet, or a few mats and pillows. The Hindus eat alone, many from caste in the open air, others under sheds, and out of leaves of trees in preference to plates. But this is the picture, perhaps, of the unfortunate native reduced to poverty by European oppression under the Company's monopoly? No, it is equally that of the highest and richest Hindu in every part of India. It is that of the Minister of State. His dwelling is little better than a shed; the walls are naked, and the mud floor, for the sake of coolness, is every morning sprinkled with a mixture of water and cow-dung. He has no furniture in it. He distributes food to whoever wants it, but he gives no grand dinners to his friends. He throws aside his upper garments, and with nothing but a cloth around his loins, he sits down half-naked, and eats his meal alone, upon the bare earth, and under the open sky.

25. Thomas Munro writing in 1807 on native characte[72]

here is such a strange mixture of fraud and honesty in the natives of India, and even in the same individuals, in different circumstances, that none but a native can, on many occasions, penetrate the motives from which such opposite conduct arises. The numerous petty dealings constantly going on, with comparatively very few disputes, the frequency of depositing money and valuable articles without any kind of voucher, and the general practice of lending money without any kind of receipt or document but the accounts of the parties, manifest a high degree of mutual confidence, which can originate only in a conviction of the probity of each other. But, on the other hand, every native will perjure himself. In every litigation respecting water, boundaries of villages, and privileges of caste – in all these cases, he never speaks the truth, unless from the accident of its being on the side which he conceives himself bound to espouse. He will also perjure himself (not uniformly indeed, yet with little hesitation) in favour of a relation a friend,

or an inhabitant of the same village; and even in favour of persons in whose welfare he has apparently no concern. These causes, added to bribery, render perjury so common, that scarcely any dependence can be placed upon evidence, unless where it is supported by collateral proofs. The number of witnesses, and even their general character, is therefore of less consequence than an acquaintance with those particulars, customs, and prejudices by which their evidence is likely to be biased.

26. 'Misrepresented by some divines,' Captain Thomas Williamso[73]

[Indians were, on the whole], a race whose intellectual qualities, whatever may be said by ignorant or designing men, are at least on a par with those of Europeans. (Not that they did not have a share of human depravity, but they were not) so debased, so immoral, or so vindictive, as they have been represented by many gentlemen, especially some divines who have lately returned from the East, and whose opinions breathe by no means the spirit of that sublime religion they would coerce the natives to adopt. Taking all points into consideration, and viewing the nature of the country conjointly with the nature of their laws, and of their former government, I think we have by far more to admire than to censure, in a race of people, who, notwithstanding some highly remarkable instances of depravity, may be classed a among the most innocent, and most industrious, of worldly inhabitants!!!

27. Need to awaken the Hindus to their treasures, Maria Graha[74]

…perhaps I should be ashamed to own that I had so far strayed from good-nature and good-sense, as to forget, that whatever reproaches may be deserved by some of the Hindus for their moral practices the fundamental principles of morality itself are so firmly implanted in the soul of man that no vicious practice and no mistaken code can change their nature...

Our missionaries are very apt to split upon this rock, and in order to place our religion in the brightest light, as if it wanted their feeble aid, they lay claim exclusively to all the sublime maxims of morality and tell those they wish to convert, that their own books contain nothing but abominations, the belief of which they must abandon in order to receive the purer doctrine of Christianity. Mistaken men! Mistaken men! Could they desire a better opening to their hopes than to find already established that morality which says, it is enjoined to man even at the moment of destruction to wish to

benefit his foes, 'as the sandal tree in the instant of its overthrow sheds perfume on the axe that fells it.'…

In short, I consider morality like the sciences and arts, to be only slumbering not forgotten in India; and that to awaken the Hindus to a knowledge of the treasures in their own hands is the only thing wanting to set them fairly in the course of improvement with other nations.

Everywhere in the ancient Hindu books we find the maxims of that pure and sound morality which is founded on the nature of man as a rational and social being….

The Hindus claim the honour of having invented the method of teaching by apologues…

28. Venerate gods of other religions, Maria Graha[75]

A stranger in India will not fail to be struck with the indiscriminate respect which the lower classes of Hindus pay to the objects worshipped by all other sects. I have seen them making their little offerings, and joining the processions at the Mussulman feasts of Hassan and Hossein, and as frequently appearing at the doors of the Romish Portuguese chapels, with presents of candles to burn before the saints, and flowers to adorn the shrines; in short, whatever is regarded as holy by others, they approach with reverence, so much are uncultivated men the creatures of imitation and habit.

29. Lady Nugent observes the mildness of native character while driving through a village in the neighbourhood of Calcutt[76]

I cannot help remarking the extreme mildness of the native character. Every one seems to walk slowly and lightly; all speak low, even in the market; there is a sort of gentleness in their voice and manner – those who were not employed sat squatting at their doors, smoking their hookahs. The games of the children seem to partake of the native character; they, too, squat, in little parties, about the doors, and, though they look lively, you scarcely ever hear their little voices, and none of their amusements appear at all of a riotous nature.

30. A spiritual people, Anne Elwoo[77]

The Hindoos, apparently not having Gods enough of their own, worship those of other sects whenever they come in their way.

They also appear to observe not only their own festivals, but those of the Christians and Mahometans, and indeed the whole year round was nothing but a succession of different mysteries and mummery, in honour of some Saint, or of some holiday.…

The Hindoos must certainly have the organ of veneration very strongly developed, for not only do they perform poojah to their own deities, but they are very ready also to join in the religious rites of other nations; they will follow the Mussulman's taboot, and at our Christmas, they will bring an offering of cakes, flowers, and sugar-candy to the Christian Sahib…

31. A simple people, Bishop Hebe[78]

was, indeed, prepared to expect a much greater simplicity and homeliness of manners in the Rajpoots and tribes of central India, than in those who had been subjects of Mogul empire, and, even at the court of Jyepoor, I was struck with the absence of that sort of polish which had been apparent at Lucknow and Delhi. The Hindoos seem every where, when left to themselves and under their own sovereigns, a people of simple tastes and tempers, inclined to frugality, and indifferent to show and form. The subjects of even the greatest Maharatta prince sit down without scruple in his presence, and no trace is to be found in their conversation of those adulatory terms which the Mussulmans introduced into the northern and eastern provinces.

32. Strong tradition of self-government, W. H. Sleema[79]

There is perhaps no part of the world where the communities of which the society is composed have been left so much to self-government as in India.... The village communities were everywhere left almost entirely to self-government; and the virtues of truth and honesty, in all their relations with each other, were indispensably necessary to enable them to govern themselves. A common interest often united a good many village communities in a bond of union, and established a kind of brotherhood over extensive tracts of richly cultivated land. Self-interest required that they should unite to defend themselves against attacks with which they were threatened at every returning harvest in a country where every prince was a robber upon a scale more or less large according to his means, and took the field to rob while the lands were covered with the ripe crops upon which his troops might subsist…Though, in their relations with each other, all these

village communities spoke as much truth as those of any other communities in the world; still, in their relation with the Government, they told as many lies; – for falsehood, in the one set of relations, would have incurred the odium of the whole of their circles of society – truth, in the other, would often have involved the same penalty. If a man had told a lie to *cheat* his neighbour, he would have become an object of hatred and contempt – if he told a lie to *save* his neighbour's fields from an increase of rent or tax, he would have become an object of esteem and respect. If the Government officers were asked whether there was any truth to be found among such communities, they would say, No, *that the truth was not in them*; because they would not cut each other's throats by telling them the real value of each other's fields.

33. Public spirit of Hindus, W. H. Sleema[80]

If by the term public spirit be meant a disposition on the part of individuals to sacrifice their own enjoyments, or their own means of enjoyment, for the common good, there is perhaps no people in the world among whom it abounds so much as among the people of India. To live in the grateful recollections of their countrymen for benefits conferred upon them in great works of ornament and utility is the study of every Hindoo of rank and property. Such works tend, in his opinion, not only to spread and perpetuate his name in this world, but, through the good wishes and prayers of those who are benefited by them, to secure the favour of the Deity in the next.

According to their notions, every drop of rain-water or dew that falls to the ground from the green leaf of a fruit-tree, planted by them for the common good, proves a refreshing draught for their souls in the next [world]. When no descendant remains to pour the funeral libations in their name, the water from the trees they have planted for the public good is destined to supply its place. Everything judiciously laid out to promote the happiness of their fellow-creatures will in the next world be repaid to them ten-fold by the Deity.

In marching over the country in the hot season, we every morning find our tents pitched on the green sward amid beautiful groves of fruit-trees, with wells of 'pakka' (brick or stone) masonry, built at great expense, and containing the most delicious water; but how few of us ever dream of

asking at whose cost the trees that afford us and our followers such agreeable shade were planted, or the wells that afford us such copious streams of fine water in the midst of dry, arid plains were formed! We go on enjoying all the advantages which arise from the *noble public spirit* that animates the people of India to benevolent exertions, without once calling in question the truth of the assertion of our metropolitan friends that 'the people of India have no public spirit.'…

34. 'A most perfect and enviable command of countenance,' Marianne Postan[81]

The Hindoo character is highly deserving minute study; for I know no other people who resemble them, or any known principles to which their peculiarities can be referred. The Hindoo has a most perfect and enviable command of countenance: whether in joy or sorrow, he never betrays feelings he may desire to conceal; and the calm and serene appearance of his features, would induce an observer to believe him an apathetic being, whom the ordinary passions of our nature could not assail. Yet, how superficial is this judgment! See him in his temples, joining in some of the wild and startling ceremonies of his idol worship, his eye kindling with enthusiasm, and his form writhing with excitement before the altars of his gods; see him at his festivals, garlanded with flowers, covered with unguents and perfumes, half mad with mirth, shouting and feasting in these joyous saturnalia: and then wonder, as we must, at the calm eye, and quiet aspect of the Hindoo, in his usual and public bearing.

35. Have no fear of death, Marianne Postan[82]

The absence of that fear of death, which is so powerful in the hearts of civilised men, is the most remarkable trait in the Hindu character; as a subject of contemplation and enquiry, this has great interest. Probably the inhabitants of civilised nations set an undue value on life…

B. APPEARANCE AND DRESS

1. Of copper or olive colour, Robert Orm[83]

The colour of the Indians is generally either that of copper or of the olive, but both with various shades. It is not absolutely the proximity of the inhabitant to the equator, that determines his complexion in India; other physical causes, from differences which arise as by starts in regions equally distant from the sun, and it is in their complexion that less national

generality is found, than in any other of the properties of their figure: some are almost black; but these are either inhabitants of the woods, or people inured to labour and fatigues uncommon to the rest of their countrymen.

Distinguishable from others

The hair of the Indians is without exception long, fine, and of a jet black. The nose, if not always aquiline, is never buried in the face, nor with large distorted nostrils, as in the Coffrees of Africa, and in the Malay nations. Their lips, though in general larger than in Europeans, have nothing of that disagreeable protuberancy projecting beyond the nose, which characterizes the two people just mentioned. The eyebrows are full in the men, slender in the women, well-placed in both. The eyelid is of the finest form, – long, neither opening circularly, as in many of the inhabitants of France, nor scarce opening at all, as in the Chinese. The iris is always black, but rarely with lustre, excepting in their children, and in some of their women: nor is the white of the eye perfectly clear from a tinge of yellow; their countenance therefore receives little animation, but rather a certain air of languor, from this feature. From the nostrils to the middle of the upper lip they have an indenture, strongly marked by two ridges, seldom observable in the northern Europeans, but often in the Spaniard and Portuguese; and from the middle of the under lip there is another such indenture, which loses itself a little above the chin: these lines, chiefly remarked in persons of their habits, give an air of sagacity to the men, and of delicacy to the physiognomy of the women. The outline of the face is various, oftener oval than of any other form, particularly in the women; and this variety of outline is another of the principal characters which distinguisheth the Indian from the Tartar as well as Malay; whose faces are universally of the same shape; that is, as broad as they are long.

2. Straight and elegant, William Macintos[84]

Their persons are straight and elegant, their limbs finely proportioned, their fingers long and tapering, their countenances open and pleasant, and their features exhibit the most delicate lines of beauty in the females, and in the males a kind of manly softness. Their walk and gait, as well as their whole deportment, is in the highest degree graceful.

DRESS

3. Wear little, Robert Orm[85]

The want of raiment is scarce an inconvenience; and the most wealthy remain by choice almost naked, when in their own families and free from the intercourse of strangers; so that all the manufacturers of cloth, for which India is so famous, derive more from the decency of their character; the luxurious taste of a rich and enervated people; and from the spirit of commerce which has prevailed among them from time immemorial; than from wants really felt; and if the manufacture of a piece of cloth was not the least laborious task in which a man can be employed in India, it is probable that the whole nation would at this day be as naked as their Gymnosophists, of which the ancients say so much and knew so little.

4. Dress in Kashmir, George Forste[86]

The dress of the Kashmirians consists of a large turban, awkwardly put on; a great woolen vest, with wide sleeves; and a sack, wrapped in many folds round the middle; under the vest, which may be properly called a wrapper, the higher class of people wear a pirahun, or shirt, and drawers; but the lower order have no under garment, nor do they even gird up their loins…

The dress of the women is no less aukward than that of the men, and is ill adapted to display the beauties they naturally possess. Their outward, and, often, only garment, is of cotton, and shaped like a long loose shirt. Over the hair, which falls in a single braid, they wear a close cap, usually of a woollen cloth, of a crimson colour; and to the hinder part of it is attached a triangular piece of the same stuff, which, falling on the back, conceals much of the hair. Around the lower edge of the cap is rolled a small turban, fastened behind with a short knot, which seemed to me the only artificial ornament about them. You will be pleased to notice, that I speak of the dress of the ordinary women, such only being permitted to appear in public. The women of the higher classes are never seen abroad; nor is it consistent with the usage of any Mahometan nation, even to speak of the female part of a family.

5. The kangri, William Moorcrof[87]

The dress of the people, both male and female, commonly consists of a long loose wrapper and trowsers, the former of woollen cloth. As a further protection against the cold in winter the Kashmirians usually carry under their tunic an earthen pot with a small quantity of live charcoal, a practice

that invariably discolours and sears the skin, and not unfrequently occasions palsy.

Hindu women never veiled

The Hindu women never go veiled, and never affect concealment, either at home or abroad.

6. Dress of Kolis, Bishop Hebe[88]

They are hardy, stout men, particularly those of the Catteywar and Cutch districts. Their usual dress is a petticoat round the waist, like that of the Bheels, and a cotton cloth wrapped round their heads and shoulders, which, when they wish to be smart, they gather up into a very large white turban. In cold weather, or when drest, they add a quilted cotton kirtle, or "lebada," over which they wear a shirt of mail, with vant-braces and gauntlets, and never consider themselves as fit to go abroad without a sword, buckler, bow and arrows, to which their horsemen add a long spear and battle-axe. The cotton lebada is generally stained and iron-moulded by the mail shirt, and, as might be expected, these marks, being tokens of their martial occupation, are reckoned honourable, insomuch that their young warriors often counterfeit them with oil or soot, and do their best to get rid as soon as possible of the burgher-like whiteness of a new dress. This is said to be the real origin of the story told by Hamilton, that the Coolies despise and revile all cleanly and decent clothing as base and effeminate. In other respects they are found of finery; their shields are often very handsome, with silver bosses, and composed of rhinoceros-hide; their battle-axes richly inlaid, and their spears surrounded with many successive rings of silver. Their bows are like those of the Bheels, but stronger, and in better order; and their arrows are carried in a quiver of red and embroidered leather.

7. Maratha dress, Fanny Parke[89]

The Mahratta dress consists only of two garments, which are a tight body to the waist, with sleeves tight to the elbow; a piece of silk, some twenty yards or more in length, which they wind around them as a petticoat, and then, taking a part of it, draw it between the limb and fasten it behind in a manner that gives it the effect both of petticoat and trousers; this is the whole dress unless, at times, they substitute *angiyas,* with short sleeves, for the tight long-sleeved body.

8. Dress in Upper Assam, William Griffit[90]

Upper Assam, Jan. 15th [1836] – We arrived at Kujoo, a rather large village of Singfos, and within half a day's journey of which the tea is found in its native state…The people themselves are fair, much like the Burmese, but still quite distinct. The male dress resembles the Burmese much; the females is more distinct, consisting chiefly of a sort of gown; and whilst tattooing is confined to the males in Burma, it here appears to be indulged in chiefly by the ladies; all the legs I saw during the day, being ornamented with rings of tattoo. The men are a stout, rather fine race; free, easy, and independent, and great admirers of *grog* in every form.

9. Hair styles, Honoria Lawrenc[91]

here is no part of the costume where the natives shew such variety of taste as in the arranging of the hair. And this does not as far as I can see depend on religious distinction. Some cover the head with a load of folded cloth, others wear no covering on it, and have the hair cropped close. Some wear little caps and the hair reaching down to the shoulders, where it is cut square across. Others have a broad line shaven from the forehead to the nape of the neck, and others cut off the hair above the forehead from ear to ear. And it is not uncommon to see the whole head shaven except one long tuft on the crown. The Mussulmanns have generally fine beards. But the Hindoos almost always shave theirs.

10. Children go naked, Honoria Lawrenc[92]

The children when very young go about absolutely naked with long hair, their ankles and wrists adorned with silver, tin or coloured glass. Up to ten or twelve, they wear only a waist-cloth and piece of cotton round their shoulders. At this age they are generally much disfigured but the collyrium which is applied within the eyelid and gives to the eyes for a long time a weak and bleared appearance. The swarms of children in every village are absolutely astounding, outdoing Ireland over and over.

C. DIET

1. Rice and wheat common food, Robert Orm[93]

The savage, by his chace and the perpetual war in which he lives with the elements, is enabled to devour almost raw the flesh of the animals he has killed. In more civilised nations, the plowman from his labour is enabled to digest in its coarsest preparations the wheat he has sown. Either of these

foods would destroy the common inhabitant of Indostan, as he exists at present: his food is rice.

To provide this grain, we see a man of no muscular strength carrying a plough on his shoulder to the field, which the season or reservoirs of water have overflown. This slender instrument of his agriculture, yoked to a pair of diminutive and feeble oxen, is traced, with scarce the impression of a furrow, over the ground, which is afterwards sown. The remaining labour consists in supplying the field with water; which is generally effected to no greater a toil than undamming the canals, which derive from the great reservoir. If in some places this water is drawn from wells, in most parts of India it is supplied by rain; as the rice in those parts, when the rainy season is of two or three months duration, is always sown just before this season begins. When reaped, the women separate the grain from the husk in wooden mortars, or it is trampled by oxen. Instead of hedges, the field is inclosed with a slender bank of earth.

A grain obtained with so little labour, has the property of being the most easily digestible of any preparation use for food, and is therefore the only proper one for such an effeminate race as I have described. There is wheat in India; it is produced only in the sharper regions, where rice will not so easily grow, and where the cultivator acquires a firmer fibre than the inhabitant of the plain. It was probably introduced with the *Alcoran*, as all the Mahomedans of northern extraction prefer it to rice, as much as an Indian rejects a nourishment which he cannot well digest even in its finest preparation.

2. Water, spices, vegetables, Robert Orm[94]

Water is the only drink of every Indian respectable enough to be admitted into their assemblies of public worship, as all inebriating liquors are forbore through a principle of religion; not that the soil is wanting in productions proper to compose the most intoxicating, nor themselves in the art of preparing them for the outcasts of their own nation, or others of persuasions different from their own, who chuse to get drunk. They have not equally been able to refrain from the use of spices and these the hottest, without which they never make a meal. Ginger is produced in their gardens as easily as radishes are in ours; and chilli, the highest of all vegetable productions used for food, insomuch that it will blister the skin, grows spontaneously:

these, with turmeric, are the principal ingredients of their cookery, and by their plenty are always within the reach of the poorest. A total abstinence from animal food is not so generally observed amongst them as is imagined; even the Bramins will eat fish; but as they never prepare either fish or flesh without mixing them with much greater quantities of spices than Europeans suffer in their ragouts, animal food never makes more than the slightest portion of their meal, and the preference of vegetables, of which they have various kinds in plenty is decisively marked amongst them all. The cow is sacred every where: milk, from a supposed resemblance with the 'amortam' or nectar of their gods, is religiously esteemed the purest of foods, and receives the preference to vegetables in their nourishment.

If the rice harvest should fail, which sometimes happens in some parts of India, there are many other resources to prevent the inhabitant from perishing: there are grains of a coarser kind and larger volume than rice, which require not the same continuation of heat, and at the same time the same supplies of water, to be brought to perfection: there are roots, such as the Indian potatoe, radish, and others of the turnip kind, which without manure acquire a larger size than the same species of vegetables in Europe, when assisted with all the arts of agriculture, although much inferior to those of Peru, of which Garcilaffa della Vega gives so astonishing a description: there are ground fruits of the pumpkin and melon kind, which come to maturity with the same facility, and of which a single one is sufficient to furnish a meal for three persons, who receive sufficient nourishment from this slender diet. The fruit-trees of other countries furnish delicacies to the inhabitant, and scarcely any thing more; in India there are many which furnish at once a delicacy and no contemptible nourishment: the palm and the coco trees give in their large nuts a gelatinous substance, on which men, when forced to the experience by necessity, have subsisted for fifty days: the jack-tree produces a rich, glewy, and nutritive fruit: the papa and the plantain-tree grow to perfection, and give their fruit within the year: the plantain, in some of its kinds, supplies the place of bread, and in all is of excellent nourishment. These are not all the presents which the luxuriant hand of nature gives as food to the inhabitant of India…The sun forbids the use of fuel in any part of the year, as necessary to procure

warmth; and what is necessary to dress their victuals, is chiefly supplied by the dung of their cows.

3. Don't eat food touched by others, *A Voyage To Calcutta In 1761*, author unknow[95]

Should any European enter their houses, they imagine them to be the polluted: neither will they eat or drink anything that has been touched by Europeans, or even Moors, who they hate – and not without reason, for they are a lazy, haughty people, oppressing without mercy where they have any power.

4. Food in Kashmir, William Moorcrof[96]

The food of those who can afford it is partly of meat, mutton of goats or sheep, which sells at about three pence per pound. Beef is not procurable, as the Sikh ruler punishes the death of a cow capitally. The chief food of the people is vegetable; turnips, cabbages, and radishes, the *Sinhara*, or water-nut, and rice. The turnips are purple, or reddish, and speedily become woolly: the radishes are mostly white and strong: the cabbages do not head, but the leaves are frequently stripped. Besides these, lettuces, spinach, and other common vegetables are in extensive use, boiled into a sort of soup, with a little salt, or even the leaves of the dandelion, dock, plantain, and mallow; and the catkins of the walnut are employed as food, seasoned with a little salt, mustard, and walnut oil...

Sinhara, or water-nut

Another principle article of the food of the common people, the Sinhara, or water-nut, grows abundantly in the different lakes in the vicinity of the capital, and especially in the Wular lake, which yields an average return of ninety-six to a hundred and twenty thousand ass-loads a year. It is fished up from the bottom in small nets, and affords employment to the fishermen for several months. It constitutes the almost only food of at least thirty thousand persons for five months in the year. After being extracted from the shell the nuts are eaten, raw, boiled, roasted, fried, or dressed in various ways, after being reduced to flour. The most common preparation is boiling one ser of the flour with two quarts of water, so as to form a sort of gruel, which, though insipid, is nutritive. The Sinhara, in the shell, is sold in about a rupee per load.

Lotus Stem

Another article of food derived form the lakes is the stem of the Nymphaea Lotus. In the autumn, after the plate of the leaf has begun to decay, this has acquired maturity, and, being boiled till tender, furnishes a wholesome and nutritious article, which supports, perhaps, five thousand persons in the city for nearly eight months.

5. Diet of people of Kumaon, Bishop Hebe[97]

Of the poverty of these people, however, I had no idea till I this day saw the bread they eat. It is the grain of a kind of holcus, and looks like clover-seed: the flour, bran, husk and all, is made into thick coarse cakes, like those for elephants, and these are not baked as the elephants' bread is, but laid on the fire and scorched or toasted there, so that part is raw dough, part ashes. To such a people potatoes must, indeed, be an exceeding and obvious blessing.

6. Beef forbidden, W.G. Osborn[98]

Beef is as much a forbidden food in the Punjab as pork is in Hindostan to the natives; and to kill a cow across the Sutlege would subject the perpetrator of the deed to almost certain death.

7. Cow dung as fuel, Honoria Lawrenc[99]

The passage: Ezekiel IV 9-17, wherein the prophet is commanded to use dung as fuel for preparing his food, appears to us very revolting, but in the East, it bears a very different aspect. Here, dung is the chief article of fuel. Women and children may be seen carrying on their heads baskets of it that they collected, and then preparing it for use by kneading it up. Sometimes it is laid in cakes against the wall to dry. These cakes are afterwards built into conical stacks. Sometimes it is laid along the ground in parallel ridges a few inches apart, and when dried, another set of ridges are laid across these, so that the stack when finished, presents alternate hollow and open squares. In places where wood is scarce, one may account for any substitute being employed as fuel, [but] cow dung is just as much used in the forest as in the bare plain. Manuring the land is a practice hardly known, except with respect to small patches of ground for opium, tobacco, or esculents…

D. DWELLINGS

1. In Upper Assam, William Griffit[100]

[Jan. 15th1836] – We arrived at Kujoo, a rather large village of Singfos, and within half a day's journey of which the tea is found in its native state.

This is the first Singfo village I have as yet seen, and is situated on the skirts of a plain of small extent, and covered to all appearance by extensive grass jungles, among which trees are interspersed. The houses are not numerous, but they are of large size, and are raised in the Burman fashion on piles from the ground. Within one, many families are accommodated.

2. Every man carries his bed, Honoria Lawrenc[101]

Indeed almost every man who moves about at all here takes up his bed which is generally merely a blanket, or two folds of cloth quilted together with cotton. The other bed in common use is a *charpoy*, or frame of light wood, laced across with twine, and raised on four legs, about eight inches high. This is very light, and I have repeatedly seen a man walking along with his *charpoy* on his head. One day lately, a man who had [been] hurt in quarrel was brought into our camp on one of these beds, "borne of four," just as I suppose the sick man was carried to Jesus. The one I speak of was borne on the men's heads, but a *charpoy* is frequently made into a couch for transporting the sick by swinging it with cords from bamboo which four men bear on the shoulders. An easier conveyance could not be devised, for it has no jolt, and I have for my own use, a sea-cot so swung, which I usually prefer to palanquin for a long march…

3. Boat houses in Kashmir, Honoria Lawrence, the first white woman to visit Kashmi[102]

A great part of the population live entirely upon the water. Long, large, unwieldy boats thatched over, not an uncomfortable dwelling in a climate like this. An earthen fireplace for cooking, a very rude spinning wheel, a hutch for fowls, a fishing net and a few earthen cooking pots seem the sole furniture. I don't know what becomes of the men belonging to these boats, for one seldom sees in them any but women and children.

The women here row stoutly and the children are quite amphibious. It is strange to see the swarms of little things, dark and shining like tadpoles in the shallow water near the banks.

4. Houses in the Deccan, Bishop Hebe[103]

The cottages both in the Concan and in the Deckan are small and mean, with steep thatched roofs, and very low side-walls of loose stones, and there is a general appearance of poverty both in the dress and farming

implements of the people. Their cattle, however, are of a larger and better breed than those of Bengal.

5. A pankha, Fanny Parke[104]

The first sight of a *pankha* is a novelty to a griffin [a new comer]. It is a monstrous fan, a wooden frame covered with cloth, some ten, twenty, thirty, or more feet long, suspended from the ceiling of a room, and moved to and fro by a man outside by means of a rope and pulleys, and a hole in the wall through which the rope passes; the invention is a native one; they are the greatest luxuries, and are also handsome, some being painted and gilt, the ropes covered with silk, and so shaped or scooped as to admit their vibratory motion without touching the chandeliers, suspended in the same line with the *pankha,* and when at rest, occupying the space scooped out. In the up-country, the *pankha* is always pulled during the night over the *charpai* or bed.

E. HOSPITALITY

1. Generous to strangers, Edward Ive[105]

In truth, the hospitality and generosity shewn to strangers in general in this country, are beyond expression; nor is it possible to point out a part of the world where the spirit of charity is more nobly exerted than in our East India Company's settlements: numerous instances might be mentioned, where princely subscriptions have in a few hours been raised, and applied to the effectual relief of many unfortunate families.

2. Serais for travellers, George Forste[106]

India, you know, hath ever been famed for affording convenient places of accommodation to the traveller, who, at the distance of eight or ten miles, seldom fails meeting with a public lodging, or a reservoir of water, where he may perform his ablutions, and quench his thirst. As the greater part of the inhabitants of India, from a simplicity of life, and the clement state of their climate, have but few superfluous wants, a slight defence against the sun and rain, a small portion of clothing, with plain food, constitute a large share of their real ones. In Upper India, the economy of Karawan Serah, or, as it is usually called, the Serauce, is conducted by better regulations, and its conveniences more sensibly felt, than in the southern parts of India. An inclosed area, the interior sides of which contain small apartments, fronting inwards with a principal gateway, is appropriated, in every village of note,

to the use of travellers. The stationary tenants of the Serauce, many of them women, and some of them very pretty, approach the traveller on his entrance, and in alluring language describe to him the various excellencies of their several lodgings. When the choice is made (which is often perplexing, so many are the inducements thrown out on all sides of him) a bed is laid out for his repose – a smoaking pipe is brought, and the utensils cleaned, for preparing his repast. The necessary sum is delivered into the hands generally of a girl, who procures the materials and dresses his meal in a most expeditious man-ner. For two domestics and myself, the horse and his keeper, the whole of my daily expenditure amounted to a sum, which as you will not credit, I will not venture to note; and on days when I was inclined to feast, the addition of two or three pence procured a sumptuous fare, with the accompaniment of a sauce, which an alderman over his callipash might sigh for.

3. Serais, Bishop Hebe[107]

Futtehpoor is surrounded, like most of these towns, with tombs, in the midst of which our tents were pitched. Near us was a large but ruinous serai, which had, however, more of its interior detail perfect than most which I have seen in India. It corresponded in many respects with those of Turkey, and Crim Tartary, – a large court with two gateways opposite to each other, surmounted by towers not unlike those of a college, with a cloister or verandah all round raised about a foot from the ground, with a pucka floor, and having little fire-places contrived against the wall, just large enough to hold the earthen pitchers in which all the cookery is carried on, and behind this, a range of small and dark apartments a step lower than the verandah. No payment is required for lodging here, except a few cowries to the sweeper, while for a very few pice, grass and water will be furnished to a traveller's beasts, and wood and earthen pots to himself; for provisions the neighbouring bazaar is ready. These serais are generally noble monuments of individual bounty, and some were in ancient times liberally endowed, and furnished supplies of gram, milk, and grass gratis to the traveller, as well as shelter. Their foundations are most of them alienated, but even so afar as shelter only is concerned, it is a very great blessing in this country, where the general poverty of the natives, and the prejudices of caste, forbid a stranger hoping for admission into any private

dwelling. Even now, though ruinous, they are kept tolerably clean, and their benefit is so great to all persons, whether Europeans or natives, who are not rich enough to possess tents, and occasionally to some even of those who are, that I rejoice to learn that their restoration is one of the objects proposed by Government in the application of the internal tolls to works of public improvement.

F. ECONOMIC CONDITION OF PEOPLE

1. Famines

(a) Famine of A.D. 1770, poor state of the countryside, William Hodge[108]

In the great famine which raged through Indostan in the year 1770, and the ravages of which were particularly felt in every part of Bengal, the Jungleterry is said to have suffered greatly. I have understood that it was before this time highly cultivated, and filled with industrious husbandmen and manufacturers, and the population was estimated at more than eighteen thousand people. It is, however, at present reduced to a few hundreds, great numbers having been cut off by famine, and others having migrated in search of food.…

The country I had passed through from Allahabad to Lucknow, and thence to Fyzabad, has the same general character, and there are very few elevations to be seen in it that are considerable. It is in a moderate state of cultivation, in some parts better than others; but where it is neglected, it is evidently more from the want of property in the people, than the natural fertility of the country, which, on the contrary, I believe to be capable of producing the finest crops. The villages, of which there are many, some are comfortable in their appearance, and others apparently distressed. After leaving the flourishing district of Benaras, I could not help viewing with a melancholy concern the miserable appearance of all the territories which were under the absolute direction of Mussulman tyrants…

The country from Lucknow to Etaya is in a moderate state of cultivation, but the villages are poor.…

The country from Etaya to this place [Jeswotnagur] is very little cultivated; the villages are not populous, and the few inhabitants appear very wretched.

On the 16th we halted at O'Kraine, six coss further, almost at the termination of the Nabob of Oud's country.

Through the whole of the last day's journey I observed scarcely a spot in cultivation; the villages, of which there are several, were in ruins, and the whole presented almost on uninterrupted scene of desolation. On the last day's march we met a few unfortunate people passing down into the provinces, in order actually to avoid being starved, begging their way.…

Between Shekoabad and Fyrozabad are a few spots of cultivated ground. This village takes its name from the Purgunnah, which is a small district within a larger: it was at this time in the hands of a Gosine, or Hindoo Religious; and as the spirit of the Hindoo government is favourable to agriculture in the highest degree, this spot appeared a perfect garden. It must, indeed, be observed, that although the Hindoo governors or proprietors, from the principle of avarice, may sometimes distress, they do not destroy the endeavours of the poor, as the Mussulmans.…

(b) Famine and starvation deaths, 19 December 1835, Fanny Ede[109] Maharajpore

We now pass through every day, the finest country for dust that it is possible to imagine and there is nothing else to be seen, not a blade of grass – the cattle are to be fed by Oude grass, just as we are to be fed by Oude cooks. We shall not pass through the distressed districts but the famine on one side of the country round Cawnpore, where we shall be the day after tomorrow, is very frightful now. A man was here the other day who had just travelled though that part and said the people were dying in hundreds by the roadside. He had sometimes seen twenty and thirty bodies lying close together.…

My dearest, I am sick at heart with all this starvation we see about us. Now we are only upon the outskirts of the country where famine is raging but we are among those who have only wandered from it to die, and even here some of the villages are depopulated, the crops are dying fast for want of rain. As yet there are funds at all the civil stations for giving food to all who want it but many die upon the road and everyday we see those who do not seem to have an hour's life left in them. Every evening all who come are fed with rice but even these were more than three hundred and it was found difficult to prevent them tearing the rice from each other. Some

scarcely look human, particularly the children. It made me shudder yesterday to see one little wretch who was lying alone in the middle of the camp tear bread off the loaf with his teeth which it had hardly strength enough to swallow. The mothers offer to sell their skeletons of babies for a rupee. The fathers seem to get what food they can for themselves and to leave women and children for starve – but many men too quietly lie down and die. If rain would come during the next fortnight, the crops for the next year might be saved and then the rich natives who have grain in their granaries might sell it, but it is generally during the Xmas week that the rain comes and there is no appearance of it. Already I feel as if we were only giving a few more days of misery to those we feed, for they must die of hunger at last. Three or four days will take away from the sight of all this suffering but I am sure I will never forget it…

January 7th1836 Kanonze.

I have not really had the heart to write the last three days – we have been surrounded by people dying of starvation. Some hundred came for food yesterday, a thousand were fed today, but many of them are still lying round the camp, children who have not many hours of life left in them – some of the grown-up people too are nothing but skin and bone, their faces like skulls. Captain Cunningham found many more today, one woman dead and a man and woman dying, many sitting round but taking no notice. There is plenty of grain too in the granaries but the rich natives, from fear of a greater scarcity next year, will not sell it. The distribution of food is grown very difficult, they will not wait for their turns but rush forwards to tear it from each other and the children are nearly crushed. Almost all our native servants have adopted either orphans or children they have bought for a rupee or two – a very common thing in these times of distress – and they generally keep them for the rest of their lives. We are now within three days of Futteghar and there work is provided for all who can work and funds to support the women and children who cannot…

January 9th

Our poor people are improving a little and have been much less vociferous today. I saw a gentleman today who has come from that part of the country from which these have wandered, and he says the sights there are horrible – hundreds dead and he saw many as he passed stripping bark off the trees

and cooking it. Our French servant went out to look for cantaloupes by the side of the river, and found above a hundred lying together and some skeletons upright in the water and passed through a village where but two inhabitants were left. My dearest, I am longing to be away from all these horrors, where I feel that we can do but little good – all that is consumed by man and beast comes to us from Oude. The country is bare even of grass – at the best it is thinly inhabited. But it is no affectation to say that when we sit down to dinner with the band playing and all the pomp and circumstances of life about us, which is just as much kept up in a tent as anywhere else, my very soul sickens at the cries of the starving children outside which never seem to cease.

2. Poorer natives in Calcutta, James Mitchel[110]

The poorer Natives live in mud houses thatched with straw; the whole Furniture consisting of a mat on which they sleep wrap'd in their Turban unfolded (which with the rag that comes thro' the Thighs fastened to a string round their middle is all their cloaths) and some earthen pots to boil their rice & currie and a Goblet to hold Water (their only beverage) is the whole Furniture; some may have a brass Bowl from which they pour the Water into their mouth, never put it to the Lip; and the Rice put on a mud frame, fitted in a few minutes to the earthen pot that is to boil it, with a small hole in one side to introduce a few dry twigs which they soon kindle, and with the most frugal attention make the whole heat act on the bottom of the pot, and when sufficiently boiled pour off the water and put the rice on a large broad leaf heaped, and having uttered a short Prayer and set apart a small portion as an offering, and washed their mouth and hands; with the Thumb and two fore fingers of their right hand (their left being appropriate to unclean purposes) they mix the rice with a very small quantity of prepared Currie and throw as much as will ly on these fingers into their mouth without touching their Lips, and a large quantity they devour, having only two meals a day.

3. Artisans exploited, Robert Orm[111]

The mechanic or artificer will work only to the measure of his necessities. He dreads to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him. If conspicuous for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some

person in authority, and obliged to work for him night and day, on much harder terms than his usual labour acquired when at liberty.

Hence all emulation is destroyed; and all the luxury of an Asiatick empire has not been able to counteract by its propensity to magnificence and splendour, the dispiriting effects of that fear which reigns throughout, and without which a despotick power would reign no more.

4. Extreme poverty of sepoys, Albert Hervey who was in India from 1833 to 184[112]

Turn we now to a sepoy on the line of march. We will suppose him in the ranks. We have seen his means of subsistence; we know how he feeds, how he is clothed, and how he can undergo his duties in garrison. Now let the reader patiently follow me a little longer, and I will show him the miseries, the privations, and the fatigues to which he is exposed while marching. Before starting, a sepoy generally receives an advance of pay; perhaps he has it in full, or only half, according to the pleasure of the commanding officer, or the distance he has to go. With this advance of pay he has to clear himself from the station (for probably he has incurred debts), besides paying an advance equal to one half, or altogether, as the case may be, for the means of conveying his goods and chattels, as well as his numerous family, some of whom, particularly the young and aged, are unable to walk.

Exclusively of all this, he has to provide the means of sustenance for himself and dependants, and that with a total of perhaps two rupees in his pocket, for a journey of about two or three or four hundred miles! How can he do this? Impossible! He must starve and so must his family; at all events, they must from sheer necessity feed themselves upon the most economical plans that they can possibly devise.

Curry and rice are luxuries they dare not think of. Plain boiled rice is not so expensive, and of that they sometimes do manage to have a treat, about two mouthsful each. Bread or biscuits, or *chuppatees* (cakes made of rice flour), are quite out of the question. Butter-milk with a green chili after it, and now and then a bit of salt fish by way of a relish, is generally their sole food; and parched peas, or raw *chenna* (or grain), forms a kind of variety which they chew, resembling the cud of bitter poverty in every sense of the word.

Upon this sort of diet have they to support nature, and be fit for the duties to which they are called in the camp and on the route. The sepoy has to take his tour of guard once every three days (sometimes oftener), exposed at nights to the damp chilly dew, and perhaps be drenched with rain, being obliged to remain so for hours together during the whole night, and march the next morning without change of clothes, and without any food or other description of creature comfort, save a pot full of that abominable trash, buttermilk.

On arriving at the next stage, he has no comfortable breakfast, no hot coffee, no dram, nothing except some cold rice and water of the preceding day to satisfy his hunger. All this time he has to carry his pack, firelock, and accoutrements; his chaco, his pouch full of ball cartridges; the body emaciated and rendered feeble from want of proper sustenance; how is it possible for the wretched man to go through all this without breaking down?

5. The poverty of the Hindus, Abbe Duboi[113]

India has always been considered a most wealthy and opulent country, more favoured by nature than any other in the world, a land literally flowing with milk and honey, where the soil yields all that is necessary for the existence of its happy people almost without cultivation. The great wealth accumulated by a few of its native princes, the large fortunes so rapidly acquired by many Europeans, its valuable diamond mines, the quality and quantity of its pearls, the abundance of its spices and scented woods, the fertility of its soil, and the, at one time, unrivalled superiority of its various manufactures: all these have caused admiration and wonder from time immemorial. One would naturally suppose that a nation which could supply so many luxuries would surpass all others in wealth.

This estimation of the wealth of India has been commonly accepted in Europe up to the present day; and those who, after visiting the country and obtaining exact and authentic information about the real condition of its inhabitants, have dared to affirm that India is the poorest and most wretched of all the civilised countries of the world, have simply not been believed.… all these beautiful fabrics are manufactured in wretched thatched huts built of mud, twenty to thirty feet long by seven or eight feet broad. In such a work-room the weaver stretches his frame, squats on the ground, and

quietly plies his shuttle, surrounded by his family, his cow, and his fowls. The instruments he makes use of are extremely primitive, and his whole stock in trade could easily be carried about by one man. Such is, in very truth, an exact picture of an Indian factory. As to the manufacturer himself, his poverty corresponds to the simplicity of his work-shop…

I should class the inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula in the following manner. The first and lowest class may be said to be composed of all those whose property is below the value of 5 pounds sterling. This class appears to me to comprise nine-twentieths, or perhaps even a half, of the entire population…

I place in the second class all those whose property ranges from 5 to 25 pounds sterling. This class, I should say, includes about six-twentieths of the entire population…

Thirdly, I may reckon together those Hindus whose property varies in value from 25 to 50 pounds sterling. They comprise about one-tenth of the population…

The fourth class comprises those whose property varies in value from 50 to 100 pounds sterling, and I should say it forms three-fortieths of the population…

In the fifth class I should include all those whose property varies in value from 100 to 200 pounds sterling. It comprises about one-thirtieth of the whole population…

The sixth class may be said to comprise individuals whose tangible property varies in value from 200 to 500 pounds sterling, and it represents, I should say, about one-fiftieth of the population…

The seventh class may be said to be composed of those whose property varies in value from 500 to 1,000 pounds sterling. I should say only one-hundredth part of the population belongs to this class…

The eighth class includes those whose properties range in value from 1,000 to 2,000 ponds sterling, and it comprises one two-hundredths of the population…

G. DOMESTIC SERVANTS

1. The army of servants Europeans required in India, Mrs. Nathaniel Kindersle[114]

The division of the Indians into *casts* is the cause of great inconveniences and expense to the English, as it obliges them to hire three times the number of servants which would otherwise be necessary; for none of them, even on the greatest emergency, will perform the most trifling office which does not belong to their particular *cast*.

The first servant is called a *Banian*; he is at the head of all the business, but if it considerable, he has two or three *Banians* or *Sarcars*, under him.

The next is a *Butler Connah Sarcar*; his office is to take an account of all the money expended for provisions, to pay the butchers, bakers, &c. and answers to a clerk of the kitchen; the next is a *Consummah*, who is the house keeper, he has under him a *compradore*, who goes to market: the *compradore* buys all small articles for the table, and gives his account to the *butler connah sarcar*: the next is a butler, who is an assistant to the *consummah*.

The other servants, who wait at table, or take care of a gentleman's cloaths, &c. are called *kissmagars*. The *Peadars* usually called *Peons* run before your *palenqueen* and carry messages. The *bearers* are the chairmen, it is necessary for every person in a family to have six or eight of them, the lower *casts* of *bearers* take their turn to carry the *mussall* [torch] before the *palenqueen*; but the superior *casts* who are cleaner and more creditable will not condescend to touch it, therefore to every set of bearers it is necessary to have at least two boys of a low cast called *Mussall Chies*.

The *bearers* business, besides carrying the *palenqueen*, is to bring water to wash after dinner, &c. one brings an ewer with water, and pours it over your hands, another gives a towel, but it must be a *Mussall Chie*, or a slave, who holds the *chillumchee*, for the *bearer* would be disgraced by touching any thing which contains the water after one has washed with it.

A cook in a family will have at least one assistant, if not more, and every horse you keep must have a *scice*, and a grass cutter.

The *hooker badar* will do nothing but dress a hooker and attend his master while he smokes it.

These servants all are men; and often the only woman in a family is a *Matrannee*, a *Hallicore*, who sweeps the rooms, and does all the dirty offices which the others will not condescend to.

The servants who attend in a lady's apartment are generally slave girls, or Portuguese women; and the nurses for children are Portuguese.

The gardeners are called *Mollies*; like all the other people, many hands do but little work; the men who bring water for the gardens, and other purposes, are called *Busties*; they carry the water in large leathern bags slung over their backs, at one corner of which there is a sort of spout, which they bring under the right arm; by that means they water the gardens, and throw it whenever else it is necessary.

The taylors who make your linen are monthly servants; the slowness of these men can be equalled by nothing but their stupidity. All the linen is washed by men who are paid by the month.

The *Derwan's* business is to stand at the outward door, to announce visitors; but they are not generally kept, as a *Peon*, or *Chubdar*, will do that office.

Chubdar are men who carry a long silver stick, and do nothing but go before *palenqueen*, carry messages, or announce visitors. Keeping *Chubdars* is a piece of state allowed by the black people only to officers of dignity in the state; and by the English is confined to the council and filed officers.

The *Banian's* wage is the most considerable, and depends on the situation of his master. The wages of the other servants differ according to their quality: a *Consummah*, Cook, &c. have thirty, twenty, or ten rupees a month; the others less; and some of the lowest order not more than three or four rupees.

None of the servants ever eat, drink, or sleep in their master's house; nor will either Hindoos or Mahomedans eat of any thing which goes from their master's table.

It is impossible to avoid inconvenience of a multitude of servants; for if you lessen the number but one, they have a thousand tricks to distress you; and from your head *Banian* to the lowest *Mussall Chie* in your family, all are combined to oblige you to keep the number which they deem proportioned to your rank.

As their master rises in life, they insist upon more Cooks, more *Peons*, more *Kissmagars*, more *Bearers*, &c. The consequence of a refusal is that those he wants most, particularly *Bearers*, will run away; and the *Banian*, who is in the secret, makes so many difficulties in getting others, and has so many well-feigned excuses, and so many artful tricks to make his master feel the want of them, that although people are sensible of the fraud, they

are obliged to comply with what their servants call *custom*, to save themselves the numberless vexations they would otherwise occasion. Most of the servants besides insist upon raising their wages in proportion to their master's rank. This they likewise tell him is *all time custom*, a favourite expression with the *Banians*; and, in their opinion, a sufficient reason for any thing.

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Chapter 3
Community and Regional Characteristics

A. The Jats
B. The Marathas
C. The Sikhs
D. The Kashmiris
E. People of Kangra
F. People of Kumaon
G. The Gurkhas
H. The Churra people
I. The Bhooteahs
J. The Lepchas
K. The Bengalis
L. People of the Doab
M. The Bheels
N. The Kolis
O. The Patels of Gujarat
P. The Sindhis
Q. The Siaposh kafirs

A. THE JATS

1. A robust people, Father Wende[115]

…under the name of Jats, one must moreover comprehend the Gauruvas, Gujars, Bargujars and Ahirs, who are intermixed with them and, under these different names, constitute specifically but one people, similar in most respects and who marry amongst another. Their robust physiques, their rural appearance and uncouth manner, and their way to speak and dress and comport themselves still today (despite the riches and sovereign power they have acquired and notwithstanding their long abode in the center of the country reputedly the most civilised in Hindustan with the most refined cities of the entire monarchy around them), make sufficiently known that they have not been engaged with other occupations than those of the countryside and that they have not borne arms other than the plough and axe; or, after their own fashion, sickle and staff. I know that the Bargujars retain, or claim to retain, yet several marks of nobler caste. Nonetheless, the superiority which the Jats, in this century, have had over the others has

brought many things their way which, at another time, they could never have awaited.

2. Beliefs and habits same as of other Gentiles, Father Wende[116]

Because their belief is no different from that of other gentiles in this country, I have nothing in particular to say regarding that. Their food is about the same as that of the Rajputs, apart from the fact that the majority of Jats abstain from meat. In their manner of dress, there are some slight differences: in the summer, they are ordinarily quite naked, having only a turban on the head, a light belt around the waist and nothing else on the body; in winter, they wear a kind of simple skirt, but in a fashion particular to themselves, that, together with a pair of pendant earrings of gold in the shape of a bunch of grapes, makes recognizable and distinguishes a Jat among others. Their women also wear nose-rings of gold, much larger and heavier and made in a different way than those of most women in India. They most frequently have their hair tied on the top of their heads in the form of a bun, while the head itself is covered with a red cloth attached at the belt, as almost all women of the country. I have observed no other distinction. Men and women are for the most part robust and of a rather slight height. Their language is that of Hindustan, but coarse and with those inflections which are indicative of rusticity, as in their manner in general. Still no majesty whatsoever, nor even splendour at court, after attaining to such an exalted power; no furnishing or possessions at all in the houses of the well-to-do individuals. Wealthy, but sordid; powerful, but peasants. In a word, they remain Jats in everything. At times of war each peasant is also soldier; they go to their fortresses where, during the time they are needed, their pay is their food which consists of only one *ser* of wheat, a few grains in addition to a bit of butter, and nothing more. When the country is at peace, each returns to his home to tend to the ploughing of the land where one lives. It is the same for the cavalrymen. Only foreign troops are paid as everywhere else. It is thus that at the occasion of war there is such a strong and numerous garrison (let us say, rather, a great number of people) in the main strongholds, as has been noted elsewhere.

For the rest, since they have come to power, they govern much as do the other powers and *rajas* of the country. It should only be observed, that one sees that, with their wealth, they have become lethargic and cowardly; an

ordinary failing which great fortunes bring in their wake. These are no longer the Jats, so intrepid and proud, as they were in their beginnings. They are themselves surprised at this and have noticed the great difference, without recollecting the little they formerly had to lose, when all their attention was directed towards the seizing of the wealth of others; and, it is nothing new in the world that warrior peoples, believed invincible, began to decline after they had become acquainted with abundance and had reached a state in which it would seem they have nothing to desire or fear.

3. The Jats at Bharatpur, Captain Leopold von Orlic[117]

…I felt a high degree of interest as I approached the town, which is seen at a great distance. As I crossed the plain, I beheld on every side luxuriant fields of wheat and barley in full ear; and I was very much struck with the appearance of the tall, vigorous Juts, who were pursuing their agricultural occupations with their sabres at their sides, and their spears stuck in the ground, apparently for a land-mark. Their wives, too, were working diligently, close by their husbands. They are more robust than the Hindoo women, and were dressed in red garments, very much like shawls.

B. THE MARATHAS

1. Appearance of Marathas, Godfrey Charles Mund[118]

The personal appearance of the Mahrattas is mean and unprepossessing. They have neither the fair stature and noble bearing of the Mussulman, nor the delicacy of feature and elegance of figure of the southern Hindoo; and they appear to greater disadvantage in our eyes, that we have just left the territories of two of the finest races of people in India, the Seikhs and the Rohillas. Their acknowledged character as brave and skilful soldiers, however, amply makes amends for their personal deficiencies.

The chief weapon of the Mahratta is the spear, which is formed of the male bamboo, and from 12 to 18 feet long. He is also skilful in the use of the matchlock. The troops are for the most part mounted on mares which, although, like the cossack's horse, lanky and ill-fed, are, like him, capable of going through a great deal of work.

2. A courageous people, Anquetil-Duperro[119]

The land of the Marathas is generally open. The people are gay, strong and healthy; they depend only on their courage and their arms. Cavalry is their mainstay; hospitality their principal virtue. This land seemed to me the land

of Nature. As I spoke to them I almost believed I was conversing with people of the first age. A large camp of huts Ponin [Pune], this present capital of the Maraths, is quite a flourishing town.

3. Numbers increase with tribes enlisting themselves, Alexander Do[120]

The Mahrattors are the most considerable Hindoo power in Hindostan. The principal seat of their government is Sattarah, and sometimes Puna, on the coast towards Bombay. Though the genuine Mahrattors all over India do not exceed 60000 men, yet from their superior bravery and success in depredation, thousands of all tribes enlist themselves under their banners. These, instead of pay, receive a certain proportion of the plunder. By this means an army of Mahrattors increases like a river, the farther it advances: so that it is no uncommon thing for a force of ten or twelve thousand genuine Mahrattors to grow into 100,000, before they arrive in the place which they destine to plunder.

4. Retain mildness in home government, Alexander Do[121]

The nations of the Mahrattors, though chiefly composed of Rajputs, or that tribe of Indian whose chief business is war, retain the mildness of their countrymen in their domestic government. When their armies carry destruction and death into the territories of Mahomedans, all is quiet, happy, and regular at home. No robbery is to be dreaded, no imposition or obstruction from the officers of government, no protection necessary but the shade. To be a stranger is a sufficient security. Provisions are furnished by hospitality; and when a peasant is asked for water, he runs with great alacrity, and fetches milk. This is no ideal picture of happiness. The Author of the Disseration [Dow], who travelled lately into the country of the Mahrattors, avers, from experience, the truth of his observation. But the Mahrattors, who have been represented as barbarians, are a great and rising people, subject to a regular government, the principles of which are founded on virtue.

5. The Marathas will restore ancient Hindu government, de Saint-Lubin from Pune in 177[122]

They make so much progress every day that one may easily predict that before the end of the present century they will have succeeded in restoring the wisdom of ancient Hindu government wherever Mohammedan invasion has let loose the scourge of despotism and tyranny.

6. Aspired to national sovereignty, Quintin Craufur[123]

The measure pursued by the Mahrattas for some years, left little room to doubt that they aspired at the sovereignty of all Hindostan, or at least at the expulsion of the Mahomedan princes: and, in the course of their prosperity, some of their chiefs were so imprudent as to avow such intention. But the loss of the battle of Paniput, their frequent defeats by the English, and their late internal divisions, have affected their strength as a nation, sullied their renown as warriors, and moderated their view of conquest…

If we only view the Mahrattas as engaged in war, they must necessarily appear as the most cruel of barbarians; but if we enter their country as travellers, and consider them in a state of peaceful society, we find them strictly adhering to the principles of the religion of Brihma; in harmony among themselves, and ready to receive and assist the stranger.

7. 'A peaceable and industrious race,' Bishop Hebe[124]

The plain country, both of the Concan and the more elevated level of the Deckan, is inhabited by Maharattas, a peaceable and industrious race, among whom there should seem to be fewer remarkable crimes against society than, with a similar population, is found in most parts of India…

The great body of the Maharatta people are a very peaceable and simple peasantry, of frugal habits, and gentle dispositions; there seems to be no district in India, of equal extent and population, where so few crimes are committed, and of the robberies and murders which really occur, the greatest part by far are the work of the Bheels, who on these mountains, as well as in Central India, maintain a precarious and sanguinary independence, and are found less accessible to such means of conciliation as have yet been tried with them, than any of their more northern kindred.

C. THE SIKHS

1. Sikhs accustomed to arduous life, Antoine Louis Henri Polier, a Frenchman [1741-1795] who arrived in India in 1757, married two Indian women and stayed in the country for thirty-two years. The following is from a paper he read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 178[125]

The Siques are in general strong and well made, accustomed from their Infancy to the most labourious Life and hardest fare, they make marches and undergo fatigues that will appear really astonishing. In their Excursions

they carry no tents or baggage with them, except perhaps a small tent for the principal Chief, the rest Shelter themselves under a Blanket, which serves them also in the cold Weather, to wrap themselves in, and which in a March covers their Saddles. They have mostly two horses a piece, and some three; their horses are middle sized, but exceeding good, strong and high spirited, and mild tempered; The Provinces of Lahore and Multan, noted for producing the best Horses in Indostan, supply them amply, and indeed they take the greatest Care to encrease their numbers by all means in their power, and tho' they make merry in the Demise of one of their Brethren, they condole and lament the Death of a Horse, thus shewing their Value for an animal so necessary to them in their Excursions.

As for the food of the Siques it is the coarsest, and such as the poorest People in Hindostan use from necessity. Bread baked in Ashes, soaked afterwards in a Mash made of different kinds of pulse, is their best Dish, and such as they seldom indulge themselves with, except when at full Leisure, otherwise Vetches or Grains hastily parched are all they care for. They abhor smoaking of Tobacco, for what Reason I cannot find, but intoxicate themselves freely either with Spirits or Bang. A cup of the last they seldom fail taking at night after a fatigue. Their Dress is extremely scanty, a pair of blue Drawers, a kind of chequered Plaid worn partly round the middle and partly over the shoulder with a mean blue Turban forms all their Equipage. Their Chiefs are distinguished by having some heavy gold Bracelets on their Wrists and sometimes a Chain of the same Metal round their Turbans and by being mounted on better Horses, otherwise no distinction appears amongst them.

The Sect of the Siques has a strong taint of the Gentoo Religion, they venerate the Cow, and abstain piously from killing or feeding on it, and they also pay some Respect to the Devtas or Idols. But their great object of worship is with them their own saints, or those whom they have honoured with the name of Gorou. Those they invoke continually and they seem to look on them as everything. Wah Gorou repeated several times is their only Simbol, from which the Musulmen have (not without Reason) taxed them with being downright Atheists. Their mode of initiating their Converts, is by making them drink out of a Pan in which the feet of those present have been washed meaning by that, I presume, to abolish all those Distinctions of Casts which so much encumber the Gentoos; they also steep in it,

particularly for a Musulman the tusks or Bones of a Boar and add some of the Blood of that Animal to it. This with repeating the Simbol to Wah Gorou wearing an Iron Bracelet on one Arm, and letting the Hair of the head and beard grown forms the whole Mystery of their Religion, if such a filthy beastly Ceremony, can be dignified with that name. They have also stated Pilgrimages both to the Ganges and their famous Tank at Ambarsar where at fixed times they wash and perform some trifling Ceremonies invoking at the same time their Gorou.

2. High veneration for truth; from the manuscript notes of an officer of the Bengal army [probably Captain Matthews, Deputy Commissary of Ordnance at Fatehgarh who travelled through Punjab in 1808 in an unofficial capacity [*Asiatic Annual Register*, vol. X1, for the Year 1809[126]**

The inhabitants throughout this country, and as far as the Sutledge, bear a high character for hospitality and kindness to strangers. Their benevolence is not narrowed by bigotry or prejudice, and disclaims the distinctions of religion or complexion. They are particularly attentive to travellers of all casts or countries. The chief of every town makes a point of subsisting all poor and needy travellers, from his own funds, a part of which are set aside for that purpose, and when that fall short, from an increased number of indigent claimants, their wants are supplied by a subscription made from the principal inhabitants of the place. It is very pleasing to travel through the town and villages of this country. The inhabitants receive the stranger with an air of welcome that prepossesses him in their favour. They are, at the same time, courteous and respectful, contrary to what the traveller experiences in Mussulman towns, where he is looked upon with contempt, and regarded as an unwelcome intruder. The character of the Sikhs had been represented to me in a very favourable light, and my own observations confirmed all that I had heard in their favour. They are just and amiable in their social intercourse, and affectionate in their domestic relations. One quality particularly raises the character of the Sikhs above all other Asiatics, and that is, their higher veneration for truth. Both as a people and as individuals, they may be considered as much less addicted to the low artifices of evasion, lying or dissimulation, than any other race of Asiatics. Implicit dependence may be placed upon their promise, in all matters either of public or private concern, and if a Sikh declares himself you friend, he

will not disappoint your confidence, if, on the other hand, he bears enmity to any one, he declares it without reserve. – Upon the whole, they are a plain, manly, hospitable, and industrious people, and by far the best race I have ever met in India. They have all the essential qualities of a good soldier: – in their persons they are hardy and athletic; of active habits, patient, faithful, and brave. They are strongly attached to their chiefs, and will never desert them, while they are well treated.

3. Pleasing appearance, Mountstuart Elphinstone who undertook a mission to Kabul in 180[127]

4th July 1809 –…The town of Rawil Pindee is large and populous. It is a pretty place, is composed of terraced houses, and is very like a town west of the Indus. The country round is open, scattered with single hills, and tolerably cultivated, We halted here for six days to get Runjeet Sing's leave to advance. We now saw a good deal of the Siks, whom we found to be disposed to be civil, and by no means unpleasing. They were manly in their appearance, and were tall, and thin, though muscular. They wore little clothes, their legs, half their thighs, and generally their arms and bodies, being bare; but they had often large scarfs, thrown loosely over one shoulder. Their turbans were not large, but high, and rather flattened in front. Their beards, and hair on their heads and bodies, are never touched by scissors. They generally carry matchlocks, or bows, the better sort generally bows; and never pay a visit without a fine one in their hand, and an embroidered quiver by their side. They speak Punjaubee, and sometimes attempt Hindoostaunee, but I seldom understood them without an interpreter. Persian was quite unknown. They do not know the name of the Dooraunees, though that tribe has often conquered their country. They either call them by the general name of Khorassaunees, or by the erroneous one of Ghiljee.

4. The natives of the Panjab, Charles Masso[128]

As men, physically speaking, the natives of the Panjab are superior to those of Hindustan Proper. Their limbs are muscular and well proportioned, and they have a stoutness of leg and calf, seldom seen in the Hindustani. Instances of very tall stature may be rare, the general standard being a little above the middle size. The Sikhs are certainly a fine race of men, particularly the better classes. Their females, being seldom permitted to go

abroad, I can scarcely speak decidedly concerning them, but the five or six I have by chance met with, would justify the supposition that they are very attractive. They wear extraordinary high conical caps, producing a curious effect, with trowsers. The dress of the men is peculiar, but nor inelegant, consisting of the Panjab pagri for the head, a vest, or jacket, fitting close to the body and arms, with large, bulky trowsers, terminating at the knee, the legs from the knee being naked. Chiefs occasionally wear full trowsers, which, however, are recent introductions, and many people remember the time when the Maharaja and his court could scarcely be said to wear trowsers at all. Over the shoulders, a scarf is usually thrown. Generally speaking, these articles of dress are white. The Sikhs, to their honour, are very cleanly in their linen, in which particular they advantageously differ from their Mussulman compatriots. Their scarfs are usually trimmed with a coloured silk border, and sometimes scarlet shawls, or other showy fabrics, are employed. The Sikhs allow the hair of their heads to attain its full growth, and gather it up into a knot at the crown, agreeably to the old Jetic fashion. By pressing it tightly back from the forehead they somewhat elevate the upper part of the face, which imparts a peculiar cast to the countenance.

The Sikhs are almost exclusively a military and agricultural people. They pay much attention to the breeding of horses, and there is scarcely one of them who has not one or more brood mares. Hence, amongst the irregular cavalry – a service to which they are partial – nearly every man's horse is *bona fide* his own property, and even in the regular cavalry a very trifling proportion of the horses belong to the Maharaja. It must be confessed that the Sikhs are barbarous, so far as the want of information and intelligence can make them, yet they have not that savage disposition which makes demons of the rude tribes of the more western countries. They are frank, generous, social, and lively. The cruelties they have practiced against the Mahomedans in the countries they have subdued ought not, I think, to be alleged against them as a proof of their ferocity. Heaven knows, the fury of the bigoted Mahomedan is terrible, and the persecuted Sikhs, in their day, were literally hunted like beasts of the field. At present, flushed by a series of victories, they have a zeal and buoyancy of spirit amounting to enthusiasm; and with the power of taking the most exemplary revenge, they

have been still more lenient than the Mahomedans were ever towards them…

5. Military strength of Sikhs, George Forste[129]

The dominions of the Sicques, now widely extended, have been since divided into numerous states, which pursue an independent interest, without a regard to general policy. The grand assembly is now rarely summoned, nor have the Sicques, since the Afghan war, been embarked in any united cause.

Their military force may be said to consist essentially of cavalry; for, though some artillery is maintained, it is awkwardly managed, and its uses ill understood and their infantry, held in low estimation, usually garrison the forts, and are employed in the meaner duties of the service.

A Sicque horseman is armed with a matchlock and sabre of excellent metal, and his horse is strong and well formed. In this matter I speak from a personal knowledge, having in the course of my journey seen two of their parties, each of which amounted to about two hundred horse-men. They were clothed in white vests, and their arms were preserved in good order: the accoutrements, consisting of priming-horns and ammunition pouches, were chiefly covered with European scarlet cloth, and ornamented with gold lace. The predilection of the Sicques for the match-lock musquet and the constant use they make of it, causes a difference in their manner of attack from that of any other Indian cavalry; a party, from forty to fifty, advance in a quick pace to the distance of a carbine shot from the enemy, and then, that the fire may be given with the greater certainty, the horses are drawn up, and their pieces discharged; when, speedily retiring about a hundred paces, they load, and repeat the same mode of annoying the enemy. The horses have been so expertly trained to the performance of this operation, that, on receiving a stroke of the hand, they stop from a full career. But it is not by this mode of combat that the Sicques have become a formidable people. Their successes and conquests have largely originated from an activity unparalleled by other Indian nations, from their endurance of excessive fatigue, and a keen resentment of injuries. The personal endowments of the Sicques are derived from a temperance of diet, and a forbearance from many of those sensual pleasures which have enervated the Indian Mahometans. A body of their cavalry has been known to make

marches of forty or fifty miles, and to continue the exertion for many successive days.

The forces of this nation must be numerous, though I am not possessed of any substantial document for ascertaining the amount. A Sicque will confidently say, that his country can furnish three hundred thousand cavalry, and, to authenticate the assertion, affirms that every person, holding even a small property, is provided with a horse, match-lock, and side-arms. But in qualification of this account, if we admit that the Sicques when united can bring two hundred thousand horse into the field, their force in cavalry is greater than that of any other state in Hindostan.…

6. Sikh soldiers

(a) George Thomas (1781-1802), an adventurer at feud with the Sikh[130]

After performing the requisite duties of their religion by ablution and prayer, the Sikhs comb their beards and hair with peculiar care. Mounting their horses they ride forth towards the enemy with whom they engage in a continual skirmish, advancing and retiring until men and horses are equally tired. They then draw off for a distance from the enemy, until meeting with cultivated ground they permit their horses to graze, whilst they parch a little grain for themselves. After satisfying nature in this frugal manner they renew the skirmishing if the enemy is near. Should he have retreated they follow up and renew these tactics.

Seldom indulging in the comforts of a tent whilst in the enemy's country, the repast of a Sikh cannot be supposed to be either sumptuous or elegant. Seated on the ground with a mat spread before them, a Bramin appointed for the purpose serves out a portion of food to each person, the cakes of flour which they eat during the meal serving them in the room of plates and dishes. Accustomed from their earliest infancy to a life of hardship and difficulty, the Sikh despises the comforts of a tent. In lieu of this, each horseman is furnished with two blankets, one for himself, and one for the horse.

These blankets, which are placed beneath the saddle, and a grain bag and heel rope, comprise in war the whole baggage of a Sikh. Their cooking utensils are carried on ponies. Considering this mode of life and the extraordinary rapidity of their marches, it cannot be a wonder if they

perform marches, which to those accustomed only to European warfare, must seem incredible.

(b) Cunningham, who was present at all the Punjab War[131]

The guns of the Sikhs were served with rapidity and precision, and the foot soldiers stood between and behind their batteries, firm in their order and active with their musket. The resistance met by the English on this occasion was wholly unexpected, and it was at Ferozeshah for the first time that the Indian and the British soldiers of the English armies met an equal antagonist with their own weapons, even ranks and the fire of artillery.

(c) General Gough on the prowess of the Khalsa warrior[132]

Never did a native army having so relatively slight an advantage in numbers fight a battle with the British, in which the issue was so doubtful as at Ferozeshah; and if the victory was decisive, opinion remains divided as to what the result might have been if the Sikh troops had found commanders with sufficient capacity to give their qualities full opportunity.

7. The Akalis, W.G. Osborn[133]

They move about constantly, armed to the teeth, and it is not an uncommon thing to see them riding about with a drawn sword in each hand, two more in their belt, a matchlock at their back, and three or four pair of quoits fastened round their turbans.

The quoit is an arm peculiar to this race of people; it is a steel ring, varying from six to nine inches in diameter, and about an inch in breadth, very thin, and the edges ground very sharp…Runjeet Sing has done much towards reducing these people to a state of subjection, (though they are still very troublesome,) by breaking up the large bands of them that were accustomed to congregate in all parts of the Punjab. He has raised some irregular regiments composed entirely of Akalees, which he always employs on any dangerous or desperate service; and as they fight like devils, he continues to make them useful, as well as to expend a great number of them in this way. In 1815, when the Maharajah's army was investing the city of Moultan, the Affghans made so protracted and determined a defence, that Runjeet Sing was induced to offer very advantageous terms, compared to what he was in the habit of doing under similar circumstances; and during the progress of the negotiations, an Akalee, named Sadhoo Sing, with a few companions, advanced to the

fausse braye, and without orders, in one of their fits of enthusiasm, attacked the Affghans, who were sleeping or careless on their watch, and killed every man; the Sihk army took advantage of the opportunity, and rushing on, in two hours carried the citadel, Muzuffer Khan and his four sons being all cut down in the gateway, after a gallant defence.

8. Every day receive proselytes, John Griffith [chief of the Surat factory and briefly Governor of Bombay], in 179[134]

The Seiks received Proselytes of almost every Cast, a point in which they differ most materially from the Hindoos…They have forbid absolutely the use of the Hookah, but they are as liberal in the use of Bang, and Ophiam, as their Neighbours. They are not prohibited the use of animal food of any kind, excepting Beef, which they are rigidly scrupulous in abstaining from. They never shave either Head or Beard; They sometimes wear yellow, but the prevailing Colour of their Cloaths is deep blue; They make their Turbans capaciously large, over which they frequently wear a piece of pliable Iron Chain or Net work [an early reference to the Sikh turban known as *dastar bunga* or the turban fortress].

9. Initiation ceremony; from the manuscript notes of an officer of the Bengal Army [*Asiatic Annual Register,* vol. X1, for the Year 1809[135]

A Sikh wishing to become a Singh, must go though the ceremonies of the institution at this temple [Akal Takht]. It is, however, only the more indigent description of them who apostatize, and generally those who are fed by priests. Although no person can visit the temple without paying, on the first admission, a sum of money to the priests, who divide it equally among themselves, yet they are by no means avaricious; the monies so collected, being expanded on their personal wants, given in charity, or laid out in erecting additional buildings; and there is no instance of an Akalee's accumulating money for any other purpose. Choirs of singers assemble at three o'clock every morning, and chaunt their canticles by reliefs, during the day, and till late at night, in the temple; and at two or three other sacred spots, and with great solemnity, thus exciting to religious veneration and awe, and raising the soul to heavenly contemplation. Although the priests are held in the greatest reverence, still you are not to suppose that they are entirely exempt from every vice…. The concourse of fine women who go to bathe at the temple in the morning is prodigious. The individuals

composing this groupe of beauty, are far superior in the elegance of their persons, the symmetry of their forms, and the fine traits of countenance, to the generality of the lower Hindoostanees. The Birakees, (or fine singers) as they are here called, are composed of handsome young women, Mooslimas, but are by no means superior either in their singing or dancing to the nautch sets of other parts of Hindoostan; they are, however, much better dressed, and many of them appear decorated with gold and silver ornaments, to a considerable amount. The Singhs being greatly devoted to pleasure, give every encouragement to the nautch girls. Their songs are chiefly in the Punjab dialect, which is performed as being better understood than the Persian or Hindoostanee, but to an European ear, they are by no means so pleasing, being full of discordant, inharmonious tones.

10. The *Dasam Granth*, Charles Wilkins on a visit to the Takht at Patna in 178[136]

They told me further, that some years after this book of Naneek Shah had been promulgated, another made its appearance, now held in almost as much esteem as the former. The name of the author has escaped my memory; but they favoured me with an extract from the book itself in praise of the Deity. The passage had struck my ear on my first entering the hall, when the students were all engaged in reading. From the familiarity of the language to the Hindoovee, and many Shanscrit words, I was able to understand a good deal of it, and I hope, at some future period, to have the honour of laying a translation of it before the Society.

MOUNTAIN PEOPLE

D. THE KASHMIRIS

1. Well formed, George Forste[137]

The Kashmirians are stout, well formed, and, as the natives of a country lying in the thirty-fourth degree of latitude, may be termed a fair people; and their women in southern France, or Spain, would be called Brunettes. But, having been prepossessed with an opinion of their charms, I suffered a sensible disappointment; though I saw some of the female dancers most celebrated for beauty, and the attractions of their profession. A coarseness of figure generally prevails among them, with broad features, and they too often have thick legs. Though excelling in the colour of their complexion,

they are evidently surpassed by the elegant form and pleasing countenance of the women of some of the western provinces of India.

2. Traits of people of Kashmir, George Forste[138]

I never knew a national body of men more impregnated with the principles of vice, than the natives of Kashmire. The character of a Kashmirian is conspicuously seen, when invested with official power. Supported by an authority which prescribes no limits to its agents, in the accumulation of public emoluments, the Kashmirian displays the genuine composition of his mind. He becomes intent on immediate aggrandizement, without rejecting any instrument which can promote his purpose. Rapacious and arrogant, he evinces in all his actions, deceit, treachery, and that species of refined cruelty, which usually actuates the conduct of a coward. And it is said, that he is equally fickle in his connections, as implacable in enmity. In behalf of humanity, I could wish not to have been capacitated to exhibit so disgusting a picture, which being constantly held out to me for near three months, in various lights, but with little relief, impressed me with a general dislike of mankind.

The Kashmirians are so whimsically curious that when any trivial question is proposed to them, its intention and purpose is enquired into with a string of futile interrogatories, before the necessary information is given; and a shopkeeper rarely acknowledges the possession of a commodity, until he is apprized of the quantity required. In examining the situation in which these people have been placed, with its train of relative effects, the speculative moralist will, perhaps, discover one of the larger sources from whence this cast of manners and disposition has arisen. He will perceive that the singular position of their country, its abundant and valuable produce, with a happy climate, tend to excite strong inclinations to luxury and effeminate pleasures; and he is aware, that to counteract causes, naturally tending to enervate and corrupt the mind, a system of religion or morality is necessary to inculcate the love of virtue, and especially, to impress the youth with early sentiments of justice and humanity. But he will evidently see, that neither the religious or the moral precepts of the present race of Mahometans contain the principles of rectitude or philanthropy; that, on the contrary, they are taught to look with abhorrence on the fairest portion of the globe, and to persecute and injure those who are not inclosed

in the fold of their prophet. Seeing then the Kashmirians, presiding as it were at the fountain head of pleasure, neither guided or checked by any principle or example of virtue, he will not be surprized, that they give a wide scope to the passions of the mind and the enjoyments of the body.

3. The natives of Kashmir, William Moorcrof[139]

The natives of Kashmir have been always considered as amongst the most lively and ingenious people of Asia, and deservedly so. With a liberal and wise government they might assume an equally high scale as a moral and intellectual people, but at present a more degraded race does not exist.

Appearance

The complexion of the Kashmirians varies from dark to olive, and is sometimes ruddy and transparent: the eyes are large and full, the nose is well defined, and commonly of an aquiline form. The stature varies, but the Hindus who have least intermixed with foreign races are, in general, tall and symmetrically made. The inhabitants of the city are rather slight, but amongst the peasantry, both Hindu and Mohammedan, are to be found figures of robust and muscular make, such as might have served for models of the Farnesan Hercules.

Character

In character the Kashmirian is selfish, superstitious, ignorant, supple, intriguing, dishonest, and false: he has great ingenuity as a mechanic, and a decided genius for manufactures and commerce, but his transactions are always conducted in a fraudulent spirit, equaled only by the effrontery with which he faced detection. The vices of the Kashmirian I cannot help considering, however, as the effects of his political condition, rather than his nature, and conceive that it would not be difficult to transform him into a very different being. Religious bigotry forms no part of his character, and the teachers of either faith, Mullas or Pundits, are exceedingly ignorant, and possesses little influence. Since the establishment of the Sikh authority Hinduism predominates, and the country is infested by numerous and audacious bands of mendicants. They are patronized rather by the Government than the people, and the latter would gladly get rid of their presence. There seems, indeed, to be little attachment of either the Mohammedans or Hindus of Kashmir to their respective creeds, and I am

convinced there is no part of India where the pure religion of the Gospel might be introduced with a fairer prospect of success.

E. PEOPLE OF KANGRA, GEORGE FORSTE[140]

The Mountaineers invariably reserved the beard, and, instead of bowing the head in salutation, as in Lower India, they embrace the party addressed, and, incline the head over his left shoulder. The growth of the beard is encouraged, perhaps, from a certain ferocity of disposition incident to their situation, and generally predominant in the disposition of Mountaineers, which prompts them, in different modes, to shew a disdain and contempt for the softer manners of the natives of the low country.

The women have the olive complexion, are delicately shaped, and evince a freedom in their manner, which, without a tendency to immodesty, or connected with the habits of licentiousness, seems the result of the common confidence reposed in them by the men: I have seen a woman stop, though carrying a pot of water, and converse unreservedly with passengers, giving them an information of the road, or any other ordinary intelligence. Their dress consists of a petticoat, with a border, usually of different colours; a close jacket, covering half of the waist; and a loose stomacher to the fore part of it, which reaches to the girdle. Their hair, which they hold in as high an estimation as that beautiful appendage can be regarded by the gayest females of Europe, is plaited with black silk, or cotton strings, and falls down the back; over which they throw, in a graceful fashion, a veil which seldom touches, and never wholly conceals, the face.

F. PEOPLE OF KUMAON, BISHOP HEBE[141]

Of the inhabitants every body seems to speak well. They are, indeed, dirty to a degree which I never saw among Hindoos, and extremely averse to any improvement in their rude and inefficient agriculture, but they are honest, peaceable, and cheerful, and, in the species of labour to which they are accustomed, extremely diligent. There are hardly twelve convicts now in the goal of Almorah; and the great majority of cases which come before Mr. Traill are trifling affrays, arising from disputed boundaries, trespass, and quarrels at fair and markets. The only serious public cases which are at all prevalent, are adultery, and sometimes, carrying off women to marry them forcibly. They use their women ill, and employ them in the most laborious tasks, in which, indeed, a wife is regarded by the Khasya peasant as one of

the most laborious and valueable of his domestic animals. These people, though rigid Hindoos, are not so inhospitable as their brethren of the plain. Even Europeans travelling through the country who will put up such accommodations as the peasantry have to offer, are almost sure of being well received, and have no need of carrying tents with them, provided their journey is made at a time when the peasantry are at home to receive them, and not during the annual emigration to the plains.

G. THE GURKHAS

1. Hardy warriors, Godfrey Charles Mund[142]

The next morning the mountaineer coolies arrived, and a strange ill-favoured race they are. In their high cheeks, long narrow eyes, broad fronts, and narrow chins, they bear an evident affinity to the Tartar. Their stature is very short, but they are wide-chested and strongly limbed, and show prodigious strength in carrying burdens up the steep mountain tracks. The Gourkahs, in our wars with them, proved the enemies best worthy of the British arms in India. It is said that these hardy little warriors speak with the greatest contempt of their gigantic long bearded neighbours the Seikhs. They make first-rate tirailleurs, and at the siege of Bhurtpore one of the Company's Gourkah regiments much distinguished itself. They appeared on that occasion, somewhat pigmy by the side of our British grenadiers, their average height being barely 5 feet.

2. Gurkhas, Fanny Ede[143]

…Colonel Young, who is the chief man here, commands a most interesting native regiment, the Gourkas. I should say they will fight less well now we have brought them down to our English drilling and nonsense, but there was a time, when four or five hundred of them in their hills beat our troops considerably and kept beating them for a whole year. They are the most dwarfish race that I ever saw and look like a little set of children in their dark uniforms. Last year a party of them fell in with a tiger on the road we travelled yesterday. They were on foot and had no guns, but they made a circle round him, and when he charged one side they cut at him on the other with their swords, and so killed him.

H. THE CHURRA PEOPLE, WILLIAM GRIFFIT[144]

Regarding the natives, I have little to say. They are a stout-built, squat, big-legged hill tribe: the women in regard to shape being exactly like their

mates; and as these are decided ugly – somewhat tartarish-looking people, very dirty, and chew pawn to profusion – they can scarcely be said to form a worthy portion of the gentler sex. They appear to be honest; but that is a quality which, from the example of their European lords, they are said to be losing fast. They have no written character; every thing being transmitted by tradition, and performed by the interchange of tokens. They drink like fish, and manufacture a bad kind of arrack, the pernicious effects of which were experienced by the European invalids when the Sanatarium was in existence. They pay respect to their dead by the erection of a sort of kairns and large erect slabs of sandstone rounded off at the upper end: of these, I believe, they put up three or five to each friend, according to their means and, probably, rank. The Churra people cultivate nothing but a little cotton, and perhaps a species of Eleasine. They depend upon the plains for their support and supplies, and this is good management, since rice at Terrya Ghat is sold at 70 or 80 seers a rupee. Their hire is, considering the cheapness of their food, very expensive; a man being rated at four annas a day, a woman at three, and a boy at two. I should add, that they have no caste.

I. THE BHOOTEAHS, BISHOP HEBE[145]

Between it [Nundidevi] and the Chinese frontier, two remarkable races of men are found, the first the Bhooteahs, a Mongolian tribe, worshippers of the Delai Lama, who are said to be the descendants of one of the hordes who crossed the snowy mountains with Tamerlane; the other, a savage race, who neither plough nor dig, but live by the chace and on wild fruits only. They call themselves the original inhabitants of the soil, and appear to be the same people with the Puharrees of Rajmahal. I saw some Bhooteahs during my stay at Almorah, who had come down with a cargo of "chowries," tails of the "yak," or mountain-ox. They are a short square-built people, with the true Calmuk countenance and eye, and with the same remarkable cheerfulness of character and expression, by which the Calmuk tribes are in general distinguished. Their dress was also completely Tartar, large boots with their trowsers stuffed into them, caftans girded round the waist, and little bonnets edged with black sheep's skin.

J. THE LEPCHAS, JOSEPH DALTON HOOKE[146]

An attentive examination of the Lepcha in one respect entirely contradicts our preconceived notions of a mountaineer, as he is timid, peaceful, and no brawler; qualities which are all the more remarkable from contrasting so strongly with those of his neighbours to the east and west: of whom the Ghorkas are brave and warlike to a proverb, and the Bhotanese quarrelsome, cowardly, and cruel. A group of Lepchas is exceedingly picturesque. They are of short stature – four feet eight inches to five feet – rather broad in the chest, and with muscular arms, but small hands and slender wrists. The face is broad, flat, and of eminently Tartar character, flat-nosed and oblique-eyed, with no beard, and little moustache; the complexion is sallow, or often a clear olive; the hair is collected into an immense tail, plaited flat or round. The lower limbs are powerfully developed, befitting genuine mountaineers: the feet are small. Though never really handsome, and very womanish in the cast of countenance, they have invariably a mild, frank, and even engaging expression, which I have in vain sought to analyse, and which is perhaps due more to the absence of anything unpleasing, than to the presence of direct grace or beauty. In like manner, the girls are often very engaging to look upon, though without one good feature: they are all smiles and good-nature; and the children are frank, lively, laughing urchins. The old women are thorough hags. Indolence, when left to themselves, is their besetting sin; they detest any fixed employment, and their foulness of person and garments renders them disagreeable inmates: in this rainy climate they are supportable out of doors. Though fond of bathing when they come to a stream in hot weather, and expert, even admirable swimmers, these people never take to the water for the purpose of ablution. In disposition they are amiable and obliging, frank, humorous, and polite, without the servility of the Hindoos; and their address is free and unrestrained. Their intercourse with one another and with Europeans is scrupulously honest; a present is divided equally amongst many, without a syllable of discontent or grudging look or word: each, on receiving his share, coming up and giving the donor a brusque bow and thanks. They have learnt to overcharge already, and use extortion in dealing, as is the custom with the people of the plains; but it is clumsily done, and never accompanied with the grasping air and insufferable whine of the latter. They are constantly armed with a long, heavy, straight knife, but

never draw it on one another: family and political feuds are alike unheard of amongst them.

The Lepcha is in morals far superior to his Tibet and Bhotan neighbours, polyandry being unknown, and polygamy rare. This is no doubt greatly due to the conventual system not being carried to such an excess as in Bhotan, where the ties of relationship even are disregarded.

Like the New Zealander, Tasmanian, Fuegian, and natives of other climates, which, though cold, are moist and equable, the Lepcha's dress is very scanty, and when we are wearing woollen under-garments and hose, he is content with one cotton vesture, which is loosely thrown round the body, leaving one or both arms free; it reaches to the knee, and is gathered round the waist: its fabric is close, the ground colour white, ornamented with longitudinal blue stripes, two or three fingers broad, prettily worked with red and white. When new and clean, this garb is remarkably handsome and gay, but not showy. In cold weather an upper garment with loose sleeves is added. A long knife, with a common wooden handle, hangs by the side, stuck in a sheath; he has often also a quiver of poisoned arrows and a bamboo bow across his back. On his right wrist is a curious wooden guard for the bowstring; and a little pouch, containing aconite poison and a few common implements, is suspended to his girdle. A hat he seldom wears, and when he does, it is often extravagantly broad and flat-brimmed, with a small hemispherical crown. It is made of leaves of *Scitamineae* between two thin plates of bamboo-work, clumsy and heavy; this is generally used in the rainy weather, while in the dry a conical one is worn, also of platted-slips of bamboo, with broad flakes of tale between the layers, and a peacock's feather at the side. The umbrella consists of a large hood, much like the ancient boat called a coracle, which being placed over the head reaches to the thighs behind. It is made of platted bamboo, enclosing broad leaves of *Phrynium*. A group of Lepchas with these on, running along in the pelting rain, are very droll figures; they look like snails with their shells on their backs. All the Lepchas are fond of ornaments, wearing silver hoops in their ears, necklaces made of cornelian, amber, and turquoise, brought from Tibet, and pearls and corals from the south, with curious silver and golden charm-boxes or amulets attached to their necks or arms. These are of Tibetan workmanship, and often of great value: they contain little idols, charms and written prayers, or the bones, hair, or nail-parings of a Lama:

some are of great beauty, and highly ornamented. In these decorations, and in their hair, they take some pride, the ladies frequently dressing the latter for the gentlemen: thus one may often see, the last thing at night, a damsel of discreet port, demurely go behind a young man, unplait his pig-tail, teaze the hair, thin it of some of its lively inmates, braid it up for him, and retire. The women always wear two braided pig-tails, and it is by this they are most readily distinguished from their effeminate-looking partners, who wear only one. When in full dress, the woman's costume is extremely ornamental and picturesque; besides the shirt and petticoat she wears a small sleeveless woollen cloak, of gay pattern, usually covered with crosses, and fastened in front by a girdle of silver chains. Her neck is loaded with silver chains, amber necklaces etc. and her head adorned with a coronet of scarlet cloth, studded with seed-pearls, jewels, glass beads, etc. The common dress is a long robe of indi, a cloth of coarse silk, spun from the cocoon of a large caterpillar that is found wild at the foot of the hills, and is also cultivated; it feeds on many different leaves, Sal (*Shorea*), castor-oil, etc.

K. THE PEOPLE OF BENGAL

1. Attached to religion, Thomas Twinin[147]

Its population consists almost exclusively of Hindoos: a quiet, inoffensive, industrious, submissive people, possessing little energy, less courage, and no ambition; concerning themselves not much about their own government, and not at all about the government of any other country; more frugal and abstemious than any other nation, and perhaps equal to any other nation, not in enlightened acquirements or refined precepts of philosophy, but in natural capacity and practical morality; attached, above all things, to their religion, which is always before them, from the uprising of the sun to the going down of the same – it enters into all the concerns of their daily life, it regulates the minutest detail of their domestic affairs. They feel, not an impetuous, ostentatious enthusiasm, but a quiet yet deeply profound sentiment of passive devotion, which excluding, unhappily, the light of reflection and reason, perpetuates from age to age, and from generation to generation, the errors and extravagances of a primeval superstition. But multiplied and impenetrable as seem to be the defences which thus encompass and preserve the prejudices of the Hindoos, there can be no

doubt that these will at last give way to the persuasive influence of Christian communication and instruction, if duly seconded by the effect of *Christian example*; provided that this great and desirable work, this best result of our dominion in the East, be not frustrated by acts of impatient zeal or *offensive* interference.

2. Anglicised Natives in Calcutta, Honoria Lawrenc[148]

The richer natives in Calcutta are imitating European manners, equipages, and buildings.…It is the universal feeling that in Calcutta, where the wealthier natives mix a good deal with Europeans, their Hindoo prejudices are fast giving way, not, I fear, to the Gospel but to English science and literature. Good however must be done by the extension of knowledge, and by a breach being made in the seven fold shield of *dustoor* (custom) which has so long defied improvement.

We were struck when reading the observations in *Saturday Evening* on the Grecianising Jews how much they applied to the Anglicised Hindoos of Calcutta. European female teachers are employed as day governesses of some rich natives and I heard a very intelligent Englishman, who had been long in the country, notice the great change when respectable native ladies were seen taking a drive in an open carriage. Some Hindoo gentlemen even eat with Europeans, and at the Hindu College the youths are instructed in the English language and literature. Though they nominally continue Hindoos, they are in fact Deists. Government seminaries for the diffusion of education without any direct attempt at proselytising are established in all large stations. One lad who had been brought up at the college used frequently to come to Major Hutchinson. He was a fine, intelligent looking fellow, who seemed thirsty after information. He had a pretty correct idea of the outline of Christianity and spoke of the absurdities of Hindooism but seemed untouched at heart by either "the sinfulness of sin", or the beauty of holiness. This lad spoke English very well, and one day brought us a composition of his own in that language, rambling essay on the advantage of science.

In the Indian papers and journals there are frequent contributions from the students, generally correct as to grammar, and shewing a considerable knowledge of our standard authors, but the questions are elaborately brought in and the style is universally bad, inflated, full of false metaphor

and frequently a mere caricature of Gibbon's inversions and circumlocutions.

The sensuality of Hindoo faith and practice is so gross that to them the self denying doctrines of Christianity must be peculiarly distasteful, and the daily habits of falsehood and licentiousness must almost incapacitate their minds from comprehending the Christian standard of morals.

L. PEOPLE OF THE DOAB, BISHOP HEBE[149]

Both men and women, whom we met on the road, I thought decidedly taller, fairer, and finer people than the Bengalees. Some of the Sepoys, indeed, of a regiment who passed us, were of complexions so little darker than those of Europe, that as they approached I really at first took them for Europeans. Every thing seems to assimilate gradually to the scenes and habits of the eastern and southern parts of Europe. The people no longer talk of their daily *rice*, but say "it is time to eat *bread* to-day." Instead of the softness and gentleness so apparent in those Indians whom we first saw, these men have a proud step, a stern eye, and a rough loud voice, such as might be expected from people living almost always in the open air, and in a country where, till its acquisition by the English, no man was sure that he might not at any moment be compelled to fight for his life or property. Much of this necessity is passed away, but something, yet remains.

M. THE BHEELS, BISHOP HEBE[150]

We arrived at Wasnud…The Bheels were to be our watchmen as well as guides; and their shrill calls from one to the other were heard all night. We were told not to be surprised at this choice, since these poor thieves are, when trusted, the trustiest of men, and of all sentries the most wakeful and indefatigable. They and the Kholees [Kolis], a race almost equally wild, are uniformly preferred in Guzerat for the service of the police, and as durwans to gentlemen's houses and gardens. All such persons are here called Sepoys, and with more accuracy than the regular troops, inasmuch as their weapons are still really the bow and arrow, "sip," whence the Asiatic soldier derives his appellation.

N. THE KOLIS, BISHOP HEBE[151]

…[The] Kholees, or, as they are pretty generally called, Coolies,…form perhaps two-thirds of the population, and are considered by public men in Guzerat as the original inhabitants of the country, a character which, I know

not why, they refuse to the Bheels, who here, as in Malwah, seem to have the best title to it. I suspect, indeed, myself, that the Coolies are only civilised Bheels, who have laid aside some of the wild habits of their ancestors, and who have learned, more particularly, to conform in certain respects, such as abstinence from beef, &c. to their Hindoo neighbours. They themselves pretend to be descended from the Rajpoots, but this is a claim continually made by wild and warlike tribes all over India, and it is made, more particularly by the Puharree villagers at the foot of Rajmahal, who have embraced the Hindoo religion; and that the Coolies themselves do not believe their claim, is apparent from the fact that they neither wear the silver badge, nor the red turban. Be this as it may, they are acknowledged by the Hindoos as their kindred, which the Bheels never are; and though their claim of being children of the sun is not allowed by the Rajpoots who live among them, there have been instances in which intermarriages have taken place between Maharattas of high rank and the families of some of their most powerful chieftains.

Their ostensible, and, indeed, their chief employment, is agriculture, and they are said to be often industrious farmers and labourers, and, while kindly treated, to pay their rent to Government as well, at least, as their Rajpoot neighbours. They live, however, under their own Thakoors, whose authority alone they willingly acknowledge, and pay little respect to the laws, unless when it suits their interest, or they are constrained by the presence of an armed force. In other respects they are one of the most turbulent and predatory tribes in India, and with the Bheels, make our tenure of Guzerat more disturbed, and the maintenance of our authority more expensive there, than in any other district of the Eastern empire….

O. THE PATELS OF GUJARAT, BISHOP HEBE[152]

The Potails of Guzerat are very inferior in dress, manners, and general appearance, to the Zemindars of Hindostan. Their manner, however, though less polished, is more independent; and here, as in Central India, instead of standing with joined hands in the presence of a superior, they immediately sit down even if they do not advance to embrace him. Almost all of them, as well as their Ryuts, and indeed all the inhabitants of the country, are armed, some with bows and arrows, and all, or nearly all, with sabres. Their dress is generally ragged and dirty, and they seem to pay less attention to personal

cleanliness than any Hindoos whom I have met with. Some of the peasants who were assembled were tall stout men, but the average were considerably under the middle size…

P. SINDHIS

1. James Burnes, Residency doctor at Bhuj in Kutch, visited Sindh in 1827 at the invitation of the Talpur court. In a detailed account of his experiences, he noted the harsh treatment of the Hindus in the stat[153]

It is really difficult to conceive how any Hindoos should have continued to reside in this country; and the fact can only be accounted for by that attachment, which man shares with the vegetable, to the soil in which he is reared. The indignities they suffer are of the most exasperating description. They are even forced to adopt the Mahommedan dress, and to wear beards. Till lately, none of this class were permitted to ride on horse-back; and amongst the few who now enjoy the privilege, a small number only in the immediate service of government are allowed the comfort and honour, as it is esteemed, of a saddle. Merchants of wealth and respectability may be seen mounted on asses and mules; animals considered so unclean, that none but the vilest outcasts in other countries can touch them with impunity: and, even from this humble conveyance, they are obliged to descend and stand aside when any bloated Mussulman passes by.

The Mahommedans are encouraged and exhorted to destroy all the emblems of idolatry they may see in Sinde. The degraded and unfortunate follower of Brahma, is denied the free exercise of his religion; the *tom-tom* is seldom heard, being only beat when permission is granted; and although there are a few temples without images in Hyderabad, the sound of music never echoes from their walls. It is in the power of any two "true believers," by declaring that a Hindoo has repeated a verse from the Koran, or the words "Mahommed the Prophet," to procure his immediate circumcision. This is the most common, and, by the persecuted class themselves, considered the most cruel of all their calamities; while, as it is resorted to on the slightest pretence, and always performed with a mockery of its being for the eternal happiness of the sufferer, mental agony is made to add its bitterness to bodily infliction…

Of their summary mode of administering justice towards Hindoos, I had myself an opportunity of judging…On my remonstrating against this

extremity, his Highness replied with a savage grin, “You do not know the Hindoos of Sinde; they are all blackguards and rascals”….”

[Burnes found “the evils of intolerance” glaring and concluded it was scarcely possible for a stranger to be a week in Sindh without that “being obtruded on his notice;” he noted that] amongst the many who secretly pray for such a consummation, none seemed to have a more devout wish to see the British colours flying on the bastions of Hyderabad, than the Hindoos of respectability; who, uninvited, entered on the subject of their grievances, and discoursed largely of the cruelties and indignities to which they were subjected.

2. Hindus do not lead enviable lives in Sindh, Charles Masso[154]

The Hindus, who, as in the neighbouring countries, carry on, nearly exclusively, the trade, led a far from enviable life, unless, indeed, their gains compensated from the contumely with which they were treated, for throughout Sind a Hindu cannot pass from one village to another without paying a fee to some Mahomedan for his protection.

3. Hindus in Sindh, Richard Burto[155]

The Hindoo portion of the community occupies, in Sindh, the same social position that the Mussulmans do in India. As in Arabia, Affghanistan and other parts of Central Asia, the Hindoo here is either employed in trade, or in ministering to the religious wants of his caste-brethren. We, therefore, find among them none of the properly speaking outcast tribes (as Parwari, Mang, Chandala and others) so numerous in their own country. It is probable that few or none of the Hindoo families that flourished in Sindh at the time of the first Moslem inroad have survived the persecution to which they were then subjected: most likely they either emigrated or were converted to Islam. The present race is of Punjabi origin, as their features and manners, ceremonies and religious opinions, as well as their names, sufficiently prove. It may be observed that they show a general tendency towards the faith of Nanak Shah, and that many castes have so intermingled the religion of the Sikh with their original Hinduism, that we can scarcely discern the line of demarcation.

As usual among the Hindoo race, wherever it is settled, they have divided themselves into different tribes. The Satawarna, or seven castes of Indians, in Sindh, are as follows:- 1. Brahman; 2. Lohano; 3. Bhatio; 4. Sahto; 5.

Waishya (including a number of trades as Wahun, grain-toaster; Khatti, dyer, &c.); 6. Punjabi; and 7. Sonaro.

Five of these belong, properly speaking, to the Waishya (the third, or merchant) division of pure Indians. The seventh is a mixed caste, descended from a Brahman father and a Shudra mother. In Sindh he is usually considered as belonging to the servile tribe.

Of the first, or Brahminical class, we find two great bodies, which are divided and subdivided as usual. These are – 1. Pokarno; 2. Sarsat or Sarsudh.

4. The Amils in Sindh, Richard Burto[156]

The typical class of Hindoos in Sindh is the Lohano Amil (or officer in government employ); a short description of the different rites and ceremonies, as performed by that caste, will therefore suffice to give the reader a general view of Hindooism as now existing in the province.

The Amil class was created by the exigencies of the native rulers, who could not collect or dispose of their revenues without the assistance of Hindoos. Throughout the east, the people least fitted for any business in which calculation is required, are the Moslems; and even the old Ameers, with all their hatred and contempt of Kafirs, were obliged to own the superiority of the Infidel over the Faithful in this one point. The princes that followed them lost a great portion of the ancient bigotry, and became very careless of caste; I have seen one of the chiefs of the present family embrace a Hindoo Diwan with as little repugnance as he would have shown to a Sayyid of the purest blood. When the Hindoo found that he was necessary to his lords, he made the best use of his acuteness and readiness, and soon succeeded in improving his political standing in the country. Thus, most probably arose the Kardar system, which, though of a totally different nature, is in Sindh what the Patell and his little republic are in India. After gaining a certain footing, the Amils began to abuse their powers. The native rulers had two great checks over their officers; capital punishment and torture. A Hindoo who went too far, was liable to be beaten to death with clubs and thorny sticks, or buried up to the neck in the ground; for minor offences a Tobra, or horse’s grain-bag, full of red pepper well pounded was put over his head; he might be hung up to a tree by his legs, with pots of sand fastened to his arms; have a few scorpions introduced into his

pantaloons, or undergo the discipline of the Billi (she-cat), a peculiar instrument furnished with hooks to tear the flesh. Such extreme measures however were seldom resorted to, and the subjects of native governments generally are not terrified by the prospect of the severest penalties, because they may fairly calculate the chance of evading them. So it was in Sindh. No Ameer could consider himself safe from the most impudent frauds.

…Though cowardly in action, they [the Amils] were brave in endurance, and the rulers have sometimes owned that they were fatigued with torturing them before the tortured seemed tired of the torture. The dexterity with which they forged documents, orders and seals, was acquired by long and diligent practice. Some were so skilful that they could copy the impression of a seal ring with pen and ink, and disguise the forgery by slightly rubbing it with the thumb. Another, but a less favourite way was, after procuring an old impression, to revive it, and then stamp it upon a bit of moist paper. This second impression was given touched up and stamped on the part of the deed where the seal is generally placed. The usual way of forging a seal was to take a little wet Met (clay), and, after cutting it into the requisite shape, to apply it to one of the best impressions that could be procured. A penknife (if much delicacy was required an instrument made on purpose) was then used to pick out the parts left white on the clay, and by this means they formed a seal which could safely be used ten or twelve time. Thus the finest and most complicated seals, cut in India and used by our politicals, were so successfully imitated that none but a professional graver could detect the fraud. Sometimes wax was substituted for the Met; but it never was so favourite a material on account of its being so liable to be spoiled. When all schemes failed, some Amils would go directly to the Wejhan-Waro (seal cutter) and bribe him to assist them. This, however, was a hazardous experiment, as all seal gravers were known to the officials, and detection would have led to a severe punishment. The skill of the Amil in forging documents was not inferior to his other acquirements. In simple cases, after the deed was written out, it was sufficient to lick the paper, place it between the ground and a dusty carpet or rug, and stamp upon the later till the ink lost the gloss.

In appearance the Amils are more robust and better looking men than the common Sindhis. Some of them are remarkably athletic in form, and their features are frequently regular and agreeable. They were compelled by the

Moslems to adopt the costume of the Faithful, such as the Sindhi cap and drawers, to cultivate long beards, and shave only the crown of the head. They do not, however, trim the mustachios according to the Sunnat; moreover, they affix the Tilak or sectarian mark, and wear shirts with the opening down the left breast, to distinguish them from the Mussulmans. They delight in rich dress, and indeed are, generally speaking, fond of show and expenditure, offering in this point a contrast to the parsimonious Hindoo of India. Their religious opinions are the same as those of the Lohana who are engaged in trade, and they use similar food. In consequence, however, of superior education, and perpetually mixing with members of another faith, not a few of these Amils are Dahri, or materialists.

5. The inhabitants of Sindh, Captain Leopold von Orlic[157]

The inhabitants of Sinde are Mahometans and Hindoos; of the former, the Belooches belong to the caste of warriors, and the Juts to that of the peasants: and it may be assumed that the fifty part of the inhabitants of the cites are Hindoos. Though so greatly oppressed in their religious and civil relations, the wealth and commerce of the country are nevertheless chiefly in their hands; and they probably form a sixth part of the million of inhabitants said to reside in this country. They suffer their beard to grow, and wear the turban of the Mussulmans, whose manners and customs they have adopted; they have the submissiveness and servility of the Jews of Europe, and are as handsome, but even more dirty than the Juts. As bankers, they enjoy such confidence that their bills pass current throughout India.

The Hindoos and the Juts are the only people on whom the British government can depend. The Juts, who are a tall, vigorous, and handsome race of people, were originally Hindoos, and, properly speaking, are the Aborigines of the country; the women are distinguished by their beauty and modesty, which cannot be said of the Mahometan females. As they form the agricultural class, they had a quiet and peaceful life. Besides the cultivation of the soil the Juts are occupied in the breed of buffaloes, goats, and camels. The camel is as valuable and useful to the Jut, as the horse is to the Arab.

The Miani are employed in navigation and fishery; they live as much upon the rivers and lakes as on shore – nay, some of them have no other dwelling than their boat. The women are as vigorous, and muscular as the men, and

share in their hard labours; and while the husband is mending his nets, or smoking his pipe, and the child is suspended in its network cradle to the mast, the wife guides the boat with a large oar.

The Belooches, who form scarcely a tenth part of the population, are the freebooters of the desert, and originally came from the mountains and steppes in the north-west. Their manners, and many of their customs are conformable with the mosaic laws, and their oral and written traditions, as well as their general appearance, have so much resemblance with those of the Jews, that the Belooches have been looked upon as the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. Thus for instance, on the death of the husband, his brother is bound to marry his widow and the children are the heirs of the deceased; and again, a man may divorce his wife, according to the forms usual among the Jews. They consider themselves as the masters of the country, and devote themselves to arms, robbery, and the chase. Some few of them engage in agriculture, and all attend to the breeding of horses and camels. Their ignorance, and the uncivilised state in which they live, renders it difficult to reduce them to obedience and discipline: each tribe obeys only its chief; but if danger threatens any one tribe, messengers on camels and horses, are dispatched in every direction to summon all that can bear arms…

The Belooches, in their capacity of executors of the commands of the Ameers, are the blood-suckers of the poor, oppressed peasant, who is obliged to deliver to the princes more than the half of his produce. The revenues of the country, which formerly amounted to 90 lacs, have now declined to between 40 and 50, but with good management his might be increased to three times that sum. The Ameers are as ignorant as the people: their time is spent in the harem, or in hunting, and the latter is pursued with such eagerness that the country is thereby daily more and more depopulated. In order to enlarge their preserves, which consist of Babul trees, a species of Mimosa Arabica, tamarinds and tamarisks, they have recourse to the most arbitrary measures. Thus Meer Futteh Ali expelled the inhabitants from one of the most fertile districts of the Indus, near Hyderabad, which produced a revenue of nearly two lacs, because it was the favourite haunt of the Babiroussa; and Meer Murad Ali caused a large village to be totally destroyed, in order that the lowing of the cattle and crowing of the cocks, might not disturb the game in an adjoining preserve

belonging to his brother. In the middle of this preserve is a small isolated building with a pond in front of it; thither the game is driven and killed by the Ameers who are stationed behind the wall…

Q. THE SIAPOSH KAFIRS OR BLACK-CLAD INFIDELS INHABITING THE MOUNTAINOUS REGIONS NORTH OF LUGHMAN AND KHONAR, AND BETWEEN THE COURSES OF THE NADJIL AND KAMEH RIVERS, CHARLES MASSO[158]

As regards the language, or dialect spoken by the Siaposh, there can be no doubt but that they have one, which, as Sherifadin has recorded, is neither exactly Persian, nor Turki, nor Hindi. It is remarkable that on the south western, and southern borders of the Siaposh country, or in those points where it connects with the actual limits of the Kabal and Jelalabad territories, there are four distinct dialects spoken, independently of the more prevailing ones of Persian, Afghani, Turki and Hindi. The dialects in question are called Perancheh, Pashai, Lughmani, and Kohistani….

Of these four dialects, the Kohistani most nearly approaches to Hindi; and, on listening to people conversing therein, I was able, without comprehending the whole of what was said, to understand the general purport of their discourse.

Siaposh religion

On the primary subject of religion, reports and opinions are too vague and various to admit even a plausible conjecture to be made. The furious Mahomedan will not concede that they have any; while the less zealous pretend that they reverence trees, and other inanimate objects. The Hindu believes them to cherish, in their retreats, his own anomalous creed, and that they perform puja, on altars. From the testimony, however, of the Siaposh whose fate has made them captives, it is clear that they have some kind of worship and that their deity is named Dagon. The topic is one on which they dislike to be questioned, either that they are incompetent to reply, or that amongst Mahomedans they feel delicacy in expressing their sentiments. It may be supposed that a strange medley of rites and superstitions prevails among them. While as tenacious of their religion, whatever it may be, as of their liberty in their mountain fastnesses, the Siaposh captive, without hesitation, becomes a Mahomedan, and manifests

no aversion to abandon his old faith. It need not be remarked how different would be the conduct of the most wretched Hindu on such an occasion…

They are said to shave the hair of their heads, allowing only a tuft to remain on the crown. In this they assimilate, indeed, to Hindus; but there are also many Mahomedan tribes that do the same. Chiefs, and sons of chiefs, insert their tufts in leathern rings, a token by which, it is believed, they may be distinguished.

❑

Chapter 4
Festivals and Fairs

A. Festivals
B. Scenes from fairs
C. Jugglers, etc.

A. FESTIVALS

1. Festivals of the East – 'Perfect harmony and good-nature,' Marianne Postan[159]

The festivals of the East, are curious to the researcher into the manners of the ancient nations; and become interesting to the mere observer of the passing scene, from the circumstance of all restraint being banished from the manners of the people, and replaced by gaiety and good-feeling; at these seasons of national mirth, the oft seemingly timid, and gentle Hindoo, gives licence to his genuine dispositions, and laughs, sings, and adorns himself with garlands, as if he still inherited his native soil, in a happy state of constitutional freedom; it is at these periods that his character may perhaps be best discerned. It is the peculiar effect of joyous impulses, to banish suspicion from the mind, and, as they open the flood gates of natural feeling, to remove from the countenance all that forced, and assumed expression, which self-interest and cunning suggest, as necessary to be adopted by men, who have inherited oppression as their birth-right, and can hope for no sympathy from these, whom they have only learnt to recognize as the masters of that soil, which their forefathers once trod, in freedom and security.

The native population of India are peculiarly reserved in their intercourse with us, and are perpetually supporting a character foreign of their nature, and the result of the circumstances which surround them. Their prejudices of caste prevent our having any intercourse with them of a social nature; and their religious ceremonies are less known from personal observation, than from the communications of intelligent natives, which, after all we can acquire, little informs us on the real character, manners, and feelings of the people, when removed from the restraints of foreign espionage. It is therefore only on festive occasions, when the populations of the towns seek the plains and neighbouring country, for the purpose of diversion, that they

appear in a natural and unaffected character and the result of the observation is, that the Hindoos are a peculiarly social people, delighting in raillery, and easily excited to gaiety and mirth. An Asiatic crowd unites a greater variety of picturesque effect than any other in the world, and the most perfect harmony and good-nature prevail among its members. The older persons gossip, and exchange jests on each other, not deficient in wit; and the younger parties stroll about, with their arms encircling each other's necks, exchanging the most gentle and endearing epithets, as they laugh and chat, on whatever may be the object of attraction; unassailed by temptations to intemperance, its brutalizing effects never shade the pastimes of these inoffensive people; good nature supplies the place of the constable's baton, and every one is merry himself, without seeking his advantages at the price of a neighbour's inconvenience. The scene is one of amiable courtesy.

2. Ganesh puja, John Burnel[160]

The Gentiles have several days in the year set apart for feasting or solemn occasions, as the Devally, or Ganess Choutha, which falls out about the latter end of July or the first full moon before or after the end of that month, and lasteth several days, at which times they divert themselves with divers pastimes and have free recourse to the gaming ordinaries.

DURGA PUJA

3(a) Durga Puja at Calcutta, James Mitchel[161]

29th (August, 1748)…in September, the Gentoo's grand annual Feast was celebrated by every individual that by parsimony and hoarding throughout the year could afford the expense; a great emulation prevailing on that occasion to excel in show and Splendour. At the upper end of a large oblong Hall decorated with figured Chintz hangings, large wax candles &ca., day being excluded, on a Pedestal raised from the Floor by a flight of Steps under a Canopy with Curtains of rich silk or Chintz is placed a hideous figure of painted wood superbly dressed with Jewels, Pearls &ca. to represent Jagernaut [a mistake, the image is of Durga], their favourite Deity. On each side the Hall are covered Tables with benches furnished with all delicacies of the Country; and one with the choicest Viands and Liquors for such Europeans as are admitted. When a Gentoo enters he approaches by the Area in the middle of the Hall with much seeming devotion to the foot of the Steps and having made a low obeisance and short Prayer retires to his

place at one of the Tables. Music, Dancing Girls with very Festivity that can be devised is exhibited for two days; on the third the Idol is placed in a Budjero or Barge with a procession of much pomp, accompanied with the country music and embellished with Flags, Streamers &ca., and rowed to the middle of the River, covered with numbers of the same description; the air resounding with music, blazing with Fireworks and roaring with repeated discharges of Cannon until the whole is concluded by loud acclamations on throwing Jagernaut [Durga] with all his ornaments from each Budjero into the Ganges the water of which is deemed sacred; it would be considered Sacriledge in a Gentoo to touch any of the floating Idols or their ornaments; but Mahometans and other sectarys think it no impiety to strip them of such ornaments as they judge worth saving and afterwards to split and burn the Image…

(b) Madam Dourga [Durga], De Grandpr[162]

This madam Dougra, who has deified the Ganges, is held in great veneration: her festival is celebrated every year in the month of October, and while it lasts nothing is known but rejoicing; the natives visit each other, and on three successive evenings assemble together for the adoration of their divinity. Her statute is placed in a small niche of clay, which is gilt and adorned with flowers, pieces of tinsel, and other similar ornaments. The statue itself is dressed in the most magnificent attire they can procure, is about a foot high, and the niche with its appendages about three feet and half. All the rich celebrate a festival of this kind in their own houses, and are ambitious of displaying the greatest luxury, lighting up their apartments in the most splendid manner. Such as cannot afford to observe this solemnity at their own house, go to that of some neighbour: there is one of these celebrations at least in every quarter of the town, so that all the inhabitants have an opportunity of paying their devotions.

4(a) Churuk Poojah, Eliza Fa[163]

On the Churuk Poojah [swinging feast] hundreds, I have heard, are suspended at an amazing height by means of hooks finely fixed in the flesh of the back, to which sometimes a cloth is added round the body to afford the miserable victim a chance of escape, should the hook give way. I, by accident (for voluntarily nothing should have tempted me to witness such a spectacle), saw one of these wretches, who was whirling round with

surprising rapidity, and at that distance scarcely appeared to retain the semblance of a human form. They firmly expect by this infliction to obtain pardon of all their offences; and, should death be the consequence, they go straight to heaven, thus changing the horrid state of privation and misery in which they exist here for one of bliss. If such be their real persuasion, who can condemn the result?

(b) Charrak Puja, Isabella Fane, daughter of Sir Henry Fane, Commander-in-Chief in India from 1835-183[164]

This lasts for three days: on the first takes place the ceremony of the unfortunate creatures sticking sharp instruments into various parts of their persons…None but quite the lowest castes undergo these tortures who are paid…by those of higher caste to do it for them. They fortify themselves for what they are to endure by the use of opium and ardent spirits…The crowd was something quite indescribable; but we saw processions of these poor wretches, some with a long iron rod, about six or seven feet in length and the thickness of my little finger, run right through their tongues and, notwithstanding, hopping and skipping. Others had six or seven of these at once stuck into their bodies. I saw one man with a great hole made in his arm and a *live* snake drawn through it!…The following day was to be the swinging by hooks in the back…Although I felt ashamed of my unfeminine curiosity, this exhibition I was resolved not to miss, so I put on a poke bonnet and a veil and off I set in a gig…at five o'clock in the evening. We got a capital situation close to the scene of the action and I had the satisfaction of seeing two men perform as follows. A very high bamboo is stuck into the ground, and at the very tip top of this another is placed horizontally. At each end are ropes. To one, the man is suspended; the other a man holds and twists him round with. Two large hooks are run through a large muscle which I am told is to be found under the shoulder blades, one under each, and then the ropes are fastened to these. The unfortunate man has a band fastened round him besides, so that his *whole* weight does not rest on the hooks, but the very circumstance of their being in his body at all is sufficiently horrid.

5(a) Holi, Father Wende[165]

I think the follies committed by the Indians on this occasion and the crudest foolishness which they say, as in jest, to each other, etc., are too

well known to speak of them here at greater length. One must decide to which ancient festivals of other countries the present Indian *holi* should be referred. There are features in common with the Roman Saturnalia, the Cretan Mercurialia, the Bacchanalia etc. I also observe, if I am not mistaken, a certain resemblance to the festum Manipulorum of the Jews, but this is not the appropriate place to dwell further thereon. Muhammad Shah not only participated in the *holi* festivals, but moreover obliged the Hindus to perpetuate even greater follies and excesses than they had, taking pleasure in listening to the most infamous foolishness which, without fear and with no tact whatsoever, the populace enthusiastically told him.

(b) Holi, T.D. Broughto[166]

The festival of the Hohlee is observed by all classes throughout Hindoostan: it is the season of universal merriment and joy; and the sports that take place at its celebration bear some resemblance to those which were allowed in Rome during the Saturnalia. The utmost licence is permitted to all ranks; the men, old and young, parade about the streets, or the camp, in large groups, singing *Kuveers*, or extemporary stanzas, full of the grossest indelicacy, into which they freely introduce the names of their superiors, coupled with the most abominable allusions; the whole party joining in the chorus, and expressing, their delight by loud peals at laughter, hallooing, and almost frantic gestures. An individual sometimes exhibits himself dressed in a most grotesque and indecent manner, as a personification of the Hohlee, and is followed by crowds throwing about the *abeer* and singing the *P,hagoon* songs to the great annoyance of such women as they may happen to meet, whom they delight to attach with the coarsest ribaldry. The ladies, however, are not without their share of the festivities of the season: they make parties at each other's tents or houses; sit up at *Naches* all nights; and play the Hohlee with as much spirit as their male relations. No men, however, are admitted to these select parties, except their husbands; or sometimes their brothers, if they happen to be of a very tender age. Those joyous parties begin within the month of *P,hagoon*, the last of the Hindoo year, and the commencement of the spring. The words *P,hagoon* and *P,hag* are also used to denote the little presents of flowers, fruits, or sweet-meats, which lovers are accustomed to make to their mistresses, as well as the sports and songs peculiar to the season: and when these last are marked

with more than ordinary licence, they are termed *Dhumaree*. But the Hohlee songs are not necessarily indelicate: in the following one, Krishna, in his youthful character of *Kunueya*, or the beloved, is described as attacked by a party of the *Gopees*, or maids, of Muttra, during the time of the Hohlee.…

The Hohlee, however, strictly speaking, does not commence till the 23rd of the month; which day is the anniversary of a goddess named *Hohlika*, in whose honour the festival is held. On the last night of the month, the ceremony of burning the Hohlee concludes the festivities. A quantity of wood having been collected for the purpose, a lucky moment is fixed upon for setting fire to the pile. Every family has a small one within their own premises, where they burn little balls of cow-dung strung upon a rope, called *Bulha*; and a larger one is burned in every street or market place, around which all the neighbours assemble. In the morning, when the fire has burned out, they who have watched it through the night cast the ashes upon one another, and throw them into the air; laughing and hallooing, and repeating for the last time their favourite *Kuveers*. The concluding ceremony is allusive to the demise of the old year now just expired, and expressive of their joy at the approach of the new one now commencing. The riotous crew then bathe themselves, put on clean clothes, and go about to compliment their friends.

(c) Holi at Dera Ismael Khan, Charles Masso[167]

During Maha Singh's [agent of Hari Singh, Ranjit Singh's viceroy] stay the Hindu festival of the Huli occurred. It had not before been publicly celebrated by the Hindus, but this year they had not only permission, but the nawab gave a largess of two hundred rupees to his own Hindu soldiers to enable them to divert themselves worthily – only enjoining them to refrain from their joyous demonstrations within the precincts of the citadel, in respect to the feelings of his aged mother. Maha Singh invited me to witness the festivities at his quarters, and was very courteous, although on his arrival he had pronounced me to be an agent of the Company.

(d) Holi at Lahore, Baron Huge[168]

Saturday, January 16 – The Maha Raja sent this morning to say, that if I would not remain in Lahor altogether, he hoped at least that I would not go away before the Huli, which falls about the end of February, and draws to Lahor every dignitary of the empire all their glory. The Huli is a festival

celebrated in honour of the god Krishna by Hindus of all classes, and with the wildest sports and dissipation…

The Hindu festival, as I have said, is in honour of Krishna, and represents the manner in which he and his beloved Sita, with their companions, amused themselves. A quality of *Singhara* meal dyed yellow, green, red, and blue, is put into large baskets, and mixed up with little pieces of gold and silver tinsel, a number of large pots of water dyed with the same colours, and little water-engines being set near. Every one appears in white garments, and the festival commences, by the dancing girls sitting down, and breaking forth into a song in honour of the feast. The baskets of coloured meal are then introduced, and thin glass balls full of *Singhara* powder, are distributed to the assembly, which they throw at each other, and being broken with the slightest force discharge their contents on the white dresses, and stain them. Like all games of this description, these begin gently, but soon assume a rougher aspect, each player seizing as many balls as he can, and flinging them at one another. When the glass balls are exhausted, they take the coloured meal, first, as much as the fingers can hold, then by handfuls, and at last they empty the baskets over each other's heads, covering the whole person. The dirtiest part of the entertainment consists in the sprinkling with the coloured waters. In great houses the Huli is often held in the Zenana, and on those occasions the women are allowed to be present. Spirits are drank, and the amusements are then carried far beyond our European ideas of propriety, but the Hindu thinks no harm of them.

(e) Indian Carnival, Marianne Postan[169]

The Hindoos celebrate the burning of the Hooli, at the commencement of the vernal equinox, which has led, perhaps, to its comparison with the Hilaria of the Romans, instituted in honour of the goddess Cybele. In the east, this season is one of unmixed and boundless rejoicing; all restraint is cast aside, and both sexes indulge in every description of sportive mirth. Masquerading processions are common; and the principal actors in the Carnival, disguise themselves as elephants, tigers, goddess or Rajahs, as fancy may decide, all dancing, singing, playing and fencing vigorously together, without the least reference to assumed character. They delight also in playing personal tricks, similar to those common on our 'All-fools' day',

deceiving their simple-minded companions with false messages and news. The evenings are devoted to natches, juggling, and fireworks; but it is considered most particularly jocose, to throw handsful of a red powder, called 'Abir,' over one another, as an imitation of vernal flowers. This the most mischievous mix with alum and oil, and sprinkle on their neighbours' clothes, to the great injury of the said apparel. The lord of misrule alone reigns paramount at the Hooli; all distinction of ranks is lost in its general licence, a woman of respectability dare not leave her house, and even a European officer is not secure from a constrained participation in its frolics. The native officers of the regiments erect a large tent at the extreme end of their lines, where they indulge in the pleasures of a Natch; not only Natch-girls, but boys, habited as such, frequently exhibit on these occasions, but it is not considered a very polished entertainment. The Sepoys consider it a point of etiquette, to invite their European officers; who, in their turn, always attend, and return with their white jackets plentifully sprinkled with red dust, as an evidence of the sportive pleasantry of their inviters. If an officer is peculiarly strict, or feared by the natives at other times, they now take an innocent revenge, an instance of which I remember to have occurred a short time since. An unpopular officer, being as usual invited to the Sepoys Natch, which took place at a tent about a quarter of a mile from his bungalow, he walked down to the lines at the usual time, late in the evening. The natives, it appeared, had concerted to plague him; for after being seated, and the usual wreath of mogree blossoms cast over his neck by the premiere danseuse of the evening, he soon found that the showers of red dust which assailed him, were momentarily becoming more and more stifling: accordingly, he watched his opportunity and rushed from the tent, rejoicing at so easy an escape, but alas! his triumph was of short duration; at every turn, handfuls of red powder from unseen enemies saluted his eyes and mouth, and unable to avoid scores of tormentors, lying perdue at their posts, he arrived suffocated and breathless at his house, his face and hair plastered with red powder, and his whole figure bearing evidence to the zeal of the attackers.

(f) Hindu-Muslim tensions at Holi-Muharram, William Sleema[170]

The processions are liable to meet in the street, and the lees of the wine of the Hindoos, or the red powder which is substituted for them, is liable to

fall upon the tombs of the others. Hindoos pass on, forgetting in their saturnalian joy all distinctions of age, sex, or religion, their clothes and persons besmeared with the red powder, which is moistened and thrown from all kinds of machines over friend and foe; while meeting these come the Muhammadans, clothed in their green mourning, with gloomy downcast looks, beating their breasts, ready to kill themselves, and too anxious for an excuse to kill anybody else. Let but one drop of the less of joy fall upon the image of the tomb as it passes, and a hundred swords fly from their scabbards; many an innocent person falls; and woe be to the town in which the magistrate is not at hand with his police and military force. Proudly conscious of their power, the magistrates refuse to prohibit one class from laughing because the other happens to be weeping; and the Hindoos on such occasions laugh the more heartily to let the world see that they are free to do so.

6. Makar Shakranti at the camp of Daulat Rao Sindhia, T.D. Broughto[171]

The Hindoos have also been celebrating a feast, called Sunkrat: when parcels of a small black seed, called *Til*, are sent in presents to those whom they wish to compliment. The Muha Raj sends them to the British resident, and to the principal Surdars in camp. Poor people carry about quantities of it, and present it to such as are rich enough to bestow a rupee or two in return. A rich banker gave a dinner upon this occasion to a number of Brahmuns, at which he exhibited a good specimen of Mahratta delicacy and management. A most plentiful meal was prepared; and when each guest had eaten as much as he could possibly contrive to swallow, he arose, and was presented with a new *dotee*, or cloth to wrap about the loins, a blanket, and a coarse linen jacket quilted with cotton: he was then conducted to a small ruined fort in the neighbourhood of the camp, where he was locked in, to prevent his offering himself a second time, and appropriating an undue portion of the benefaction. In this confinement the guests were kept throughout the night; and on the following morning were all let out together, arrayed in their new habiliments. To feed Brahmuns is an act of religious duty, sedulously inculcated upon the minds of all Hindoos: and on such occasions the greater the quantity of victuals that is devoured by these holy men, the greater the merit and honour accruing to the entertainer.

Brahmuns, after eating till they are ready to burst, will sometimes consent, at the earnest entreaty of their host, to cram down a little more; receiving for each successive mouthful an increasing number of rupees, till nature revolts at the oppressive load: and instances have not infrequently occurred of this being repeated, till the poor gorged wretch tempted by, perhaps, some hundred rupees, has forced another morsel into his mouth, and expired on the spot. In this case no kind of blame attaches to the feeder; while the fed goes straight to heaven, *ex officio*.

7(a) Basant, T.D. Broughto[172]

This is the season of the Busunt, or spring of the Hindoos. The word signifies joy: and at this time all are accordingly joyful and happy. They present little bunches of green corn or flowers to their friends, and wear them in their turbans, which they dye yellow, as being the gayest of all colours: many dress themselves in full suits of yellow; songs and music are heard in all quarters: and every one feeds Brahmuns and distributes alms according to his means. The general gladness diffuses itself even among the poor women who grind the corn, and who now always lighten their labour by a song. The whole of the corn consumed in camp is ground by women: who for this purpose use a very simple mill, consisting of two flat circular stones about fifteen inches in diameter; the upper one of which is turned by a handle upon a pivot fixed in the lower one. The woman sits on the ground with the mill, which is called a *chukkee*, before her; and if she works hard, may grind from forty to fifty seers of corn in the day. Servants and others of the poorer sort, who have their wives in camp, earn something in addition to their wages, by employing them in this manner at their hours of leisure. An industrious woman, when not inclined to sleep, will arise at any hour of the night and busy herself with the mill: and any person lying awake, would be sure to hear two or three women so employed, singing over their work in a strain which, if not positively beautiful, is far from being unpleasing, and accords well with the stillness of the hour. Some of these songs, those especially which allude to the Busunt, possess no inconsiderable share of merit.

(b) Basant celebration with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Baron Huge[173]

Saturday, January 23 – The Basant, literally the spring, is a festival celebrated yearly at this season in Upper Hindustan and the Panjab, the

Sirsya then covering the whole face of the country with its blossoms. This is the first sign of the opening of the year, as the snowdrop is with us. On this day the Maha Raja betakes himself to a small building not far from the Shalimar, and the whole population of Lahor have orders to show themselves on the road to it. I never saw a more singular-looking assemblage. The Sikhs are the only Hindus of the plain always ready for amusement, and the people of Lahor are especially known for this disposition. I took this road at twelve o'clock, with Khalifa Sahib and Vigne; and as we went on remarked them in succession, some collected in groups, others idly loitering among the ruins, and many moving along on camels, oxen, horses, or elephants, according to their means. On the camels, which were dressed out with collars of shells and little bells, mingled with larger tassels, formed of party-coloured wools, and the tails of the Tibet cow, sat three or four men; while from eight to twelve persons were seated in the Munjil, Amari, or Howdah on the elephant's backs. Nor were the palankeens less numerous, or less strange in shape and colour. Large crowds had formed round a talking or singing fakir; a juggler or an astrologer; a vendor of toys or sweetmeats. At another spot, grown-up men were running about the fields with kites, and multitudes of persons were seen following some musicians who were beating their tamtams, and blowing horns. About half way along, at the balcony of a first story, sat a Sikh Guru...and not a Sikh passed him without his "Salam, Maha Raja," while some bestowed on him a few rupees. All was bustle and mirth, and in every direction we heard the Sikh greetings, "Wah! Guruji-ke fatih!" Hail to the conquering Guru!

The horsemen attending on me were all in light yellow, as well as the whole court: this being the colour of the spring in the Panjab. We missed our way at one time and got entangled among the ruins, whence we had so much trouble in recovering the direct path, that the Maha Raja was kept waiting some time for us. On the last mile, three regiments, dressed in yellow, were drawn up like a close fence on both sides. In Europe, this change of uniform would cost a large sum of money, but here the expense is trifling; the white linen is coloured with saffron for the day, and then washed again. The unsightly building where Ranjit Singh held the Basant stood at the end of a close alley. "And why here?" I inquired. "Because it is the will of the Maha Raja," said the astonished Fakir Sahib. Before it, in

two lines stood thirty elephants, so close to one another, that in order to gain the entrance we were obliged to squeeze in under their trunks, or just before them; but they were so tame and gentle, that there was not the least danger in this. The elephant is a very social animal, and behaves himself in company whether with his equals or with men, with the greatest discretion. It is to be supposed that the Sirdar Hati was among them. We crowded in through a narrow doorway into the interior, for the greatest freedom reigns during the feasts and ceremonies in India, and the people were all pressing forward together. One part of the court was divided from the rest by a kanat, or canvass screen, and there sat Ranjit Singh in an arm-chair under a large tent of Kashmir stuff, yellow like carpet, himself, and every thing about it. It gave him a look of additional ugliness. Large quantities of the Sirsya, and other yellow flowers were scattered about here and there. Vigne and I were the only persons in dark clothes, Mohan being in yellow, according to the prevailing fashion. Here I saw Karak Sing, the Maha Raja's eldest son, whose exterior promises very little. I was presented to him, but could hardly find time to speak a word, for the Basant began as soon as we had taken our seats, and I found that it was in reality a levee, each person being expected, as at every opportunity here, to offer some present to the Maha Raja.

8. Janamashtmi at the Maratha camp, T.D. Broughto[174]

The *Junum-ushtoomee* took place at twelve o'clock on the night of the[175], when the image of the infant Krishna was placed in the *Phool Dhol*, a kind of swinging cradle, and the important event announced by the sounding drums and concas, and the firing of cannon. There often happens a schism among the Pundits as to the proper time for keeping this festival, one party asserting that it should be determined by the recurrence of the *Ushtoomee*, or eighth days, of the month *Bhadon*, the other, averring it to depend upon the ascendancy of the star *Rohunee*; both these data having occurred at the birth of Krishna. The *Bueshnoos*, or followers of Bishn, are guided by the star, which always appears in a certain position on the eighth, or on the preceding or succeeding day, while their opponents regard only the day of the month. On the third the great tent was consecrated by a *Pooja*, or worshipping, at which the Muha Raj was present. In the evening the customary dances commenced, and all the Surdars were summoned to attend. A thousand rupees were also distributed among the Brahmuns. On

the following evening we paid our usual visit on this occasion. The tent in which we were received was about one hundred and fifty feet long, divided lengthwise into three compartments, by a double row of posts ornamented with coloured paper, and to each of which was affixed a sconce of candles. At the further end was a stage, raised about two feet from the ground, and made to represent a kind of gothic hall, with pillars and arches highly painted and gilded. This is called the *Sungasun*, or throne, and in the center of it was placed the *Phool Dhol*, covered with profusion of pearls and jewels, and wreaths of flowers fancifully disposed, in which lay the image of *Bal Govind*, the name by which Krishna was distinguished in his early infancy, and which literally signifies "the happy infant." A number of Pundits and attendant Brahmuns sat about it, and were employed in rocking the cradle and fanning the little idol within. The center space of the tent was left open for the dancers, and those on either side filled up to the level of the stage, and appropriated to the accommodation of the Muha Raj and the numerous spectators assembled on the occasion. Among these, when the candles were lighted, we perceived, to our utter astonishment, the fat *Purhumhuns*… appeared upon the line of march. He sat immediately opposite to the Muha Raj, of whom, however, or of any one else, he took not the slightest notice. The attendants who sat about Seendhiya, did not seem much to like the distinguished post which this man of mortified passions had taken up, and Atmaram made a kind of apology for his appearance, by saying, that as it was religious spectacle, it would not be proper to exclude a devotee from being present at it. He strenuously denied, however, the man's pretensions to the title of *Purhumhuns*, asserting, that if he were really so refined a being, he would neither be so fat, nor have exhibited himself in such a place. After one or two sets of common Nach girls had performed, the *Rahusd,harees*, who were seated at the upper end of the tent on a kind of raised sofa surrounded by *Chobdars, Chuonree-burdars*, and a crowd of other attendants, came forward. They are boys, always Brahmuns, who are educated at Muttra for this purpose, where a large tract of land is appropriated for their support. Parties of them travel about at this season, to perform at the different Hindoo courts of India; that now in camp consists of four, besides the musicians, and are all eminently handsome. The eldest represented the young Kunya, the name by which Krishna was distinguished in his boyish days; the youngest, his beloved

Rhada, and the other two her youthful companions. The performance was a kind of Ballet, descriptive of the sports of this amorous and inconstant, but interesting deity, with the *Copees*, or virgins of Gokul, during which they sung stanzas in the *B,hak,ha,* or language of *Brij*, the name by which the country, for a certain distance around Muttra, was formerly designated, and which was the scene of the early exploits of Krishna. This language, which is very little known among Europeans in general, is forcible and comprehensive, though, from abounding in monosyllables, it sounds harsh to ears unaccustomed to hear it pronounced. It contains beautiful specimens of the ancient Hindoo poets, which, I am persuaded, would amply compensate the trouble of any one who should apply himself to their study…

Both the dancing and singing of the *Rahusd,harees* was far superior to that of common performers; their attitudes were exceedingly graceful, and their voices were never raised beyond the natural pitch. The dresses were appropriate and elegant, especially that of Kunya, who wore a brilliant sun upon his head, and a quantity of superb jewels about his neck and breast; all of which, as well as the dresses of the other boys, were furnished from the wardrobe of the Muha Raj. After the dances were over, they exhibited in groups representations of the most celebrated statues of Krishna and his relatives, with an accuracy and steadiness quite surprising in such children. The instrumental performers who accompany the *Rahus-d,harees* are, as well as the boys themselves, all Brahmuns; and it was pleasing to see them, after the performance, instead of making the usual obeisance, lifting up their little hands, as invoking a blessing upon the Muha Raj, who rose, and bowed to each as he retired. We quitted the tent soon after, highly gratified by the entertainment of the evening.

The festival of the *Junum-ushtoomee* lasts six days, and is, upon the whole, the most classical and pleasing of the Hindoo calendar. Various rites and ceremonies take place at stated periods of the infant's growth, allusive to events which occurred at those times, till the sixth day, when the *Takoor* (that word, as with us, being equally applied to a spiritual as a temporal lord) is removed from the cradle in which it had lain. An earthen pot, filled with sour curds tinged with turmeric, is then hoisted upon a long pole, from whence it is dropped at a signal made by the Pundits; and the by-standers besmear each other with the mud, and throw about a quantity of the

mixture, which each had brought with him for the purpose, in the same manner as at the Hohlee: a part of the ceremony which was announced by salutes of cannon in the Muha Raj's camp. The whole concludes with a dinner given by the Pundits; the only occasion, I believe, on which these holy men ever incur such as expense.

9. Barat ceremony for Mahadev, William Moorcrof[176]

Upon my march from Srinagar I had observed preparations making for the performance of the ceremony called Barat, the hero of which I learned lived at Tiri. On my arrival at that place I sent for him, and was visited by a man of about sixty years of age, named Banchu, accompanied by his two sons, one about thirty, the other about fifteen, both his pupils. Barat is sliding down a rope fastened at one end to a tree or post on some elevated point, and carried obliquely to some fixed object below, to which it is attached. It is intended as a propitiatory rite to Mahadeva, and is performed to avert some impending evil, or to procure the removal of any actual calamity. It was, accordingly, performed by Banchu when the cholera was raging at Almora, and was supposed to have obtained that immunity from the disease which this part of the country actually enjoyed. Banchu brought me the articles employed on these occasions: a rope made of grass, about three inches in diameter, a wooden saddle, and two short sticks. The length of the rope used in his last descent was twelve hundred cubits. The saddle is something like a shallow and short pack-saddle, without pads, and with a very sharp ridge. The ridge was a foot and four inches long, the sides or flaps were eight inches deep, spreading outwards, so that the breadth at the bottom was three inches and a quarter. The saddle was scooped out internally nearly to the ridge to let in the rope, which fitted it exactly. The sticks are fastened transversely from flap to flap, so as to give support to the thighs. The performer, bestriding the saddle, throws his body as far back as possible, and descends the rope rapidly by the effect of his own weight, aided by heavy stones fastened to his legs. Persons are stationed underneath with transverse cords to endeavour to catch him should he fall, and others stationed at the foot of the rope seize him and carry him some way forward, so as gradually to diminish the momentum of his descent. The performer is nearly senseless when he reaches the ground, and is some time before he recovers; a collection is made for his benefit, and he derives no slender

credit from his patriotic devotion. There does not seem to be much danger in the operation when there is adequate dexterity in the performer, as Banchu had achieved the feat sixteen times without encountering any serious mishap.

10. Conflict between Deotas and Dains in the Gogar Mountain, William Moorcrof[177]

The mountain of Gogar is famous for a fierce conflict which is said to take place in it annually, beginning on the 20th of Bhadon (August – September), between the Deotas or wizards, and Dains or witches, who assemble from far and near, even from Bengal and the Dekhin.

11. The festival of Adi Brahma at Kullu, Mr. Trebeck who accompanied William Moorcroft in his travel[178]

On the 15th we entered Kulu. On our road, at a place called Tiri, a number of people were celebrating the festival of a deity, Adi Brahma. The god was personated by a villager seated on a high-backed chair, with a pole on each side for carrying it. It was covered with some dirty striped silk, and in the back were eight heads or masks made of metal, silvered and gilt. Tufts of barley grass and peacocks' feathers were stuck about the chair, and every peasant wore a bunch of young barley in his cap. The man who acted the god affected the reply prophetically to questions that were put to him by the bystanders, and seemed frequently to afford them much merriment. Amongst other things, he foretold a fierce war at hand.

12. Ram lila at Allahabad, Fanny Parke[179]

October 1829 – We drove to the Parade-ground, to view the celebration of the Ram Leela festival. Ram the warrior god is particularly revered by the *sipahis.* An annual *tamasha* is held in his honour, and that of Seeta his consort. A figure of Ravana the giant, as large as a windmill, was erected on the Parade-ground: the interior of the monster was filled with fireworks. This giant was destroyed by Ram. All sorts of games are played by the *sipahis,* on the Parade. Mock fights and wrestling matches take place, and fireworks are let off. Two young natives, about ten or twelve years old, are often attired to represent Ram and Seeta; and men with long tails figure as the army of monkeys, headed by their leader Hanuman.

…One ceremony was very remarkable: each native regiment took out its colours and made *pooja* to the standards, offering them sweetmeats,

flowers, rice and *pan,* as they do to a god! At Cawnpore.1 saw the men of the third cavalry riding round the image of the giant, with their colours flying, after having made *pooja* to them.

At the conclusion of the *tamasha,* the figure of Ravana is blown up by the conqueror, Ram.

13. Sikh parade at Dussehra, Victor Jacquemon[180]

The Dasehra is a Hindu festival, the greatest of them all. The Sikhs celebrate it with even more noise and brilliance than their Hindu ancestors and brethren do. It is the day on which Ranjit reviews his whole army. In my capacity as a temporary diplomat I went and sat with Wade near the King in a magnificent tent erected on a platform in the middle of the plain of Amritsar. All the noblemen of the Sikh court came to do homage to the King, after which the army filed past before us. It was very like the armies described by the historians and poets of antiquity. This time the reality enormously surpassed my expectation.

14. Diwali at Banaras: 'A scene of fairy splendour,' Emma Robert[181]

In no part of Hindostan can one of the most beautiful of the native festivals be seen to so great an advantage as at Benares. The *duwallee* is celebrated there with the greatest splendour, and its magnificence is heightened by the situation of the city on the bank of the river, and the singular outlines of the buildings. The attraction of this annual festival consists in the illuminations at the close of the evening, small *chiraugs* (earthen lamps), fed with oil which produces a brilliant white light, are placed as closely together as possible, on every ledge of every building. Palace, temple, and tower seemed formed of stars. The city appears like the creation of the fire-king, the view from the water affording the most superb and romantic spectacle imaginable – a scene of fairy splendour, far too brilliant for description. Europeans embark in boats to enjoy the gorgeous pageant from the river; all the vessels are lighted up, and the buildings in the distance, covered with innumerable lamps, shine out in radiant beauty. European illuminations, with their coloured lamps, their transparencies, their crowns, stars, and initial letters, appear paltry when compared to the chaste grandeur of the Indian mode; the outlines of a whole city are marked in streams of fire, and the corruscations of light shoot up into the dark blue sky above, and tremble in long undulations on the rippling waves below.

15. 'Abominable superstitions,' Mary Martha Sherwoo[182]

…as regards the higher authorities, I am ashamed to say that almost, I fear, down to the present time, encouragement is afforded to the most abominable superstitions of the heathens. It is still a matter of grievance and complaint to the religious persons holding situations under Government, in the Madras Presidency, that many of them, both civil and military, are required to attend heathen and Mahometan religious festivals, with the view of showing them respect; that in some instances they are called upon to do homage to idols; that the management and regulation of the revenues of some pagodas and mosques are so vested in the hands of the officers of Government that not the least expense can be incurred, or any of the vile functionaries of the hateful system be remunerated, without the official concurrence of the Christian trustee. Nor are these all the complaints which may be truly and fairly made against that heartless and unprincipled liberality by which the higher authorities of our country manifest their disregard of the religion of the Bible.

B. SCENES FROM FAIRS

1. Fair at Allahabad, Fanny Parke[183]

JANUARY 1833 – The *bura mela* at Prag, or the great fair at Allahabad, is held annually on the sands of the Ganges below the ramparts of the Fort, extending from the Mahratta Bund to the extreme point of the sacred junction of the rivers. The booths extend the whole distance, composed of mud walls, covered with mats or thatched. This fair lasts about two months, and attracts merchants from all parts of India, Calcutta, Delhi, Lucknow, Jaipur, etc. Very good diamonds, pearls, coral, shawls, cloth, woollens, china, furs, etc., are to be purchased. Numerous booths display brass and copper vessels, glittering in the sun with many brazen idols: others are filled with Benares' toys for children. Bows and arrows are displayed, also native caps made of sable, the crowns of which are of the richest gold and silver embroidery.

The pearl merchants offer long strings of large pearls for sale, amongst which some few are fine, round and of a good colour. The natives value size, but are not very particular as to colour, they do not care to have them perfectly round and do not object to an uneven surface. They will allow a purchaser to select the best at pleasure from long strings.

The deep red coral is valued by the natives much more than the pink. I bought some very fine pink coral at the fair: the beads were immense; the price of the largest, Rs 11 per *tola;* i.e., Rs 11 for a rupee's weight of coral. The smallest, Rs 6-4 per *tola;* it was remarkably fine. Some years afterwards the Brija Bai, a Mahratta lady, a friend of mine, called on me; she observed the long string of fine pink coral around my neck and said, 'I am astonished a memsahib should wear coral; we only decorate our horses with it: that is pink coral, the colour is not good; look at my horse.' I went to the verandah; her horse was adorned with a necklace of fine deep red coral. She was quite right and I made over mine to my grey steed.

Some of the prettiest things sold at the *mela* are the *tikas,* an ornament for the forehead for native women. The *tika* is of different sizes and patterns; in gold or silver for the wealthy, tinsel for the poorer classes; and of various shapes. The prettiest are of silver, a little hollow cup like a dewdrop cut in halves: the ornament is stuck with an adhesive mixture on the forehead, just in the centre between the eyebrows. Some *tikas* are larger, resembling the *ferroniere* worn by Europeans ladies.

The Allahabad *hakaks* are famous for their imitation in glass of precious stones. I purchased a number of native ornaments in imitation of the jewellery worn by native ladies, which were remarkably well made and cost only a few rupees. I also bought strings of mock pearls brought from China that are scarcely to be distinguished from real pearls, either in colour or weight.

The toys the rich natives give their children, consisting in imitations of all sorts of animals, are remarkably pretty; they are made in silver and enamelled: others are made of ivory very beautifully carved; and for the poorer classes they are of pewter, moulded into the most marvellous shapes.

Religious mendicants

At this time of the year *lakhs* and *lakhs* of natives come to bathe at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna; they unite at the extremity of a neck of land, or rather sand, that runs out just below the Fort. On this holy spot the Brahmans and religious mendicants assemble in thousands.…

The most remarkable people at this *mela* are the religious mendicants; they assemble by hundreds and live within enclosures fenced off by sticks, a little distance from the booths. These people are the monks of the East; there are two orders of them; the Gosains, or followers of Shiva, and the

Byragies, disciples of Vishnu. Any Mohammedan may become *a fakir,* and a Hindu of any caste a religious mendicant. The ashes of cow-dung are considered purifying: these people are often rubbed over from head to foot with an ashen mixture and have a strange dirty white, or rather blue appearance. Ganges mud, cow-dung, and ashes of cow-dung form, I believe, the delectable mixture.

The sectarial marks or symbols are painted on their faces according to their caste, with a red, yellow, white or brown pigment, also on their breasts and arms. Their only covering is a bit of rag passed between the legs and tied round the waist by a cord or rope…

Acts of severity towards the body, practised by religious mendicants, are not done as penances for sin but as works of extraordinary merit, promising large rewards in a future state. The Byragee is not a penitent, but a proud ascetic. These people bear the character of being thieves and rascals…

January 11th – Some natives are at the door with the most beautiful snakes, two of them very large and striped like tigers; the men carry them twisted round their bodies and also round their necks, as a young lady wears a boa; the effect is good. The two tiger-striped ones were greatly admired as a well-matched pair; they are not venomous…

The *mela* is very full; such beautiful dresses of real sable as I have seen today brought down by the Moguls for sale! Lined with shawl, they would make magnificent dressing-gowns. I have bought a Persian writing-case and a book beautifully illuminated and written in Persian and Arabic: the Moguls beguile me of my rupees….

January 21st – This being a great Hindu holiday and bathing day induced me to pay another visit to the fair. Amongst the sport *(tamasha)* at the *mela,* was a Hindu beggar who was *sitting upon thorns,* up to his waist in water – an agreeable amusement. One man played with his right hand on a curious instrument, called a *been,* while in his left hand he held two pieces of black stone, about the length and thickness of a finger which he jarred together in the most dexterous manner, producing an effect something like castanets, singing at the same time. The passers-by threw cowries, *paisa* (copper coins) and rice to the man.

I purchased two musical instruments called *sarinda,* generally used by the *fakirs,* most curious things; Hindu ornaments, idols, china and some white marble images from Jaipur…

Missionaries at the mela

On platforms raised of mud and sand, some ten or twelve missionaries were preaching; every man had his platform to himself and a crowd of natives surrounded each orator. Seeing one of my own servants, an Hindu, apparently an attentive listener, I asked the man what he had heard. 'How call I tell?' said he; 'the English padre is talking.' I explained to him the subject of the discourse, and received for answer, 'Very well; it is their business to preach, they get *paisa* for so doing; what more is to be said?'

2. Kite fair at Allahabad, Fanny Parke[184]

The Sohobut Mela, or Fair of Kites, was in Alopee Bagh; I went to see it; hundreds of people, in their gayest dresses, were flying kites in all directions, so happily and eagerly; and under the fine trees in the mango *tope,* sweetmeats, toys and children's ornaments were displayed in booths erected for the purpose. It was a pretty sight, that Alopee ke Mela.

The kites are of different shapes, principally square, and have no tails; the strings are covered with *manjha,* a paste mixed with pounded glass and applied to the string to enable it to cut that of another by friction. One man flies his kite against another, and he is the loser whose string it cut. The boys and the men also, race after the defeated kite, which becomes the prize of the person who first seizes it. It requires some skill to gain the victory; the men are as fond of the sport as the boys.

3. Horse fair at Haridwar, C.J.C. Davidso[185]

From Hurdwar towards Khunkhul, and thence to Hurdwar, for a mile on each side, with an average breadth of four hundred yards, is occupied with perhaps ten thousand horses and nearly half a million of people. I am not aware that any census has ever been taken, and nothing is more difficult than to give a correct guess of a large widely-scattered mob. In every twelve years the number increases to nearly a million, and the fair is then called the coom. It is even now a living swarm of cows, horses, bullocks, camels, elephants, tattoos or ponies, and mules from Osbeck Tartary, to Benares, and pilgrims are found from Calcutta.

The scene in the highest degree interesting and diverting. The horse merchants from Bokhara and Cabool occupy the stony central parts of the dry bed of the river, with their powerful and handsome, but generally old and blemished horses; while those from Toorkistan squat in the small

compounds behind the houses of Hurdwar, separated from each other by dry stone walls. These men bring what are well known in India by their great power, and are chiefly galloways and ponies, called Toorkies; their prices from 250 to as high as 800 rupees, according to their shapes, colours, and paces. They have all been previously taught to amble, a pace thoroughly unpleasant to most Englishmen, but delightful to all black men… The Seiks bring only a few barren mares and mules…

Amongst the horse-dealers some capitalists bring a few select Persian horses, which they keep warmly clothed in a most handsome manner, under spacious tents, which on inquiry will be found valued at from five to fifty thousand rupees; but which are (if sold at all,) sold for eight hundred to one thousand rupees. The greatest attention is paid by a native horse dealer in fattening his horse, till he resembles a stall-fed bullock; which is accomplished by cramming him with cordial stimulants, such as pounded ginger and sugar, or cardamoms and treacle, with his boiled vetches; a man stands on each side of the horse stuffing large balls of the composition down his throat.

When the horse is under examination, the dealer continually laments the great loss of flesh which he has sustained by his long march to the fair, which he illustrates by putting his fingers edgeways over the ribs; but when the animal is cantered for one hundred yards, it will be found blown in a minute, and it is quite painful to hear the pursy beast struggling for breath. I saw one grey pony from Tartary, which, from excessive obesity, resembled a cart-horse cut down at the knees; for which they had the impudence to ask eleven hundred rupees. This animal was probably purchased for one hundred rupees, and might have cost as much more in fattening. While none can exceed the unwearying and polite attention of the other horse merchants, these men are occasionally very rude to Europeans, and will not uncover their lamberts till they ascertain your means of purchasing…

The natives who supply the horse-dealers with grass, (half of which is dried up, and half green,) are a race of spurious hill people, who call themselves Bramins and Chuttrees. They are strikingly unlike the dwellers in the plains, being generally broad and lean, low and muscular. In their personal habits they are amazingly filthy. In summer and winter they wear a coarse blanket frock, which, however incredible it may appear, is never removed form their skins. But even out of this evil springs good; for this is

the foundation of their personal chronology; they do not say, I am twenty or thirty years old, but I have worn so many jackets! It is strictly true that the jackets are allowed to drop off from filth and rottenness.

Amongst the greatest curiosities, were perhaps half a dozen remarkably powerful ponies, from Osbeck Tartary, called "phooldars" – anglice, "flower-marked." They were under thirteen hands high, and of the most curious compound colours or marks that can be imagined. A description can hardly be given, but it may be attempted. Suppose in the first place that the animal is a pure snowy white; cover the white with large irregular light bay spots, through which the white is visible; in the middle of these light bay, let there be dark bay marbled spots: at every six or eight inches, plant rhomboidal patches of a very dark iron grey: then sprinkle the whole with dark fleabites. There is a phooldar! If I had but one of these at Bartlemy fair, I would retire with an unquestionable fortune of half crowns and shilling in less than fourteen months.

Runjeet Singh levies a duty of fifty rupees on every horse that passes through his territory to ours. Mares of the phooldar breed I have never seen: some of those in the fair were geldings. A friend of mine, in whose hospitable tent I passed my days, was employed in purchasing horses for the service, and thus I enjoyed many amusing conversations with the Moghul or Affghan horse dealers. It seemed to puzzle them much why the English did not invade Runjeet Singh's territories. They abhor the Seiks, because they are gradually seizing the Affghan dependencies.

C. JUGGLERS, ETC

1. Jugglers, Eliza Fa[186]

I must now assure you that I have actually seen with my own eyes several of those things which we girls used to think poor Captain S – took travellers' liberty in relating, such as dancing snakes, jugglers swallowing swords, etc.…When you have seen a man thrust a sword down his throat, and are fully convinced that there is no deception, you feel that you have beheld a wonder, and there the gratification ends, for the sight is unnatural and disgusting. With some other tricks of the juggler I was, however, much pleased. He had a manner of throwing four brass balls up and catching them with such amazing rapidity that they perpetually encircled his head, forming

a kind of hat around it. He likewise threaded small beads with his tongue, and performed a number of very curious sleights of hand.

2. Bhanmittees, T.D. Broughto[187]

A set of jugglers, called *Bhanmittees*, came into our camp this morning, and exhibited some surprising feasts of activity. One woman in particular astonished me: she rested on her head and feet, with her back toward the earth; two swords, with their blades inwards, were crossed upon her chin, and two others, the blades also inwards, under her neck: she then traversed round in a circle, with great rapidity; keeping her head always fixed in the center and leaping over the points of the swords, whenever her breast chanced to be downwards. The *Bhanmittees* are of the lowest classes of the people; and support themselves by travelling about, and exhibiting their feats in the towns and villages through which they pass.

3. Rope dancer at Furrah, Bishop Hebe[188]

Soon after we had encamped, a numerous party of Fakirs, and other similar vagabonds, like us, as it seemed, on their travells, appeared, and pitched their tents at a little distance…A party of them, however, came forwards with a musician, and a boy dressed up in adjutant's feathers, with a bill of the same bird fastened to his head, asked leave to shew off some tricks in tumbling and rope-dancing. On my assenting, in less time that I could have supposed possible, four very long bamboos were fixed in the ground, and a slack-rope suspended between them, on which the boy, throwing off his bird's dress, and taking a large balancing-pole in his hand, began to exhibit a series of tricks which proved him to be a funambulist of considerable merit. He was a little and very thin animal, but broad-shouldered and well made, and evidently possessed of no common share of strength as well as of agility and steadiness. Mean time, while he was gamboling above, the musician below, who was and old man, and whose real or assumed name was Hajee Baba, went through all the usual jests and contortions of our English "Mr. Merryman," sometimes affecting great terror at his companion's feats and the consequence of his falling, – sometimes bidding him, "Salam to the Sahib Log," or challenging him to still greater feats of agility and dexterity.

4. The Nut Log, Fanny Parke[189]

April 19t[190] Yesterday, some wandering gypsies (Nut Log) came to the door; they were a family of tumblers. Nut is the name of a tribe who are generally jugglers, rope-dancers, etc. There was one girl amongst them whose figure was most beautiful and her attitudes more classic and elegant than any I have ever beheld; Madame Sacci would hide her diminished head before the supple and graceful attitudes of this Indian girl.

A man placed a solid piece of wood, of the shape of an hourglass and about eighteen inches in height, on his head; the girl ran up his back and, standing on one foot on the top of the wood, maintained her balance in the most beautiful attitude whilst the man ran round and round in a small circle; she then sprang off his head to the ground. After this she again ran up his back and kneeling on the hour-glass-like wood on his head, allowed him to run in the circle; then she balanced herself on the small of her back, her hands and feet in the air. After that, she stood on her head, her feet straight in the air, the man performing the circle all the time! The drapery worn by the natives falls in the most beautiful folds and the girl was a fit subject for a statuary: I was delighted.

They placed a brass vessel, with dust in it, behind her back on the ground, whilst she stood erect; she bent backwards, until her forehead touched the dust in the vessel, and took up between her eyelids two bits of iron that looked like bodkins; the brass pan in which they were laid was only about two inches high from the ground! She threw herself into wonderful attitudes with a sword in her hand. A set of drawings illustrating all the graceful positions which she assumed would be very interesting; I had never seen any thing of the kind before, and thought of *Wilhelm Meister*. The Nut Log consisted of five women, one little child and one man, who performed all these extraordinary feats; another man beat a tom-tom to keep time for them and accompanied it with his voice; the poor little child performed wonderfully well. She could not have been more than six years old; the other girl was, I should suppose, about eighteen years of age.

5. Puppet plays, Edward Braddo[191]

More amusing than Indian conjuring or the nautch is the *kutpootli* or puppet-play, that in Northern India is the especial treat of European children, and the frequent joy of the adult native. It is true that comedy played by the *Kutpootli* dolls is mainly a procession of rajahs, who enter

two and two (after the manner of Noah's beasts), and range themselves silent and motionless in durbar; but there is an undercurrent of farce which gives some life to the affair, and much delight to British children. A wayfarer is robbed by a thief and bullied by a policeman; a sweeper and his wife are prominent upon the scene in the prologue, and as comic as circumstances will permit; and although the farce of these minor characters had for me no particular meaning, it is quite possible that the initiated saw in it something of a distinctly edifying and satirical character.

Sometimes this oriental Punch and Judy travesty was elaborated for older audiences by the addition of a ludicrous caricature of the Anglo-Indian. This uncomplimentary rendering of the white man's peculiarities was given, not by dolls, but by the men attached to the show. Dressed in odds and ends of cast-off European clothing, and wearing masks designed to represent the European countenance, these dismal mimes presented their view of the average Briton's demeanour. As far as I can remember, the Britannic character thus portrayed was singularly circumscribed. The sahib in mask and scarecrow apparel was a creature of three emotions and no moral. He got drunk, he said d – n frequently, and he thumped his native attendant.

6. The snake-charmer, T.G. Frase[192]

Near my friend T's house, in the fort of Asirgarh, to which we returned for a few days, were several small out-houses in which his dogs and poultry were kept. He had some very handsome and valuable English dogs; one of these was found dead one morning and brought out for inspection, and as he had been in good health and spirits the evening previous, his sudden death, as well as that of some game fowls in the room adjoining, was unaccountable. We closely examined their dormitories, but could discover nothing suspicious, but some rat-holes in the chunam of the floor; one of the fowls, however, on being denuded of his feathers, exhibited such unmistakable marks of having succumbed to snake bite, that a snake charmer from the city of Burhanpur was sent for, and soon made his appearance.

The man had with him the usual equipment of a basket and flageolet made, apparently, from a long thin gourd; for clothes he had the common waist-cloth round his loins, and a scanty rag across his shoulders. My friend commenced by having him searched, and when assured he had nothing

about him but what nature gave, he was told what had occurred, and taken to the rooms that had proved so fatal. Before commencing work, however, the charmer stipulated that any snake or cobra that he might capture should not be killed. As all of us were aware that the snake represents an incarnation of the Hindu deity, this was agreed to, and accordingly, before us all and under close surveillance, the man entered one of the rooms with nothing but his pipe and a waist-cloth. He examined the rat-holes, and selecting one he commenced piping a reedy monotonous treble for some five or six minutes, when a cobra's head slowly emerged from the hole. With a forked stick he at once pinned the snake to the ground, and seizing it with the other hand behind the head, drew him gently out of the hole.

This we saw him do as distinctly as sharp eyes within six feet of the operation could assure us. He then went to two other of the small rooms, repeating his first performance. On one he was unsuccessful, or it had no occupant; from the other he drew another but a smaller cobra, which he slipped, as before into his basket outside. We all now proceeded to the front of the house, and two chickens being brought, the man commenced again playing before the closed basket containing the snakes, and then, slowly lifting off the lid partially, he presented one of the birds at the opening, which was immediately struck by one of the snakes, and released immediately. In three minutes the fowl, after running about freely, began to stagger, then run round, and fell and died within five minutes, for it was timed, watch in hand. If anything that one actually sees is convincing of a fact, this surely ought to have assured us that the man had actually enticed unsophisticated snakes from their retreat; and none of those who witnessed the feat entertained, I believe, a doubt on the subject. The doctor, moreover, 'to make assurance doubly sure,' had one of the snake's jaws opened, and we saw distinctly the two fangs, one on each side of the upper jaw.

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Chapter 5
State of Economy

A. Agriculture
B. Some non-agricultural occupations
C. Manufactures
D. Skills of workforce
E. Bazaars
F. Trade and commerce

A. AGRICULTURE

1. Effect of climate, Robert Orm[193]

Effect of the climate of Indostan seems to counteract, in favour of the human race, the violences to which it is subject from the nature of the government.

1. The sun forbids the use of fuel, and renders the want of raiment to be scarcely an inconvenience. 2. The bare earth, with the slightest hut over it, affords a repose without the danger of diseases to a people vastly temperate. 3. Productions peculiar to the soil of India exceedingly contribute to the ease of various labours: a convenient house may be built in three days, with no other materials than what are furnished by the bamboo and kajan: a boat, with all its appurtenances, may be made from the single coconut tree; which at the same time supplies oil, and a nourishment in much request; the ease of producing and manufacturing cotton is evinced by the plenty and price of linen. 4. Health is best preserved in this climate, by the slightest and simplest diet: perhaps it is from this consideration that religion has forbid the use of flesh meats and spirituous liquors amongst the Gentoos.

Thus the general wants of other climates become extremely lessened in this. Now if men multiply in proportion to the ease of gaining a subsistence, it will no longer be admired that the kingdom of Indostan should, even under the iron sway of despotism, continue populous; especially if we add this better fundamental cause, which, resulting like the other from the effects of the climate, is still rendered more effectual by the most sacred of customs.

2. Bengal most fertile in the universe, Robert Orm[194]

The province of Bengal is the most fertile of any in the universe, more so than Egypt, and with greater certainty. A stratum of the richest mould upon a bottom of sand, the equal level of the country, and not a stone to be picked up in the space of some hundred miles, whilst shells are found every where. Such signs declare the soil to have been formed by the retreat of the sea; and in such a soil excessive rains falling at particular periods, cannot but render the cultivation of it to be scarce a labour.

The country about Dacca, where the Ganges disembogues itself by a hundred mouths into the ocean, is alone sufficient to supply the whole province of Bengal with rice: and every other part of the province, if duly cultivated, would produce exceedingly more than its occasions.

3. Bengal "uncommonly fruitful," De Grandpr[195]

In the number of the former is salt-petre, with which the land of this country is strongly impregnated. This does not require repeated washing to yield any quantity; a single operation is sufficient to obtain as much as the Indians want. Their laziness could not endure the frequent repetitions of that process which are necessary in Europe. Cotton is another production of the soil, from which those fine muslins are made which are brought to Europe.

Wheat is very sparingly cultivated here, but the country abounds in rice, which constitutes the principal nourishment of the people: the ground is uncommonly fruitful; there is no such thing known as a bad crop. As the country is low and flat, it is intersected and watered by a multitude of canals, which are supplied by the Ganges, and contribute greatly to the fertility of the soil. This river overflows in the higher countries, and leaves, like the Nile, a sediment behind it, which the heat of the sun modifies and renders very productive. Bengal is the granary of rice to all India…

Introduction of sugarcane

The English have introduced into this province a new species of agriculture, in the cultivation of the sugarcane. When I left Bengal in 1794, this undertaking had just begun to be tried, and it already afforded a fair prospect of success. Messrs. Lambert and Ross were the first who engaged in the speculation. I visited their plantation, and had the pleasure of seeing that their fields looked well, were in good order, and the canes promising, though smaller than those of the Antilles; this disadvantage however is

compensated by the quantity of juice they yield, which is owing to the peculiar quality of the soil in which they are planted.

Establishment of the manufactories

The only thing that dissatisfied me was that a misplaced economy seemed to have presided in the establishment of the manufactories. The buildings were good, the coppers extensive, and the mill well executed, but it was worked by oxen, which have neither the strength not the perseverance of the mules in the West Indies. These oxen are a degenerate kind of buffalo, and it is not without great trouble they can be rendered in any degree useful: the business of driving and whipping them is the hardest employment in the whole manufactory. This mode of working a mill appears to me a very ineligible contrivance; a water-mill certainly would be much more simple and preferable, and the Ganges is rapid enough to afford a fall of water that would set any wheel in motion.

At the period of which I speak, the natives were too little acquainted with a business of this kind to be capable of conducting it, and workmen were accordingly brought from China for the purpose: it is to be hoped however, that the Indians will learn in time to do without these men, and will no longer have recourse to foreigners, who are not to be obtained but at an expense that enhances the price of the sugar, which will prove of little ultimate advantage, unless it can be brought in price to bear some proportion in Europe to that of the West Indies.

4. Produce at Tehri, William Moorcrof[196]

On the 12th of February we resumed our journey, and crossed the Bhagirathi by a swinging bridge. Both banks of the river, as far as the eye could reach, presented the appearance of cultivation. The road, leaving it on the right, proceeded through a pass on the left, and followed the course of a considerable feeder of the Bhagirathi, called the Chakarwara. We crossed large rice grounds, separated by stone fences, and saw several villages under repair, and land breaking up for tillage. Cotton is extensively cultivated in this neighbourhood, and at the village of Manear, where we halted, cotton cloths are manufactured: coarse blankets are also made here, usually about seven feet and a half long, by three feet and a half broad; they sell for a rupee each. There is some traffic with the plains, consisting chiefly of the barter of grain for Lahore salt.

The early part of our next day's journey led us through many fields of young poppy plant, which is cultivated partly for its oil, and partly as a pot-herb. It is eaten both raw, and dressed with butter-milk, salt, and capsicum, and is, in neither form, unpalatable or deleterious. Its use is probably restricted to its young state.

5. Some produce in the Himalayan provinces, William Moorcrof[197]

Dye

Madder grows wild in the vicinity of Joshimath, at the foot of almost every bush, and its black berries overspread their tops in the greatest profusion. The root contains abundant colouring matter, and it is used by the Bhotias to dye the coarse woolen clothes manufactured in the mountains, previously employing a bath of alum, which is found abundantly as an exudation on the face of some of the cliffs. It could be raised in any quantity.

Hemp

Hemp grows freely in the valleys, and on the slopes of the mountains. It affords a strong, fine, and long fibre, and is worked by the natives into a coarse canvas, and into thread and rope. The gum collected from its flowers during the warm part of the day, and called from its resemblance to wax, momia, and well known when adulterated, by the name of kshir ras, has strong narcotic powers. Tar, pitch, resin, turpentine, are all procurable in any quantity. The oil distilled from the turpentine extracted in the hills is lighter, more fluid, transparent and fragrant than any manufactured in Great Britain.

6. Rice cultivation in Kashmir, William Moorcrof[198]

Although wheat, barley, buck-wheat, millet, maize, pulse, and amaranthus are grown in Kashmir, yet the staple of cultivation is rice. This is sown in the beginning of May, and is fit to cut about the end of August. The grain is either sown broadcast in the place where it is intended to stand till ripe, or thickly in beds, from which it is transplanted when the blade is about a foot high. As soon as the season will admit after the 21st of March, the land is opened by one or more ploughings, according to its strength, and the clods are broken down by blows with wooden mattocks, managed in general by women, with great regularity and address, after which water is let upon the soil, which, for the most part, of a reddish clay, or foxy earth, is converted

into a smooth soft mud. The seed grain, put into a sack of woven grass, is submerged in a running stream until it begins to sprout, which happens sooner or later, according to the temperature of the water and of the atmosphere, but ordinarily takes place in three or four days. This precaution is adopted for the purpose of getting the young shoot as quickly as possible out of the way of a small snail, which abounds in some of the watered lands of Kashmir, but sometimes proves insufficient to defend it against the activity of this diminutive enemy. When the farmer suspects, by the scanty appearance of the plants above the water in which the grain has been sown, and by the presence of the snail drawn up in the mud, that his hopes of a crop are likely to be disappointed, he repeats the sowing, throwing into the water some fresh leaves of the Prangos, called Krangos, which either poison the snails, or cause them to descend out of the reach of its influence. The seed is, for the most part, thrown broadcast into about four or five inches of water, which depth is endeavoured to be maintained. Difference of practice exists as to watering, but it seems generally agreed that rice can scarcely have too much water, provided it be not submerged except for a few days before it ripens, when a drier state is supposed to hasten and to perfect the maturity, whilst it improves the quality of the grain. In general the culture of rice is little expensive, though more so in Kashmir than in Hindustan, from its being customary in the former country to manure the rice lands, which is never done in the latter. The manure, for the most part, consists of rice straw, rejected by the cattle, and mixed with cow dung. It is conveyed from the home-stead to the fields by women in small wicker baskets, and is set on the land with more liberality than might have been expected from the distance it is carried. Many of the rice lands are situated much higher than might be thought convenient in Hindustan, and are rather pressed into this species of culture than naturally inviting, but still yield good crops through the facility with which water is brought upon them from the streams which fall down the face of the neighbouring hills. In common seasons the return of grain is from thirty to forty for one, on an average, besides the straw…

7. Walnut cultivation, William Moorcrof[199]

It has been observed, that after a few seasons of full bearing, walnut trees fall off in producing fruit, and run with great luxuriance to leaf and branch. To this latter condition the Kashmiris apply the appellation of *must*, and to

remedy it, cut down all the small branches bringing the tree to the state of a pollard. During the year following shoots and leaves alone are produced, which are succeeded by a crop of fruit, in that ensuing, so abundant, as to compensate for the absence of nuts in the preceding season. The cut ends of the branches swell into knots, or knobs, which are somewhat unsightly, and of which the structure has not been accurately examined.

The walnuts which fall whilst green furnish the material for a colour of this tint, which, however, is not permanent; but the husks of the ripe fruit are sold to the dyers, as a basis for a fixed black. When ripe, the fruit of the walnut is retailed in the city for eating…

The country people break the walnuts at home, and carry the kernel alone to market, where it is sold to oil-pressers, at the average of seven rupees per kharwar, or ass load. Each ass load of kernel yields eight paji of oil, each weighing six ser, or forty-eight sers in the whole.…About twelve thousand ass loads of walnut kernels are annually appropriated to the oil-press in Kashmir, producing, in the gross return of oil and of oil cake, one hundred and thirteen thousand rupees, independently of the quantity of nuts eaten by man.

8. Tobacco plant introduced at Boglipore, Thomas Twinin[200]

Boglipore was [one] of the places at which the tobacco plant was cultivated on its first introduction into India. The now general dispersion and use of this plant show how much may be effected by attention and activity in such attempts, and should serve as a precedent for the choice and trial of other productions more unequivocally conducive to the happiness of the people.

9. Tea, William Griffit[201]

Jan. 16th – This day we gave up to the examination of the tea in its native place. It occurs in a deep jungle to the south of the village, and at a distance of about three miles from it. Our route thither lay through first a rather extensive grass jungle, then through a deep jungle. We crossed the Deboru once on our route; it is a mean and insignificant stream.

Nothing particular presents itself in the jungle until you approach the tea, on which you come very suddenly. This plant is limited to a small extent, perhaps to 300 yards square, the principal direction being N. and S. It grows in a part of the jungle where the soil is light and dryish, and throughout

which, *ravinules* are frequent, due, Mac. tells me, to the effect of rain dropping from the heavy over-shadowing foliage on a light soil. In addition to this, small mounds occur about the roots of the large trees; but chiefly around bamboos, which are by no means unfrequent. This, however, is of common occurrence in all bamboo jungles. The underwood consists chiefly of Rubeaceae, a small Leea, Cyrthandraceae and Filices, *Polypodium arboreum, Angiopteris orassipes*, and a large Asplenium are common. Among the arbuscles are a large leaved Tetranthera a Myristica, Anonaceae, *Paederioidea faetidissima*, foliis ternatis; stipulis apicee subulata, 3-fidis, etc. And among the forest trees are a vast Dipterocarpus, the same we met with en route to Kujoo, *Dillenia speciosa*, etc. Piper and Chloranthus are likewise not uncommon. There is no peculiar feature connected with the existence of the tea in such a place, and in such a limited extent. We were fortunate enough to find it both in flower and fruit, owing to its site; its growth is tall and slender, and its crown at least that of the smaller, very small and ill developed. Large trees are rare; in fact, they have been all cut down by the Singfos, who are like all other natives excessively improvident. The largest we saw, and which Wallich felled, was, including the crown, 43 feet in length. Small plants are very common, although Bruce had already removed 30,000. Mac. thinks they grow chiefly on the margins of the ravinules or hollows. Their leaves were all large, of a very dark green, and varying from four to eight inches in length. The pith of the tree felled was excentric, the greater development taking place as usual on the southern side; it was two and a half inches N., three and a half S.; but about 10 feet above the base this excentricity was nearly doubled. The wood is very compact, and the tree apparently one of slow growth. The largest that Bruce has seen, and which he felled last year, was 29 cubits in length. The jungle was so thick that all general views as to its real extent, and the circumstances limiting it, must be very superficial. To the East the cessation of the lightness of the soil and of the hollows is very abrupt, and strongly influences the tea, only a few small straggles being visible in that direction. The jungle here was choked with grasses, and the large viscous Acanthaceae of which we have elsewhere en route seen such abundance. The tree evidently, even in its large state, owes little gratitude to the sun, at least for direct rays, none of which I should think ever reach it. The Singfos however say, that it will only thrive in the shade. We halted after gathering a

crop of leaves under a fine Dillenia, which was loaded with its fruit. Here the Singfos demonstrated the mode in which the tea is prepared among them. I must premise, however, that they use none but young leaves. They roasted or rather semi-roasted the leaves in a large iron vessel, which must be quite clean, stirring them up and rolling them in the hands during the roasting. When duly roasted, they expose them to the sun for three days; some to the dew alternately with the sun. It is then finally packed into bamboo chungas, into which it is tightly rammed. The ground on which it occurs is somewhat raised above the plain adjoining the village, as we passed over two hillocks on our route to the tea, and the descent did not evidently counterbalance the ascent….

10. Produce in the environs of Allahabad, Captain Leopold von Orlic[202]

Though the country about Allahabad is planted with mango groves, tamarinds, figs, and bananas, and the bushes are full of wild roses, yet the character of the country is quite peculiar, from the species of grasses which are introduced from the neighbouring mountains, and from the bamboo, sugar-cane, andropogon, and other plants, and a variety of corn, which luxuriate here. Indigo, cotton, wheat, barley, rape-seed, potatoes, turnips, poppy, rice and jowary, flourish in the fields, and the gardens produce, not only bananas and mangoes, but likewise European vines, figs, apples, and plums.

11. Opium gathering in environs of Allahabad, Captain Leopold von Orlic[203]

During our first ride, I had an opportunity of seeing the method of gathering opium, which is done in the following manner: – In the evening, incisions are made in the poppy heads, from which the opium exudes during the night, and is taken off before sun-rise, by old and young, with knives, and collected in poppy leaves. The price of a seer of fine opium is three rupees eleven annas, of which, however, the collector seldom gets more than one rupee. According to the statements of the country people here, an acre of land produces in good years only ten or twelve seers; as the opium is a monopoly, the quantity collected must be delivered to the appointed officers. There are two great opium stations: the opium agent of Benares is at Ghazipoor, and the agent of Bahar at Patna. The former has the

superintendence of all the districts from Ghazipoor to Shimla; the latter has under him the eastern and southern district. These agents have their deputies in all parts of the country, who conclude the contracts with the opium planters, receive the opium collected, and send it to the principal stations, with a list of the names of the growers: there the opium is tasted, classed, and valued, it is made up into balls, and packed up in poppy flowers.

12. Indian plough extremely simple, Thomas Twinin[204]

[On way from Calcutta to Santipore] Sometimes I saw a man or a boy driving a pair of bullocks before him and carrying at the same time a plough upon his shoulder; for an Indian plough is extremely simple and light, consisting merely of a small beam pointed with iron at one end, and having a handle to guide it with at the other extremity. Of course the furrow which such an instrument is capable of making can have but very little depth. The same simplicity, and almost exactly the same form, exists in all the parts of India I have visited, and a light but fertile soil, moistened by the periodical rains and warmed by a powerful sun, does not seem to require a more laborious or expensive preparation.

13. Drill husbandry in southern India, Captain T. Halcott [31 December 1795[205]

Until lately I imagined the drill plough to be a modern European invention; but a short time ago, riding over a field, I observed a drill plough at work, very simple in its construction, which upon inquiry I find is in general use here, and has been so time immemorial. This led me to make some further inquiries into their mode of husbandry here, and I find the drill husbandry is universally practiced in the Innacondah district, in the culture of all grains, except horse-grain, and is also used in the culture of tobacco, cotton, and the caster-oil plant. In the practice of this husbandry they have two other ploughs in use here, exclusive of the drill plough, and the common plough: one of these has a horizontal share, and immediately follows the drill plough at work. It is set into the earth about the depth of seven or eight inches, and passes under three drills at once. It operates by agitating the earth so as to make the sides of the drills fall in, and cover the seed-grain, which it does so effectually as scarcely to leave any traces of a drill. The other plough alluded to, is used after the corn is about eight or ten

inches high. It cuts up the weeds between three drills at once, and earths-up the roots of the corn at the same time. I cannot, by writing, give you an adequate description of the three ploughs, but will send you a set of them, if you wish it, accompanied by a man who has been in the practice of working them.

14. Reservoirs for irrigating rice-lands in Madras, Francis Buchana[206]

I set out early, and soon arrived at *Saymbrumbacum* tank, which is of great extent. It has not been formed by digging, like those in *Bengal;* but by shutting up, with an artificial bank, an opening between two natural ridges of ground. The sheet of water is said to be seven or eight miles in length, and three in width; and in the dry season is let out in small streams, as wanted for cultivation. In the rainy season it receives a supply of water from the river *Chir-nadi,* and from several small streams that are collected by a canal. As at times the water overflows, and would break down the bank by falling over it, and sapping its foundations, the natives in different places construct what they call *Codies,* or sluices of stone. These are twenty or thirty feet wide, and are lower by some feet than the other parts of the bank. On the surface, they are strongly fortified by large stones placed in a sloping direction; so that the water rushes over without undermining the bank, and is conveyed away from the fields by a canal. This is a matter of the utmost importance; for there are instances where, the banks of these large tanks having given way, whole villages have been destroyed by the torrent. In order, however, that when there is plenty of rain, the tank may be completely filled, a row of stone pillars is placed on the top of the sluice; and, on the water rising to a level with their base, a temporary wall is formed of mud, sticks, and straw, placed between the pillars, so as to confine the water till it rises as high as the top of the bank. People watch this night and day, in order to break down the temporary bank, should any additional rain endanger the whole. The water is let out, to supply the fields, by a sluice lined with cut stone, or bricks, and placed under the bank, on a level with the country. The inner end of this sluice is covered by a flat stone, in which is cut a circular opening, that can be shut or opened by a plug fixed to a bamboo, and secured in its place by two pillars of stone, which rise above the level of the water.…The proper name for a tank of this kind, in the *Tamul* language, is *Eray. Saymbrumbacum* tank is said to be

sufficient to supply with water the lands of thirty-two villages (should the rains fail) for eighteen months. In these villages, it is said, there are five thousand persons employed in agriculture. In a county liable to famine from want of rain, a reservoir, such as this, is of inestimable value.

15. *Rahutt* not Persian wheel; from a traveller in Punjab in 180[207]

The water is drawn up from the wells by what we call the Persian wheel. Why this piece of mechanism is so named, I know not; and here, where it is in very general use, the natives do not assign its invention to the Persians, but claim it as their own; – they call it rahutt. One of these rahutts I examined particularly; it was worked by two bullocks, and gave a constant supply of water. It was constructed with three wheels, two of which were placed vertically, and the third horizontally. The former were fixed on an axle, over which the governing, or horizontal wheel was turned by the passage of the bullocks; it had 42 pots, each holding 5½ quarts of water, all fastened to a circular cordage close to each other; these descending two or three cubits into the water, were filled in succession; and on passing their horizontal direction, at the top of the well, emptied themselves into a wooden receiver; whence the water was conducted by a trough to the different channels of divergence. In some places two rahutts are worked at the same time, on opposite sides of the well; and in this way, they water a considerable space in a short time. The receiver is placed within the wheel, but has no connection with it. Water is found throughout this country, at depth of from 10 to 15 cubits from the surface.

B. SOME NON-AGRICULTURAL OCCUPATIONS

1. In the Himalayan provinces, William Moorcrof[208]

Paper-making

Before quitting the Himalayan provinces, which are more or less subject to British authority, I shall briefly notice some of their natural and artificial productions, which, if made the subject of attention and improvement, might conduce materially to the prosperity of the mountain population, and enhance the value of an extensive region, which is now comparatively unproductive.

Of the articles which might be profitably exported, one of the principal is paper, which might be manufactured to almost any extent from the Sitabharua, a plant that is everywhere found in great abundance. The bark

of the stem and branches is detached by bruising, and the cuticle taken off by scraping. The bark thus cleaned, is sometimes boiled to make it tender, and at others, simply steeped in cold water, when it is pounded into a paste and then strained through a cloth, by which the coarser fibres are separated. The finer paste is spread upon a cotton cloth stretched on a frame, and is dried in the sun, when it is raised from the frame and folded. The paper thus rudely manufactured, is of a dirty white colour, and is less fit for writing than for packing; but it is admirably adapted for the latter purpose, as well as for the manufacture of pasteboard and *papier mache*, by its great strength and toughness. Improved processes in its preparation might also improve its appearance. Owing to the want of any glutinous or mucilaginous admixture, the Sitabharua paper becomes rough and downy by rubbing, but when, as is sometimes practiced in Nepal, the milk of unripe wheat is mixed with the pulp, the paper retains a smooth, uniform, and somewhat lustrous surface.

2. Management of beehives, William Moorcrof[209]

An interesting subject in the rural economy of Kashmir is the management of Bees.

Every farmer in the district of Lar, and I have since found the practice general throughout the whole country, in the eastern part of Kashmir, has several hives in the house, and in some houses I have counted as many as ten.

A provision for hives is made in building the house, by leaving appropriate cavities in the walls. These somewhat differ in size, but agree in their general form, each being cylindrical, and extending quite through the wall. This tube is lined by a plastering of clay-mortar, about an inch in thickness, and the mortar is worked up with the chaff or husk of rice, or with the down of thistles, which latter is employed also for clay-mortar in general, being the first application of this substance to the use of man I have yet witnessed.…

It does not appear that there is any particular rule for the height of the hives from the ground, they sometimes being confined to the walls of the lower or basement story, generally appropriated to cattle in the farm houses of Kashmir, at others are inserted into those of the first-floor, but are frequently seen in both situations in the same house, as well as in the walls of its out-buildings…

3. Fishing

(a) Fishing in the Alaknanda, William Moorcrof[210]

The Alaknanda produces species of trout which differs from any variety know in Great Britain. The lines employed in catching it are made here of the fibres of a creeping plant called *murwa* (*Sanseviera zeylanica*), and are remarkable for fineness and strength. In fishing, a small yellow flower is attached to the loose end of the line, and several nooses of white horse-hair are fastened round it: a leaden weight is passed through the center, by which the line is sunk. The trout, attracted by the new object thus presented to them, come swimming about it, and being entangled in the snares, are drawn to the surface with great dexterity by the Srinagar fishermen.

(b) Manner of catching fish in the Terai region, Bishop Hebe[211]

Sir Robert Colquhoun said it was well worth while to see their manner of catching the fish, and we all three went in the evening to the spot where they had laid their nets. It was a small rapid in the river, more shallow than usual, above and below which was a long net, from the space between which they scooped out all the fish which they could find, having, as I understood, drawn their nets in opposite directions up and down the stream, till they had enclosed a considerable number in a comparatively narrow space. To catch them, however, they had neither casting nor scoop nets, nor any thing but their hands, which, as well as their teeth, they used with much dexterity, hunting the fish among the large stones in a very amusing manner.

(c) Pula fisheries of the Meannees [Indus], Captain Leopold von Orlic[212]

The fisherman first of all lays a large, oval, iron vessel in the river, commends himself to the protection of Allah, and places himself on it in such a manner that his body covers the opening at the top; he then by the aid of his hands and feet works his way on the stream. He carries in his girdle a small spear, and in his right hand a fork nearly fifteen feet long, to which a wide net with a running knot is fastened, and which closes as soon as the fish is caught: the fish is then killed with the spear and thrown into the vessel. We likewise saw some fishermen with a large net thrown over their left shoulder. Before the Meannee goes into the river, he will wander for miles along the banks, and then let himself be driven by the current, because the Pula swims against it.

C. MANUFACTURES

1. Cloth, Robert Orm[213]

A people born under a sun too sultry to admit the exercise and fatigues necessary to form a robust nation, will naturally, from the weakness of their bodies (especially if they have few wants), endeavour to obtain their scanty livelihood by the easiest labours.

It is from hence, perhaps, that the manufactures of cloth are so multiplied in Indostan. Spinning and weaving are the slightest tasks which a man can be set to; and the numbers that do nothing else in this country are exceeding.

It is observable, that the manufacturers of cloth prevail most, both in quantity and perfection, in those provinces where the people are least capable of robust labours.

In the northern parts of the kingdom, where the men have more bodily strength, they weave hair, or the coarsest of cloths.

On the coast of Coromandel, and in the province of Bengal, when at some distance from the high road, or a principal town, it is difficult to find a village in which every man, woman, and child is not employed in making a piece of cloth.

The assistance which a wife and family are capable of affording to the labours of the loom may be much contributed to the preference given by a lazy people to this manufacture.

The thread is laid the whole length of the piece of cloth: hence the weavers live entirely in villages, as they could work no where else in this manner.

A weaver amongst the Gentoos is no despicable cast. He is next to the scribe, and above all the mechanics. He would lose his cast, were he to undertake a drudgery which did not immediately relate to his work.…

As much as an Indian is born deficient in mechanical strength, so much is his whole frame endowed with an exceeding degree of sensibility and pliantness. The hand of an Indian cook-wench shall be more delicate than that of an European beauty: the skin and features of a porter shall be softer than those of a professed *petit maitre*.

The women wind off the raw silk from the pod of the worm. A single pod of raw silk is divided into twenty different degrees of fineness; and so

exquisite is the feeling of these women, that whilst the thread is running though their fingers so swiftly that their eye can be of no assistance, they will break it off exactly as the assortments change, at once from the first to be twentieth, from the nineteenth to the second.

The women likewise spin the thread designed for the cloths, and then deliver it to the men, who have fingers to model it as exquisitely as these have prepared it. For it is a matter of fact that the tools which they use are as simple and plain as they can be imagined to be. The rigid, clumsy fingers of a European would scarcely be able to make a piece of canvass, with the instruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric.

It is further remarkable that every distinct kind of cloth is the produce of a particular district, in which the fabric has been transmitted, perhaps for centuries, from father to son – a custom which must have conduced to the perfection of the manufacture.

I should perhaps, with my reader, have thought this detail of so simple a subject unnecessary, had I not considered that the progress of the linen manufacture includes no less than a description of the lives of half the inhabitants of Indostan.

2. Muslin of Bengal, De Grandpr[214]

Among the productions of industry, ought principally to be mentioned the different kinds of muslins, some plain, others striped, and others again worked with gold, silver, and cotton, of which the finest are made at Dacca, a town in the northern part of the province, where there are many manufactories; to these must be added the doreas and terrindams, the different sorts of linen under the names of cossaes, nainsooks, gurrahs, ballasores, the chintzes of Patna, the carpets of Barampour, handkerchiefs and pieces of silk and of cotton.

The English have established manufactories for printed linens in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, that in no long time will totally ruin those manufactured by the natives of Patna, which are greatly inferior, and are besides less easily disposed of, on account of the distance of Patna from the capital.

3. Shawls of Kashmir, William Moorcrof[215]

The manufacture for which Kashmir is celebrated throughout the world, is that of the light, warm, and elegant article of dress which, from its native appellation, is known as shawl…The wool that is employed in this manufacture is of two kinds – the fleece of the domestic goat, called Pashm Shal (or shawl-wool), and that of the wild goat, wild sheep, and other animals named Asali Tus. The wool of sheep is not regularly, but is sometimes clandestinely imported, being loaded with the same heavy duties as that of the goat.

The quantity of shawl-wool annually imported varies between five hundred and one thousand horse-loads, each of which is equal to nearly 300 lbs.: the whole quantity of the Asali Tus does not exceed 1200 lbs. The wool was formerly supplied almost exclusively by the western provinces of Lassa and by Ladakh; but of late considerable quantities have been procured from the neighbourhood of Yarkand, from Khoten, and the families of the Great Kirghis horde. It is brought chiefly by Mogol merchants, who exchange it for manufactured shawl-goods in Kashmir, which they dispose of advantageously in Russia….

The price of dark-coloured wool is about one-third, or a half less than that of white wool.

The wool exposed for retail by the purchaser is bought by women for the purpose of spinning it into yarn…

The first task of the spinner is to separate the different materials of which the fleece consists…

Much attention is required to free the wool from the hair, and the process is a tedious one.

The next step is cleaning and separating the wool. A quantity of husked rice is steeped in clean cold water, for a day and a night, or longer, until it becomes soft, when it is ground or bruised upon a stone slab to fine flour. Thin layers of this and of the picked wool are laid alternately, and squeezed with the hand until they are completely intermixed. A little water may be occasionally sprinkled over the heap, if the weather is hot and dry, else it is not necessary. Soap is never used, as it makes the wool harsh; and its employment in Hindustan being communicated to the Kashmirians, induced them to boast that in this matter, at least, they were more knowing than Europeans. After being thus treated for about an hour, the flour is shaken out, the wool opened and torn to pieces, chiefly by the nails, and made into

somewhat square, thin, elastic pads, called Tumbu. In this process the Phiri, or seconds-wool, is extricated. Though too coarse for fine shawls, it is used in the manufacture of those of inferior quality, and of a strong shawl-cloth called Patu. The tumbu is then worked out into a thin flat roving, about half a yard long, which is called a Mala. The mala is folded up to the size of the tumbu, and deposited in a deep pot of red earthenware, called a Taskas, to be out of the way of dust or accident, till required for the spinning-wheel…

Women begin to work at daybreak, continue with little interruption the whole day, if not taken off by other domestic affairs, and extend their labour until very late in the night, spinning by moonlight, when available, and when they cannot afford to purchase oil for a lamp. The fine wool is spun commonly into about seven hundred gaz, each gaz consisting of sixteen girahs, about equal to nails. This yarn is doubled and formed into twist, which is cut into two hundred lengths, each length of three gaz and a half, this measure being suited to the length of the warp for shawl. From the phiri, or seconds-wool, about one hundred gaz of yarn are also produced…

Shawl-wool is sometimes spun by men with a loose spindle like that used in Ladakh. These men are called Trakhans, and the yarn thus spun is the finest; but very little of it is now made. Girls begin to spin at the age of ten, and a hundred thousand females are employed in this occupation in Kashmir. About one tenth of this number are supposed to spin for the purpose of obtaining shawls for themselves, or for other members of their families, and nine-tenths to earn their livelihood…

Having ascertained the kind of pattern most likely to suit the market, the weaver applies to persons whose business it is to apportion the yarn according to the colours required; and when this is settled, he takes it to another, whose function it is to divide the yarn into skeins accordingly, and each skein is delivered to the rang rez, or dyer. When the body of the cloth is to be left plain, the phiri or seconds-yarn, is alone given to be dyed. This is generally about the thickness of common cotton sewing-thread, is loosely twisted, of a coarser quality than the yarn used for the cloth, and is preferred for employment in flowers, or other ornaments, from its standing higher, and being, as it were, embossed upon the ground.

The dyer prepares the yarn by steeping in clean cold water. He professes to be able to give it sixty-four tints, most of which are permanent…The occupation of a dyer is invariably hereditary. The whiter and finer the fibre

of the wool, and the finer the yarn into which it is made, the more capable it is said to be of receiving a brilliant dye; and this is one reason why the fine white wool of the goat is preferred to that of the sheep.

The Nakatu adjusts the yarn for the warp and for the weft. That intended for the former is double, and is cut into lengths of three gaz and a half, anything short of that measure being considered fraudulent. The number of these lengths varies from two thousand to three thousand, according to the closeness or openness of texture proposed, and the fineness or coarseness of the yarn…

The Pennakam guru, or warp-dresser, takes from the weaver the yarn which has been cut and reeled, and stretching the lengths by means of sticks into a band, of which the threads are slightly separate, dresses the whole by dipping it into thick-boiled rice-water. After this the skein is slightly squeezed, and again stretched into a band, which is brushed and suffered to dry: by this process each length becomes stiffened, and set apart from the rest.

Silk is generally used for the warp on the border of the shawl, and has the advantage of showing the darker colours of the dyed wool more prominently than a warp of yarn, as well as hardening and strengthening, and giving more body to the edge of the cloth. When the border is very narrow it is woven with the body of the shawl; but when broader, it is worked on a different loom, and afterwards sewn on the edge of the shawl by the rafugar, or fine-drawer, with such nicety, that the union can scarcely be detected…

The weavers are all males, commencing to learn the art at the age of ten years. In all transactions there are two parties, the master, or ustad, and the scholar, or shahgird, the former being the capitalist, the latter the mechanic…

The loom differs not in principle from that of Europe, but is of inferior workmanship. An ustad has from three to three hundred in his establishment, and they are generally crowded together in long low apartments. When the warp is fixed in the loom the nakash, or pattern-drawer, and the tarah-guru, and talim-guru, or persons who determine the proportion of yarn of different colours to be employed, are again consulted…

The workmen prepare the tujis, or needles, by arming each with coloured yarn of the weight of about four grains. These needles, without eyes, are made of light, smooth wood, and have both their sharp ends slightly charred, to prevent their becoming rough or jagged through working. Under the superintendence of the tarah-guru, the weavers knot the yarn of the tuji to the warp. The face, or right side of the cloth, is placed next to the ground, the work being carried on at the back or reverse, on which hang the needles in a row, and differing in number from four hundred to fifteen hundred, according to the lightness or heaviness of the embroidery. As soon as the ustad is satisfied that the work of one line or woof is completed, the comb is brought down upon it with a vigour and repetition, apparently very disproportionate to the delicacy of the materials….

When finished, the shawls are submitted to the purusgar, or cleaner, whose business it is to free the shawl from discoloured hairs or yarn, and from ends or knots: he either pulls them out severally with a pair of tweezers, or shaves the reverse face of the cloth with a sharp knife: any defects arising from either operation are immediately repaired by the rafugar…

When partly washed the dhobi brings the shawls to the merchant, that they may be examined for any holes or imperfections…This is done with clear cold water, using soap very cautiously to white parts alone, and never to embroidery.. After being washed, the shawls are stretched in a manner which answers in some degree to calendaring: a wooden cylinder in two parts is employed for this purpose, round which the shawl, folded so as not to be quite as broad as the cylinder is long, is carefully wrapped, being occasionally damped to make it fold tighter; the end is sewn down: two wedges are then gradually driven between the two parts of the cylinder at the open extremities, so as to force them asunder, and the surrounding folds of the shawl are thus stretched to as great an extent as is consistent with its texture. The piece remains in this state for two days, when it is removed to be packed…

4. Shawls at Amritsar, William Moorcrof[216]

At Amritsar shawls are largely manufactured, but they are of an inferior quality. The manufacture seems to have been introduced by Kashmir families, who, before the Sikh conquest of that province, fled to the plains from the oppressive government of the Afghans. The yarn was formerly

imported from Kashmir, but the Governor of that country has prohibited the export, at the request, he pretends, of the Kashmirian weavers, but, in reality, to discourage the foreign manufacture of shawls, the duty on which constitutes the chief source of his revenue. The yarn employed at Amritsar is therefore prepared there partly from the wool of Thibet, and partly from that of Bokhara. From the former a third of fine wool is usually obtained. The latter is of mixed colour and uncertain quality, and is, I suspect, adulterated with the down or fine wool of the yak. The Thibet wool, when picked, sells for six or eight Nanak Shahi rupees a ser. The latter from two to four.

The web yarn is employed double, as well as the weft, which latter is nearly four times as thick as the former. The twist of the thread is very loose, and this, I imagine, contributes essentially to the softness of the cloth.

Having experienced insurmountable difficulty in picking and cleaning a parcel of shawl wool I brought down from Bhot, I took advantage of my stay at Amritsar to ascertain how these operations were to be best effected. A family of Kashmiris lodged in the gateway of my residence, and the wife picked and cleaned about two ounces of Thibetan wool in my presence. Of this quantity nearly half was fine, nearly half consisted of coarse hair, and the rest was dust and refuse. It was picked by hand in about two hours. Some rice which had been steeped in clean water for two days was then taken out and drained, and before it was quite dry was bruised and ground to flour, in a wooden dish with a stone. Into this the wool was thrown, and it was rubbed and kneaded with the hand until every part of it was impregnated with the rice, when it was taken out and separated. This process was repeated, and after the second opening and drying it was ready for spinning. The spinning-wheel was the coarse implement in common use. A woman could spin about a rupee’s weight (about one hundred and seventy-five grains) of fine yarn in a day, and her husband could earn about two anas and a half by weaving. The weavers are all miserably poor, and can scarcely procure subsistence. Many came to me and offered to accompany me wherever I pleased to take them.

5. Production of gun and pistol barrels in Kashmir, William Moorcrof[217]

The manufacture of shawls, however important to the population of Kashmir, is not the only mechanical process to which their industry is directed, and their workmen have considerable reputation for the fabrication of gun and pistol barrels. It seems likely that upon the introduction of the use of fire-arms, the method long, and perhaps exclusively known to the Asiatics, of manufacturing sword blades of peculiar excellence, was transferred, with some modification, to that of gun-barrels, and are still in use for that purpose…

6. Leather, William Moorcrof[218]

A fabric of much greater importance to Great Britain than that of damasked sword-blades is that of Yirak leather, or leather suited for saddlery. Such pieces of this as came in our way were usually old narrow slips employed as reins and head-stalls; but the leather was strong, solid, heavy, and pliable, without any disposition to crack. Some of the pieces had been in use eighteen or twenty years, and were none the worse for constant wear. The price was four times that of other leather made in Kashmir.

7. Paper products, William Moorcrof[219]

A branch of manufacture for which Kashmir has long been celebrated, is that of ornamented pen-cases made of paper. They are of several varieties, classed under two heads – Masnadi, or royal, and Farsi, or Persian: – the former are articles of table-furniture, more or less bulky; the latter are portable. They are usually long, shallow boxes, rounded at the ends, with a sliding convex cover, and the masnadi have sometimes trays or stands, or are fitted with feet. Part of the interior is separated to hold an inkstand. They are remarkable for the variety and elegance of the patterns with which they are painted, most generally of flowers, for the brilliancy of their colours, and the beauty of the varnish. They are most commonly made of paper, which has been written upon, but sometimes of lightwood. The ground of the colouring is commonly metallic, of gold or of tin, and the pigments employed are cochineal, or the kirmis insect, ultra-marine from Yarkand, white-lead from Russia, as well as verdigris from Surat, and possible from Britain. Other colouring drugs are found in the country, or imported from Hindustan. Varnishes are obtained from the resin of the aloe or the storax; but the best is that of the Kahruba, which is usually regarded as amber, but is by some said to be copal. Its abundance and cheapness in

Kashmir certainly indicate its being the produce of some living plant. The brushes are made of the hair of the shawl-wool goat, and the pencils from the hairs in the fur of the cat.…

Paper is made in Kashmir in considerable quantity, from old cloth of the san-hemp, and from cotton rags.

D. SKILLS OF WORKFORCE

1. Father Coeurdoux in a letter form Pondicherry, dated 18 January 174[220]

Indian techniques

In this part of India, one can acquire such knowledge as would, when communicated to Europe, contribute to the progress of the sciences and the perfection of the arts.

The technique of painted fabrics, then a craze in Europe

Take dry fruits called cadou or cadoucai, break the fruit, pluck out the kernel, grind it to a powder, sift and add to it two pints of buffalo milk, soak the fabric in it, remove and dry in the sun, The unctuous milk of the buffalo produces the same effect as rubber.

The technique of colours is very complicated. Blue is obtained by drying and grinding to powder the leaves of the indigo plant; green from palm and the cadou flower. Yellow "needs no long explanation," but to get red take water with a bitter taste; mix two ounces of powdered alum in two pints of water; add four ounces of red wood, Sapan wood, also powdered; leave to stand in the sun for two days. The red colour will not be fast unless you add powder of the chaia root.

2. The engineer, Legoux-de-Flaix [arrived in 1769] noted several Indian techniques ahead of those in France, particularly in the field of agricultur[221]

Inventors of the sciences and of almost all the arts, the Indians have made precious and precise observations on agriculture...and have carried out many trials and experiments in all the branches of rural economy – an admirable consequence of civilization and of the aversion that Hindus have always had for war.

3. Talented artisans, William Macintos[222]

In arts [of imitation] the Hindoos are so dextrous, that the original model is not to be distinguished from the new production…For works of imitation,

their nature seems peculiarly fitted, by that patient perseverance which so eminently distinguishes them…And with all this perseverance and straining of attention, they preserve an evenness of spirits.

4. Have no machines, De Grandpr[223]

Mechanism and the arts are still in their infancy throughout India. The natives have no machines, no instruments out of the common way, nor the least knowledge of hydraulics: they have scarcely even the necessary utensils for the works they undertake. Neither their carpenters nor joiners have benches, but work sitting on the ground, employing their great toe to keep firm whatever they are working at, which they persevere with great patience in fashioning. They make little use of the axe, as it obliges them to work standing; but they do not fear attacking anything, however large, with the chisel, which they can use sitting. The whole of a joiner's tools in this country consists of a miserable line, a chisel, a mallet, and a saw. With these instruments alone, assisted by patience, they accomplish any work of which a pattern is given them.

The goldsmiths are no better furnished. You send for a workman either in gold or silver whenever you have occasion for one, and he places himself in a corner of the court with his implements, consisting of a hammer, an anvil, an indifferent file, a portable forge, and a crucible. With these he works a whole day to make a ring and will succeed in fabricating other articles that require no great invention. There are some, however, that they will not undertake. Our best European productions are above their ability; but they make not withstanding, in their way, a very considerable variety.

Smiths are equally behind hand, and yet find no inconvenience in forging every thing. They place themselves they care not where, make a small hole in the ground, and kindle a fire in it. To the fire they apply a pair of bellows made of two sheep-skins well sewed together, terminating in a tube at one end to conduct the air, but open at the other, and nailed to two pieces of wood serving as handles. The smith, seated before his fire, works these bellows with his hands, while his feet are employed in holding or turning his iron in the fire: when it is hot, he ceases blowing, and his anvil being near, he forges whatever he wishes without rising. If the piece he would heat be too large for one pair of bellows, he employs two, and could even use three without any other inconvenience than having two children to

assist in working them. Thus, a hammer, anvil, and two sheepskins, are every thing he stands in need of. With these he will fabricate every article of iron-work necessary in building a house.

Their sculptors have no better implements than their joiners, and there cannot be a greater curiosity than to see with what address they fashion the blocks under foot.

Except for linen cloths, they have no painters. They stretch the cloth in their court-yard, and sit down to work on it; for here, as in every other trade, they are ignorant how to do any thing standing. Their tools consist of a brush or two of bamboo-wood, of which the ends are beaten soft, and converted into threads of no great fineness. With these wretched instruments dipped in colour, which they keep in a kind of wooden box, they design and paint the beautiful Indian goods, which we find it difficult to imitate in Europe. They hold the brush between the first and second fingers, in the same manners as they hold the pen when they write; but they have no great need of patience in this talent, as they design with admirable celerity.

Of all their tools or machines, that used in weaving approaches the nearest to ours. In Pondicherry, there are some formed exactly on the same model; but in the villages they are much more simple. In other respects, with the exception of the workman's convenience, and the excellence of the different parts, their looms are very much like ours, and produce the same effects. Nothing can be more portable than they are : when a family moves to fresh quarters, or sets out on a journey, a child will bear the whole machine in its arms, when taken to pieces, and thus carry the fortune of the whole house.

The instrument used by carders of cotton is the only one which seemed to me to be ingenious. Cotton is the source of their wealth; and it is therefore not surprising, that they should have bestowed on a machine that prepares it for spinning some additional pains. It is large, with a head nearly resembling the handle of a violin. On this instrument a large gut is stretched, which they pinch with the cotton, and the vibration, tossing in the air, separates, and cleans it perfectly.

Their spinning-wheels are exactly like the large wheel which our peasants use in spinning wool. The fineness of the thread depends on the skill of the workman.

5. Method of constructing buildings, De Grandpr[224]

The manner in which they build large edifices is rather extraordinary. Their houses are of brick, and in erecting these they proceed in the ordinary way: but when they have pagodas or chauderies to construct, and great weights to lift to a considerable height, they act upon a very different plan. As they have neither planks, masts cranes, nor any other instrument for the accumulation of force, they introduce a very ingenious substitute. The foundations are laid as usual, and the first row of stones being raised above the surface, they throw up earth against it, and slope it down on the outside. In laying the second row, they roll the stones on by means of this slope, and thus get them to their place without the least inconvenience; then bringing more earth, they increase the slope, and lay every row of stones in the same manner till the whole in complete; so that when the building is finished it is perfectly buried, and is no bad resemblance of a small mountain sloped regularly on all sides. The earth is afterwards carried away, and the building remains entire.

6. Skilled in spinning, De Grandpr[225]

The skill of the Indians in the article of spinning is well known; the delicate textures with which they furnish us are a proof of it. Some cotton is spun so exquisitely fine, that the force of the air alone is sufficient to break it; in this case it is worked over the steam of boiling water, which, by moistening the cotton, renders it more ductile, and less liable to break, than when it is dry.…

At Madras very handsome handkerchiefs of a large checked pattern, excellent in the colouring, and of a peculiar fineness, are fabricated.

E. BAZAARS

1. The great bazaar at Hooghly, John Burnel[226]

The great Buzar or main street is of most remark extending near three-quarters of a mile, you enter it from the Chinchery through two large gateways including in the vacancy a square building running from gate to gate serving formerly as stables for the horse belonging to the garrison, and in the center or midway between the gates a small mosque, tho’ it is as well as the whole building in general mostly ruinate.

In the northermost of these two ports was posted a company of Europe soldiers in the late wars, mostly upon the merchants account, they keeping

guard shutting up their gates every night at the usual hours, though they were but of small defence to them being inch and half plank and made to turn upon wooden hinges.

From the port all the remaining length of the street is the Buzar furnish'd on each side with stalls and shops well furnish'd and stock'd with a universality of commodities that the buyer may provide himself at all times with whatever his occasions require, as well European as Indian vendibles.

2. Bara Bazaar, Rev. James Lon[227]

Bura Bazaar seems from an early period to have been the nucleus of native trade. The Marwari and other merchants found there are all over India, and even beyond it. Forster in his travells in 1782-83 met with 100 Hindu merchants at Heart carrying on a brisk commerce, another 100 men at Tarshish, and others settled at Baku, Mushid, Yezd, and along parts of the Caspian and Persian Gulfs.

3. Bang Bazaar, Calcutta, Honoria Lawrenc[228]

Going in from Cossipore to Calcutta we passed through the Bang bazaar, a very long range of the native town, sufficiently disagreeable in itself, but to a stranger very amusing. The streets were always crowded with bullock carts, coolies carrying loads on their heads, banghy–bearers, carrying their burtherns suspended from each end of a long elastic piece of bamboo, laid across one shoulder. Buggies, (gigs or cabriolets), with the hood put up to exclude the sun, perhaps a fakir shouting out for charity, and exhibiting an arm which for years he has held in an erect position, till the flesh has wasted away, and the nails are like birds' claws. Africans, Chinese and Armenians each with their distinctive characteristics of feature and dress. A *ruttle* or idol car on high wheels with a raised platform on which are frightful images. And, never to be forgotten, the *cranchee*, a fourwheeled carriage which looks like a ghost of a deceased Hackney coach. It is drawn by two *tattoos* or small shaggy native horses. The harness is of rope and as in the *hackerries*, there is a pole with a transverse bar resting on the horses necks. On a low seat behind the steeds sits the driver, generally a dirty, wild looking man, with a quantity of matted hair and wielding a whip long enough for a four in hand. This conveyance is used as you may suppose, only by natives, and within it may be seen perhaps six fat men, covered only round the loins, so that as they squat in the *cranchee* they seem quite

naked, their skin shining with oil, and of a peculiarly disagreeable yellow hue, which the natives acquire as they grow fat. The carriage thus filled, looks like a nest of lizards. And away it flies, over rough and smooth.

All these glowing under an Indian sky, and rattling, creaking, shouting, pushing, grunting along make such a confusion as to me was more bewildering than the crossing from the Mansion House to the Bank. The buildings on each side were quite in character with the scenes in the streets. Being chiefly shops, open in front, raised a few steps, the wares spread on the ground, and the owners squatting and lounging beside them. Among the goods were cotton clothes of all descriptions, brass and earthen pots, shoes and caps, sweetmeats and grain. All sorts of inferior European hard wear goods. Chinese toys and pictures, fans of every kind, women's ornaments of glass and tinsel, wreaths of flowers for the temples, *hookahs* of all kinds, and of course house furniture…

4. Bazaars in Lucknow, Honoria Lawrenc[229]

We went out one morning to drive through the city. Our road first led through a fine wide street with clean looking shops. In a native bazaar of the better sort the shops occupy the open front of the lower story, generally raised a step from the street, and screened by an awning of cloth or a mat supported by slanting poles. Doors are seldom seen and indeed could seldom be used for the shop is open like a shed and the goods are stowed inside at night. Near the threshold sits the owner, very much at his ease amusing himself with his *hookah* till a customer calls.

First the *bania*, most important of all. His counter is generally elevated a foot or two and neatly covered with coarse red cotton cloth, ornamented with flowers cut out of white cloth and sewed on. Ranged round are large open baskets and small sacks neatly rolled down round the top containing *atta*, coarse wheaten meal. But though *atta* is for sale at a *bania's* there is little demand for the prepared article. Each family grinds their own and the work is solely that of women. The *chukee* or mill consists of two circular stones, twelve or fourteen inches in diameter laid one on another. Near the edge of the uppermost is a wooden peg inserted as a handle to turn round the stone by, and in the centre is a hole where the grain is poured in. The only preparation is to spread a clean cloth on the ground for the *chukee* and then down sits a woman alone or with a companion to relieve her and "the

sound of the grindstone" is thus heard in every village almost in every house during the greater part of the night.…

List of wares in a *bania's* shop

Dal [split pease], *oojie* a preparation of wheat, like coarsely granulated flour, very white and nice, *mida* flour and other varieties of grain, salt, sugar and spices, large globular jars made of skin holding oil and *ghee*, clarified butter, heaps of tobacco looking like a black paste from the way it is done up. These are the chief ingredients for housekeeping. On the other side there are piles of cooking vessels, brass for the Hindoos and for the Mussulman copper which is tinned over before it is used. These are first the *degchee*, like an orange slightly flattened at the bottom with a wide mouth and a lid that serves as a plate. *Degchees* of every size from a quart to several gallons are the grand utensil in our kitchen. Then the *talee*, a flat plate with a narrow, standing up rim, the *lota* that most useful of vessels, the smallest holding half a pint, the largest a quart. The *kotura* shaped somewhat like a deep saucer, the *tavah* a convex iron plate on which are baked the thin unleavened bread of the people, and large iron spoons. These various utensils are piled up pyramidically according to their sizes and when you have some of each, your kitchen is finished. At least it wants but the grooved stone and long rolling pin for bruising and mixing the multitudinous ingredients of a curry.

The front of the *bania's* shop is festooned with strings of *chillums*, those cups of red earthenware, which are used to hold the fire and tobacco on the top of the *hookah*. Here too are to be had the indispensable variety of vessels formed of baked red earth without which we should be badly off. The most useful are *guraks* and *soorhais*, the first are globular vessels with a small mouth and short neck the second are like tall-necked squat-bodied bottles and are used to hold drinking water. All these being unglazed are porous and keep their contents cool. Being cheap they are unceremoniously broken and thrown away when they have met with any legal defilement.…

Next in number to the *bania's* come the *hulwai's* or confectioners. In their shops is a sunken fire place on the top of which is placed the iron stew pan in which most of the good things are cooked. The common cheap confectionery is composed chiefly of sugar and butter but the more delicately prepared sweetmeats of the native are delicious. Eggs and milk are I believe rarely used. Eggs certainly never come into use among

Hindoos who count them unclean, but somehow they make a great variety of very nice confectionery, generally flavoured with rose water. You cannot imagine the swarms of flies and hornets that buzz round the *hulwai*, who seems quite unannoyed by his visitors, and only takes a *punkah* to drive them away when they carry off an unreasonable share of his sweets. The various *meetais* are ranged very prettily on large metal trays, which are set on neat circular stands formed of reed or bamboo. The itinerant confectioners run about the streets carrying on the head a tray of sweetmeat covered with a cloth, in one hand the stand to set it upon, in the other a clumsy pair of scales, made of twine and coarse basketwork, weights made of rough stones and a heap of *cowries* and *pice* to give in change.

The cloth merchant sits among his heaps of cloth, chintz, white calico, muslin, silk and broadcloths, and generally those exposed are of a coarse kind. Here and there a Kashmiri shawl merchant may be seen surrounded by balls of every coloured thread, mending or finishing a shawl. The *durzee* or tailor with a troop of workmen under him [is] generally busiest at the beginning of the hot and cold seasons, preparing the light muslin garments or quickly wadded chintz jackets in common wear.

The jeweller with a tiny portable furnace and a few rude tools doing marvellously delicate work in gold and silver. Often have I seen an old white bearded man with his nose pinched in by a pair of uncouth spectacles poring over his alembic in a most alchemist like style. His fire is charcoal, kept glowing generally by fanning it with a *punkah* or blowing it with bellows. The *punkah*, literally wing, is never shaped like our fans. The large one suspended from the ceiling is merely an oblong frame of light wood covered with cloth and slung edgewise, pulled back and forward by a rope. The hand *punkah* is of various shapes, sizes and materials but is always set on by one side to the handle. The common sort are formed by a date leaf, split and neatly plaited. The bellows are two leather bags meeting at one end, where they are joined to a sort of nozzle. A man sitting on the ground holds a bag in each hand and alternately [dilates] and contracts them.

Among the trades folks one in great request is the *barmooja*, or grain parcher. He or she, for women often do this work, sits over a stove with baskets of various grains and an iron pot on the fire, half full of coarse sand. A handful of grain thrown into this hot sand and stirred about with a sort of broom made of split bamboo becomes in a few seconds *chabenee*, the grain

cracks down the sides and turns almost inside out, swelling and curling. The best I think is from rice, but it is likewise made from Indian corn, wheat, pease, etc. *chabenee* is much used by travellers and is eaten to stay the stomach during the daytime until the evening meal is ready.

All these you must imagine sitting on the ground cross-legged and their knees stretched out so far and so flat that the thighs form nearly a right angle with the body while the heels almost touch it. Each religion and sect distinguished by their dress. Properly speaking, no Hindoo ought to wear anything that has been defiled by scissors or needles. His garb is made of three pieces of cloth, one for the turban, one to gird round his loins and another to wear round the shoulders, but very few adhere to this original law except at the time of cooking and eating…

5. Bazaar in Bombay, Captain Leopold von Orlic[230]

A road leads from the extensive fortifications through a gate towards the west, across a broad esplanade to the Black Town, which is about a mile distant. On our way thither we saw several hundreds of men and women, standing in the most picturesque groups round brick wells, drawing water, washing linen, and refreshing themselves by throwing large pitchers of water over each other. The streets in the Native town are very narrow, and consists of small brick houses, two stories high: the lower story is raised but little above the ground, in which the open bazars are kept, where the dealers sit cross-legged behind their merchandise, which is piled up in baskets. Here a scene of the most busy and noisy activity constantly prevails, but especially in the evening, when the streets and bazars are lighted by numerous small lamps. Thousands of natives throng the stalls, examining the goods of the dealers, among whom the Bannia (corn chandler), and the Mittiewalla (confectioner), have the chief custom.

The Bannia has very variety of grain, wheat, rice, barley, jowary (*Holcus Sorghum*), bagera (*Panicum spicatum*), Gram (*Cicer arietinum*), &c. exposed for sale in baskets, and in dry weather it is piled up in heaps in the street, in front of his booth. He generally has an iron pan at his side; this he keeps constantly hot, and pours maize into it, which is thus heated and roasted. It is a favourite food of the Indians, but their choicest delicacy is a cake made of flour and sugar, seethed in Ghee (clarified butter): these the Mittie-Wallas arrange with much taste, and attract great numbers of women

and children. It is, however, too sweet and indigestible to suit our refined palates, though the natives indulge in it, till they actually become ill.

The Soottar (carpenter) employs only five tools, namely a hatchet, hammer, saw, gimblet, and knife, and with these, in a very awkward sitting posture, he not only makes the neatest furniture, but the prettiest boxes of Sandal-wood, inlaid with steel and ivory, in the most delicate and elegant patterns.

At his side is seated the Moochee (shoemaker), manufacturing singularly formed pointed shoes, and it is remarkable that he generally works with his head uncovered.

A loud hammering indicates the workshop of the Lohar (smith and locksmith), who perform his hard labour in a similar, inconvenient sitting posture.

The Seikelgar (stone and glass grinder) works in a less constrained position, and sets his small stone wheel in motion by means of a tight string.

As soon as the cool season sets in and refreshing winds prevail, the harvest of the Pattangh-walla (the kite-maker) commences, because old and young delight in flying the kite; and while the Mussulman selects those which are adorned with the crescent, the Hindu chooses those which are ornamented with stars and painted in gay colours.

The Bazars (calico printer) displays much skill in printing from wooden blocks, which he holds in his hands; but his goods are not so much in vogue since the handsomer and less expensive English prints have come into fashion.

Next to the Bazars, the Ruiwalla (the cotton beater) and Sellogry (the cotton weaver) generally take their place. The former beats the cotton, just as it is taken from the husk, against a tightened cord, till it becomes loose.

The Sellogry prepares the finest and most delicate tissue on a loom, taking of the flocks with a brush and arranging the threads.

Among the most wretched-looking people are the Dahl-Bechnewallae (poor women, sellers of dhal, *Cytisus Cajan*), who sit at the corners of the bazars and carry on a little trade in fruit, spices or flowers.

The Batty-walla (candle maker) looks almost equally miserable; during the cool evening he sits by his hoops, which are suspended in the open air, and to which the wicks are fastened. The hoops he turns diligently over a

vessel filled with hot wax or tallow, which he pours over the wicks with a ladle, and the current of air thus created quickly hardens them. Candles are, however, in request only in the cool season, and then chiefly by Europeans; lamps made of clay or glass are in general use.

F. TRADE AND COMMERCE

1. Most extensive commerce in Bengal, Robert Orm[231]

When the Europeans entered India, they found at Surat one of the greatest marts in the world. Arabia, Persia, and China, were from hence supplied with cloths, and all other productions of the kingdom. Later we have known a merchant of that city the sole proprietor of twenty ships, none of less burthen than five hundred tons: at present the merchants are seen ruined by the violences of an impolitic government, and we now only hear of the trade of this city.

Some years ago the province of Oude, lying to the northwest of Bengal, became quite impoverished by the excess of the customs and the severity of the collectors: the trade went round the province, instead of going through it. When Munsurally Cawn, the present Vizir of the empire, obtained that Nabobship, he instantly rectified the errors of his predecessors. He lowered the customs exceedingly, and subjected the collection of them to better regulations. This province, being the shortest thoroughfare, immediately recovered its lost trade, and flourished under his administration beyond what it ever was known to do.

Bengal by its situation and productions has the most extensive commerce of any province of the empire. Delhi is from hence supplied with all its linens and silks; the foreign marts of India, Arabia, and Persia, with silk, raw and manufactured, with cloths, with sugars, opium, grain, &c. The European nations make their largest and most valuable investments here. The Nabob Allaverdy Khan obtained the government by his sword, and by that has ever since maintained it. The pay of a very numerous standing army has obliged him to be more rapacious than any of his predecessors were; the merchants therefore are obliged to buy their trade at dearer exactions than they were ever known to suffer: but this prince has not yet exceeded so much, as to leave the commerce of his province destitute of a profit sufficient to excite adventures.

The European nations are possessed of considerable settlements and much property within his territory; by quitting of which their companies would be ruined: this Allaverdy Khan knows full well: he therefore hesitates not to make exorbitant demands from them; and if matters are not soon compromised, he issues forth orders to stop every branch of their investments, which are dispersed throughout the country at great distances from their principal factories.

It is not to be expected that navigation should have made great progress amongst so enervated a people as those of Indostan. They are unskillful practitioners, and worse theorists. It is common to find a Moor ship wasting three years on a voyage which might easily be performed in one: hence the Europeans are the general carriers of the east.

With this advantage of particular situations, the colonies abroad are enabled to create many private fortunes, without interfering with the interests of the companies on which they depend.

2. Chief articles of trade with foreign nations, William Robertso[232]

Of these, the labours of the Indian loom and needle have, in every age, been the most celebrated; and fine linen is conjectured, with some probability, to have been called by the ancients *Sindon*, from the name of the river Indus or Sindus, near which it was wrought in the highest perfection. The cotton manufactures of India seem anciently to have been as much admired as they are at present, not only for their delicate texture, but for the elegance with which some of them are embroidered, and the beautiful colour of the flowers with which others are adorned. From the earliest period of European intercourse with India, that country has been distinguished for the number and excellence of the substances for dying various colours, with which it abounded. The dye of the deep blue colour in highest estimation among the Romans bore the name of *Indicum*. From India, too, the substance used in dying a bright red colour, seems to have been imported; and it is well known that both in the cotton and silk stuffs which we now receive from India, the blue and the red are the colours of most conspicuous lustre and beauty. But however much the ancients may have admired these productions of Indian art, some circumstances, which I have already mentioned, rendered their demand for the cotton manufactures of India far inferior to that of modern times; and this has occasioned the

information concerning them which we receive from the Greek and Roman writers to be very imperfect. We may conclude, however, from the wonderful resemblance of the ancient state of India to the modern, that, in every period, the productions of their looms were as various as beautiful.

The ingenuity of the Indians in other kinds of workmanship, particularly in metals and in ivory, is mentioned with praise by ancient authors, but without any particular description of their nature. Of these early productions of Indian artists, there are now some specimens in Europe, from which it appears that they were acquainted with the method of engraving upon the hardest stones and gems; and, both in the elegance of their designs and in neatness of execution, had arrived at a considerable degree of excellence. An ingenious writer maintains that the art of engraving on gems was probably an Indian invention, and certainly was early improved there; and he supports this opinion by several plausible arguments. The Indian engraved gems, of which he has published descriptions, appear to be the workmanship of a very remote period, as the legends on them are in the Sanskreet language.

3. Changing nature of commerce in Bengal, George Forste[233]

Previously to the era in which the English became possessed of Bengal, the different nations who visited it were obliged to give specie for the greatest portion of the commodities they purchased; there being but a small proportion of articles taken in barter by the natives. This species of commerce, so lucrative to India, and which must have deposited large amount of gold and silver, continued for upwards of a century and an half. But, after the English Government was established in Bengal, the necessity of this commercial system no longer existed; the amount of the revenues became sufficient to purchase the cargoes of the country, and to defray the public expenditures: here, one channel of the influx of specie into Bengal was stopped, and it will be found also, that the revolutions, which in that quarter, advanced the fortunes of the English, have materially lessened the like imports of the other European nations, who traded to Bengal. For, exclusively of finding a current sale for their commodities, they have been enabled to procure, from the English, large sums of money, for bills on Europe. An important change has also been effected on the interior commerce of Bengal, by the extinction of the Mahometan dominions.…

Brisk trade at Calcutta

Though the maritime commerce of Bengal does not maintain the vigour which accompanied it, whilst the Europeans were confined to the coasts of India, and exercised simply the profession of merchants, a brisk and important trade is yet carried on at Calcutta. The advan-tageous traffic that subsisted formerly between this port and Pegue, Siam, and the Malay islands, now feebly remains; and, unless some favourable change is speedily effected, bears the appearance of a total failure. Though these branches of commerce, silver bul1ion, gold-dust, and precious stones, were introduced into Bengal; from whence, in return, raw and wrought silks, coarse cotton cloths, opium, and salt-petre, were exported. It hath also been alleged, that, within these late years, the maritime trade of Bengal has received a check from an embargo, or, what is tantamount an excessive high duty laid on the importation of foreign salt. This restriction has reduced the number of ships, and lessened the considerable exportation of grain, which, before that period, annual1y took place at the port of Calcutta: yet, though it may have injured the exterior commerce, the revenue of the Ganges salt has been increased, by this restriction, to an amount never produced at any former period. It is painful, perhaps not just, to expatiate on the defects, or the misfortunes of a country, and hold them out to public view; without proposing remedies for the ills that are exhibited. The scantiness of my local knowledge, will only permit me to say, that as the welfare of the British dominion in India, ultimately depends on the prosperity of Bengal, no labour should be thought irksome, no rational plan left untried, which may improve its revenue, or encourage its trade.

4. Hooghly covered with vessels, De Grandpr[234]

The privilege of the company is so great as to prevent any individual from trading to any part of Europe, or at least to England; but from one place to another in India the trade is free, and is very considerable both to China and elsewhere. The river Hougly is in consequence covered with vessels, which add to the opulence and industry of Calcutta. The wealth of this place is indeed extraordinary; silver money they will scarcely deign to mention; they reckon only by the *gulmohur*, a piece of gold of the value of sixteen rupees, or forty-two livres, estimative the piece-of-eight at five livres five sous. The Indians have the practice of clipping the coin, like the Jew in

Europe, so that, on receiving a sum of money, it is necessary to be provided with a *serraff*, who weighs and values the different pieces.…

Extensive trade at Calcutta

The trade of Calcutta is very extensive. It is through this channel that the company obtains the saltpetre, and all the muslins which we see in Europe; while it exports to this part Spanish coins, gold thread, copper, lead, iron in bars and wrought, English manufactures of different sorts for the use of Europeans there, wine and brandy, sea-salt, and marine stores of every kind. Individuals there obtain pepper and arrac from the coast of Malabar; raw silks, nankeens, porcelain, and tea from China, to which place they send in return the cotton of the Malabar coast. The grain of Bengal they export to every part of India, receive silks from Surat, send muslins and European commodities to Macao and the Philippine islands, and give circulation to all these articles in the whole interior of Asia. A commerce which extends to such a variety of branches cannot fail to enrich those who cultivate it, and accordingly Calcutta is the richest town in India. Private merchants, however, are not the most wealthy class of those who reside there; the company's servants are much richer, and become so much more rapidly.

5. Mercantile class of India most honourable in the world, Sleema[235]

I have mentioned the village communities of India as that class of the population among whom truth prevails most; but I believe there is no class of men in the world more strictly honourable in their dealings than the mercantile classes of India. Under native governments a merchant's books were appealed to as 'holy writ,' and the confidence in them has certainly not diminished under our rule. There have been instances of their being seized by the magistrate, and subjected to the inspection of the officers of his court. No officer of a native government ventured to seize them; the merchant was required to produce them as proof of particular entries, and, while the officers of government did no more, there was no danger of false accounts.

An instance of deliberate fraud or falsehood among native merchants of respectable station in society is extremely rare. Among the many hundreds of bills I have had to take from them for private remittances, I have never had one dishonoured, or the payment upon one delayed beyond the day specified; nor do I recollect ever hearing of one who had. They are so

careful not to speculate beyond their means, that an instance of failure is extremely rare among them. No one ever in India hears of families reduced to ruin or distress by the failure of merchants or bankers; though here, as in all other countries advanced in the arts, a vast number of families subsist upon the interest of money employed by them.

There is no class of men more interested in the stability of our rule in India than this of the respectable merchants; nor is there any upon whom the welfare of our Government and that of the people more depend. Frugal, first upon principle, that they may not in their expenditure encroach upon their capitals, they become so by habit; and when they advance in life they layout their accumulated wealth in the formation of those works which shall secure for them, from generation to generation, the blessings of the people of the towns in which they have resided, and those of the country around. It would not be too much to say that one-half of the great works which embellish and enrich the face of India, in tanks, groves, wells, temples, etc., have been formed by this class of the people solely with the view of securing the blessings of mankind by contributing to their happiness in solid and permanent works…

It was to the class last mentioned, whose incomes are derived from the profits of stock invested in manufactures and commerce, that Europe chiefly owed its rise and progress after the downfall of the Roman Empire, and the long night of darkness and desolation which followed it. It was through the means of mercantile industry, and the municipal institutions to which it gave rise, that the enlightened sovereigns of Europe were enabled to curb the licence of the feudal aristocracy, and to give to life, property, and character that security without which society could not possibly advance; and it was through the same means that the people were afterwards enabled to put those limits to the authority of the sovereign, and to secure to themselves that share in the government without which society could not possibly be free or well constituted. Upon the same foundation may we hope to raise a super-structure of municipal corporations and institutions in India, such as will give security and dignity to the society; and the sooner we begin upon the work the better.

6. Hindu bankers and money dealers at Shikarpur, Charles Masso[236]

The city, renowned for its wealth, is particularly celebrated for its Hindu bankers and money dealers, whose connections are ramified throughout the countries of Central Asia, and of Western India. It is especially the home of these people, where their families are fixed, and where are detained those of gomastahs, or agents, located in foreign countries…As the existence of some great center of monetary transactions, in this part of the world, was always indispensable for the facilities of the commerce carried on in it, it is not unlikely, looking at the facts within our knowledge connected with the condition of the adjacent country during the last two centuries, that Multan preceded Shikarpur as the great money mart, and that from it the Hindus removed, converting the insignificant village of the chace into a city of the first rate and consequence…

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Chapter 6
Cities and Transport

A. Cities
B. Road transport
C. River transport

A. CITIES

1. Hooghly, Captain Alexander Hamilto[237]

Hooghly is a town of large extent, but ill built. It reaches about two miles along the river's side, from Chinsura to Bandel, a colony formerly settled by the Portuguese, but the Moghul's Fouzdaar governs both at present. This town of Hooghly drives a great trade, because all foreign goods are brought thither for import, and all goods of the product of Bengal are brought hither for exportation. And the Moghul's custom-house is at this place. It affords rich cargoes for fifty or sixty ships yearly, besides what is carried to neighbouring countries in small vessels; and there are vessels that bring saltpetre from Patna, above fifty yards long, and five broad, and two and a half deep, and can carry above two hundred tons. They come down in the month of October, before the steam of the river, but are obliged to track them up again, with strength of hand, about a thousand miles. To mention all the particular species of goods that this rich country produces is far beyond my skill, but, in our East India Company's sales, all the sorts, that are sent hence to Europe, may be found; but opium, long pepper and ginger are commodities that the trading shipping in India deals in, besides tobacco, and many sorts of piece goods that are not merchantable in Europe.

2. Santipore, old centre of muslin, now in decline due to steam-looms of Manchester, Thomas Twinin[238]

Santipore *was* a large and flourishing town, two miles from the left bank of the Ganges, sixty miles above Calcutta. It possessed an industrious, peaceful, and happy population of 70,000 inhabitants, entirely Hindoos, and was the centre of a great manufacturing district. The industry of ages had brought its muslins to the highest degree of perfection. They were among the choicest productions of India, and were exported in large quantities to Europe. The East India Company consequently had one of their principal factories here…This factory and the prosperity of Santipore have since

ceased to exist; the calicoes and muslins of India, even for Indian use, having been supplanted by the steam-looms of Manchester.

3. Kasimbazaar celebrated for its manufactures, Thomas Twinin[239]

The following day we passed Kasimbazaar, a large town at some distance from the river, celebrated for its manufactures of cotton goods and silk. This was one of the places in Bengal at which European factories were first established, and the East India Company have still a commercial residency here. But the great and early importance of Kasimbazaar may be better inferred from the circumstance of its having given its name to the contiguous river, as well as to the extensive island on which it is situated.

4. Patna, a centre of extensive commerce, George Forste[240]

This city is spacious and populous, though much fallen from the importance it held, during that residence of the Subahdar of Bahar. The great quantity of poppies cultivated in the contiguous districts, from which opium of an excellent quality is produced, together with extensive salt-petre works, have rendered Patna opulent, and the center of an extensive commerce. The different manufactures of silver, iron, and wood, are little inferior in this city, to those of Europe; and when the rudeness of the tools, with the simplicity of the process, is examined, the degree of delicacy which the artisans have acquired in their several professions, must challenge a high admiration.

5. Fine indigo at Tirhoot, Thomas Twinin[241]

The capital of the favoured region [Bihar] is Patna, situated on the right bank of the Ganges, 400 miles above Calcutta. The river flowing here from west to east, the whole front of the city faces the north, looking beyond the Ganges over the district of Tirhoot, remarkable for its healthiness and for its fine indigo. The superiority of this is such as to command a surer sale and a higher price than any other indigo in the markets of Europe, excepting, I believe, that of Manila. The consequence is that many Europeans, English principally, are settled in this district as indigo planters and manufacturers.

6. Dhaka, Captain Hamilto[242]

The city is the largest in Bengal, and it manufactures cotton and silk the best and cheapest. The plenty and cheapness of provisions are incredible, and the country is full of inhabitants, but it breeds none of tolerable courage, for five or six armed men will chase a thousand.

7. Lucknow, George Forste[243]

Lucknow is a large and populous city but wholly inelegant and irregular. The streets are narrow, uneven, and almost choaked up with every species of filth. The Goomty, running on the north side of the town, is navigable for boats of a common size at all seasons of the year, and falls into the Ganges between Benares and Ghazepour. A line of boats, extended across the river, forms a convenient communi-cation with a large suburb. Shujah-ul-Dowlah made Fyzebad, or Oude, the capital of his dominion; but his son, setting aside that, with many other of his father's arrangements, has fixed his residence at Lucknow.

8. Kanauj, George Forste[244]

Kinnouge, before the period of the Mahometan conquest, ranked amongst the most populous and opulent cities of Hindostan. It is mentioned in testimony of its grandeur, that Kinnouge contained thirty thousand shops for the sale of betle and afforded employment for six thousand female dancers and musicians. – A vast mass of ruins interspersed through a wide space, marks the ancient extent and grandeur of Kinnouge; though few distinct vestiges now exist, except some parts of a stone temple erected in ancient times to the honour of Setah, the wife of Ram, which has been exorcised by some zealous Mahometan, and converted into a place of worship.

9. Najibabad, George Forste[245]

Najeb-ud-Dowlah, who built this town, saw that its situation would facilitate the commerce of Kashmire, which having been diverted from its former channel of Lahore and Delhi, by the inroads of the Sicques, Marhattas, and Afghans, took a course through the mountains at the head of the Punjab, and was introduced into the Ro-hilla country through the Lall Dong pass. This inducement, with the desire of establishing a mart for the Hindoos of the adjacent mountains, probably influenced the choice of this spot; which otherwise is not favourable for the site of a capital town, being low, and surrounded with swampy grounds…since the death of its founder, Najibabad has fallen from its former importance, and seems now chiefly upheld by the languishing trade of Kashmire.

10. Jammu, George Forste[246]

Jumbo is situated on the side of a hill, and contains two distinct divisions, which are termed the upper and the lower towns. The bottom of the hill is washed by the river Rawee, about forty or fifty yards broad, and fordable at most seasons of the year. Many water-mills stand on its banks for grinding corn, which are constructed in a neater manner than any I have been in India; and were introduced by the Kashmirians, who have greatly improved as well as enriched this town. The short stay at Jumbo prevented me from procuring much satisfactory information of its history, or the causes which have produced its important commerce, riches, and luxury for Jumbo, even in its decayed state, is a mart of the first note in this quarter of the country…

The articles of merchandize constituting the trade of Jumbo, and Kashmire, are transported by men, usually Kashmirians, whose burthens are heavy, two of them making the load of a strong mule, and the hire is fixed at the rate of four rupees for each carrier. The shawls, when exported from Kashmire, are packed in an oblong bale, containing a certain weight or quantity, which in the language of the country is termed a *biddery,* the outward covering of which is a buffalo's or ox's hide, strongly sewed with leather thongs. As these packages are supposed to amount, with little variation, to a value long since ascertained, they are seldom opened until conveyed to the destined market…

11. Cochin, De Grandpr[247]

Cochin is constructed on a good plan, but the buildings are bad. The governor resides in a house scarcely better than a barn, situated on a spot that has no embellishments, and is overgrown with grass, as the streets are likewise. All the houses are proportionably mean, and an air of wretchedness and inactivity reigns in this colony, as in the settlements in general of the Dutch company in India. With a little exertion, however, Cochin might become a flourishing place: its commerce in the article of pepper might be rendered considerable, by holding out encouragements to merchants, and suppressing the vexations which foreigners experience on the part of the government. Its situation is admirable for the purpose, for it stands on a fine river, capable of admitting very large vessels. The water, at the flood, is never less than twenty feet deep, and the harbour is sufficiently extensive for any ships, however numerous, that might trade to it. A number

of small rivers and canals run into it, which facilitate the inland communication to a great distance up the country, and would give extraordinary activity to commerce. Its position at the extremity of the peninsula renders it easy of approach in all seasons, and diminishes the danger to which navigation is exposed by the monsoon from the south-west: nothing but a fine day is necessary to enable vessels to get out, and even to reach Cape Comarin, from which there is a passage to any part of India. The teak wood, so excellent for the construction of vessels, abounds in this place, and many ships are accordingly built there; it is indeed the most considerable branch of industry that is at present carried on.

12. Nadaun, William Moorcrof[248]

This place was formerly one of great resort, being the chief mart of a rich province, and the favourite resting place of merchants travelling betwixt Kashmir and Hindustan. It was proverbially famed for its comforts and attractions; and "Who that goes to Nadaun will come away again?" (Jaega Nadaun aega kaun) is a phrase current in the plains, bearing unequivocal testimony to its reputation. The duties on merchandise passing through it were farmed at 27,000 rupees a year. The whole district now scarcely yields a fourth of that income. The principal article was shawl-goods, which, to avoid the danger of being plundered on the lower road, were conveyed through the states of the several mountain chiefs to Nahan and Dera, and thence to Najibabad or Saharanpur. The heavy duties exacted in each petty principality checked, but did not crush the trade; but as these duties did not purchase security, and the pillage of a whole caravan by one needy and unprincipled Raja was a contingency to which the merchants were nevertheless exposed, they were at last obliged to discontinue the transmission of their merchandise to the low country by this route. The principal persons engaged in the traffic were the Gosains of Jwala-mukhi, the seniors of whom remained at the principal stations, while their pupils or chelas traversed the whole of Hindustan with the most valuable commodities. The confusion that prevailed for some years in the politics of the hill states, and the consequent impoverishment of their rulers, combined with other causes have almost annihilated this traffic, and thinned the community of the Gosains; and the few that reside at Jwala-mukhi are

contened to remain at home, subsisting in humble tranquility upon the produce of those lands which they owe to the piety of former benefactors.

Nadaun also suffered severely from its occupation by the Gorkhas…The bazar, which was formerly crowded by bustling traders, is now frequented only by a few fakir and pilgrims; and of the shopkeepers I observed one-third asleep, a third playing at draughts, and the rest scantily and listlessly employed. The vicinity of the town abounds with mulberry-trees of every description; so that if the climate be not unfavourable, the silkworm may be bred here to any extent.

13. Hoshiarpur, William Moorcrof[249]

Hoshiarpur is a large and populous town, surrounded by a brick wall, separated from another town, Bahadarpur, by a few fields only; the latter, however, is nearly uninhabited. The population of Hoshiarpur consists chiefly of weavers, dyers, confectioners, grain-sellers, and turners in wood. The weavers are almost all Mohammedans, and are an orderly and industrious set of people. They are employed extensively in the manufacture of cotton cloths and muslins, which are sent to distant markets in various directions; as, white cloths to Delhi; white and red to Jaypur and Bikaner; coarse cottons to the Panjab and Kabul, and the finer sorts to Herat, Balkh, Bokhara, and Yarkand. The water of Hoshiarpur is said to be of great efficacy in whitening cloths. The cotton is raised abundantly at the foot of the neighbouring mountains, and commonly sells at from 16 to 20 sers for a Mahmud Shahi rupee.

14. Multan, Charles Masso[250]

Multan is said to have decreased in trade since it fell into the hands of the Sikhs, yet its bazaars continued well and reasonably supplied with all articles of traffic and consumption. There are still numerous bankers, and manufacturers of silk and cotton goods. Its fabrics of shawls and lunghis are deservedly esteemed, and its brocades and tissues compete with those of Bahawalpur. It still supplies a portion of its fabrics to the Lohani merchants of Afghanistan, and has an extensive trade with the regions west of the Indus.

15. Lahore, William Moorcrof[251]

Lahore is said to have been twelve kos in circumference, and however this may have been, it is clear, from the ruins of buildings beyond the walls, that

it was once much more extensive than it is at present. Such of it as still remains within the walls is apparently very populous. The streets were crowded to an extent beyond anything I have ever witnessed in an Indian city. The houses were in general of brick, and five stories high, but many were in a very crazy condition. The Bazar follows the direction of the city wall, and is not far distant from it. The street is narrow, and this inconvenience is aggravated by platforms in front of the shops, on which the goods are displayed under projecting pent-houses of straw to protect them from the sun and rain. Through the center of the remaining contracted space runs a deep and dirty drain, the smell from which was very offensive. The population consists of Mohammedans, Hindus, and Sikhs, the former in the greatest number.

16. Rawalpindi, William Moorcrof[252]

Rawalpindi is a town of considerable size, containing a number of low mud-houses with flat roofs, and a large but irregularly-built bazaar. It owes its importance to its having been selected by Shah Sujah for the residence of his family, and of Zeman Shah, whilst he engaged in the contest with Shah Mahmud for the throne of Cabul. A rather large but ill-built mansion was raised for their accommodation. It appears to be of brick without plaster, and forms a conspicuous object. From the number of persons who accompanied the family Rawalpindi became a place of some demand for grain and merchandise, and it is now the chief mart for the trade between Amritsar and Peshawar. It is chiefly supported by its commerce, for the agriculture of the adjacent lands has been ruined by exorbitant taxation. A few years since the annual revenue raised from them was three lakhs of rupees; it is now less than one...

17. Peshawar, William Moorcrof[253]

The city of Peshawar, and plain in which it is situated, have been so fully and accurately, described by Mr. Elphinstone, that it is not necessary to attempt any detailed account of either. Both, however, had much fallen off since his visit, in consequence of civil dissensions and hostilities with Ranjit Sinh. Many of the houses of the city were untenanted and in ruins, and in the plain very many of the villages were deserted, and extensive tracts of rich land were uncultivated. In the immediate vicinity of the town the Sikhs had inflicted more mischief than many years' labour could

remedy, by destroying gardens and orchards, and demolishing the wells and channels of irrigation. The Bala Hisar, which, at the time of the British embassy, was the occasional residence of the king, and in which their audience took place, was now a heap of rubbish, and the only use made of it by the rulers of Peshawar was as a quarry from whence to procure materials for dwellings of their own erection….

In times of tranquility, and under an enlightened government, Peshawar is admirably situated for an *entrepot* of commerce between the British settlements of India and the countries north of the Hindu Kosh. From British India it is accessible not only by land but by the Indus, the navigation of which, although little known to Europeans, as it has not been attempted by them since the days of Nearchus, is perfectly practicable for boats of considerable burden. From the sea to Attok there is no obstruction of any importance, and the water-carriage continues not only along the main stream some way above that fort, but, by means of the river of Kabul, to within five kos of the city of Peshawar, at a place called Sahiba Patar, where Afghans going on pilgrimage to Mecca usually embark. They reach Karachi Bandar in a month. The advantageous position of Peshawar for the commerce of Khorasan and Peshawar has been noticed by others, but the availability of the upper part of the Indus for this object has been unknown or overlooked, and it seemed, therefore, of importance to ascertain the fact. As affecting the character of Peshawar as a commercial station, it may be right to observe that the objections founded on the extent and influence of the swampy ground in its neighbourhood have been unnecessarily strong. We saw no swamp which might not be easily drained, and of which the recovery would not amply remunerate the cost.

18. Karachi, Charles Masso[254]

Karachi, although not a large town, has much trade; it is surrounded with dilapidated mud walls, provided with towers, on which a few crazy guns are mounted. The suburbs, extensive, and generally comprising huts, are inhabited by fishermen and mariners. The port has one hundred vessels, of all sizes and descriptions, belonging to it, and its dunghis venture to Daman, Bombay, and Calicat, also to Gwadar and Maskat. The harbour is commodious for small craft, and is spacious, extending about two miles inwards, at which distance, from its mouth, the town is seated. On a high

hill, or eminence, overlooking the entrance to the harbour on the left hand, as it is approached from the sea, is the fort or castle of Manaroh, garrisoned by a small party of Jukias; it is said, there are many guns in it, but it is unexplained who are to work them. The eminence slopes to the beach, on the town side, where there is a circular tower, on which four guns are said, whether truly or not, to be placed. These constitute the defences of the harbour, whose entrance is well defined, having, opposite to the hill Manaroh, five detached rocks and a sand-bank, exposed at low water. Karachi has a cool climate, and may be regarded with classical interest, there being little doubt that it is the port of Alexander, which sheltered for some time the fleet of Nearchus, the first European admiral who navigated the Indian seas.

19. Amritsar, Charles Masso[255]

Lahore, although possessing a certain degree of trade and traffic with its populous vicinity, is a dull city, in a commercial sense. Amritsir has become the great mart of the Panjab, and the bankers and capitalists of the country have taken up their abodes there. It has also absorbed, in great measure, the manufacturers, and its prosperity has allured to it a vast number of the starving artisans of Kashmir.

20. Decline of Surat, Bishop Hebe[256]

The trade of Surat, indeed, is now of very trifling consequence, consisting of little but raw cotton, which is shipped in boats for Bombay. All the manufactured goods of the country are undersold by the English, except kincob and shawls, for which there is little demand; a dismal decay has consequently taken place in the circumstances of the native merchants; and an instance fell under my knowledge in which an ancient Mussulman family, formerly of great wealth and magnificence, were attempting to dispose of their library, a very valuable one, for subsistence. There is a small congregation of Armenians in a state of decay and general poverty; but the most thriving people are the Boras (who drive a trade all through this part of India as bunyans and money-lenders) and the Parsees. These last are proprietors of half the houses in Surat, and seem to thrive where nobody else but the Boras can glean even a scanty maintenance. The boats which lie in Surat river are of thirty or forty tons, half-decked, with two masts and two very large lateen sails; vessels of greater draught must lie about fifteen

miles off, below the bar, at the mouth of the Taptee, but except the ketches in the Company's service, few larger vessels ever come here.

21. Poona, Bishop Hebe[257]

The city of Poonah is far from handsome, and of no great apparent size, though, to my surprise, I was assured that it still contains 100,000 people. It is without walls or fort, very irregularly built and paved, with mean bazars, deep ruinous streets, interspersed with peepul tree, &c. many small but no large or striking pagodas, and as few traces as can well be conceived of its having been so lately the residence of a powerful sovereign. The palace is large, and contains a handsome quadrangle surrounded by cloisters of carved wooden pillars, but is, externally, of mean appearance, and the same observation will apply to other small residences of the Peishwa, which, whimsically enough, are distinguished by the names of the days of the week "Monday's Place, Tuesday's Place," &c. The principal building is used at present, on its ground floor, as the prison for the town and district; on the floor immediately above is a dispensary, and a large audience chamber, resembling that at Baroda, which is fitted up with beds as an infirmary for the natives, while higher still, a large gallery is used as an insane hospital…

The cantonment of Poonah is on an elevated situation a little to the west of the city, and in its general appearance and locality reminded me of that of Nusseerabad. Here, as there, the horses are picketted in the open air all the year round, an arrangement which is said to answer extremely well, not only for cheapness and convenience, but also for the health and serviceable state of the animals. The streets are wide, and the whole encampment, I thought, well arranged and handsome; there is a good station-library for the soldiers, another, supported by subscription, for the officers, and the regimental schools, I was told by Archdeacon Barnes, (for I was too unwell to keep the appointment which I had made to visit them) are in excellent order. The Church is spacious and convenient, but in bad architectural taste, and made still uglier, externally, by being covered with dingy blue wash picked out with white.

22. Thatta, Captain Leopold von Orlic[258]

Tatta, whether it is the ancient Patala, or Minagara, is uncertain, lies three miles from the Indus, on an eminence slightly elevated above the valley, and affording a surprisingly beautiful prospect from a distance: the streets

are narrow, irregular, and very dirty; the house, which are built of clay, wood, or brick, are from twenty to thirty feet high, and resemble square towers with flat roofs, on which the inhabitants are accustomed to sleep, in the open air, during the warm nights. Cakes of dung, used for firing, and prepared by the women and children, are piled up against the walls.

There are only a few mosques in the place, which are built of stone and painted white, but they have the same dirty and ruinous appearance as the town; and there are no traces of the extensive trade which was formerly carried on. The silk and cotton manufactures of the Lundshis, wrought with gold and silver, which were formerly so much in request, are now nearly exploded by those of Mooltan, and the few that are still manufactured here, are usually taken by the Ameers, who pay barely sufficient to enable the weavers to live. The inhabitants are about 10,000 in number; they wear wide garments, Sinde caps, or turbans, and the women long cotton dresses reaching to the ground; poverty and dirt everywhere prevail. We traversed the town in its whole length, passed through the valley, which is irrigated by water wheels driven by oxen or camels, is highly cultivated, and produces corn and cotton….

The British government has four iron steamers on the Indus, which are 120 feet long, 35 broad, and of 70 horse power: they draw only three or four feet water, and are armed with guns (three pounders) and wall-pieces. Along the coast are depots of tamarisk wood for fuel, which consumes rapidly, but gives very great heat.

23. Hyderabad, Captain Leopold von Orlic[259]

Hyderabad, which has 35,000 inhabitants, is situated on a gentle, rocky, eminence, 200 feet high, which here bounds the valley of the Indus, and like all the other towns in Sinde, is built of clay, wood and brick. The streets are narrow and dirty, the bazars are very animated, and hundreds of people were standing by roadside to look at us as we passed by. The Great Fort likewise forms a quadrangle, with circular projecting towers: in the angles it has clay walls, forty feet in height, with a moat eight feet broad and five deep, which however is dry.

24. Mathura, Captain Leopold von Orlic[260]

Mathura is built in the form of an arch, on the elevated right bank of the Jumna, hard by the river, where there are numerous flights of steps

descending into the water, which is the resort of many hundred persons, who come from far and near to bathe, in this spot which is sacred to Krishna. The town was formerly surrounded by the lofty wall, of which only some fragments and three gates now remain; the old fort, which stands on a high hill, also lies in ruins, but, like the town itself, has an uncommonly picturesque appearance, when viewed from the flat sandy plain on the opposite bank.

The interior of the town is extremely dirty; the streets are narrow, irregular, and dusty, and in some places so ill-contrived, that two persons can scarcely pass without touching each other; where the bazars are situated (of which there are 2350) the houses, which are built of bricks or clay, rise to the height of two or three stories, whereas in all the other parts they are little better than huts. The city is divided into 58 quarters, containing 7000 brick houses with flat roofs, 5000 houses built of clay thatched with grass or reeds, 190 Hindoo mandars or places of prayer, and 19 mosques.

Among the latter is the famous mosque built by the Emperor Aurengzebe, which is called by his name. A magnificent Hindoo temple, erected by Rajah Beer Singh Deo, of Oorcha, at the cost of 36 lacks of rupees, formerly stood here. This temple Aurengzebe caused to be pulled down, and with the materials built the present mosque on its site. The population of Mathura is estimated at 6000 Mussulmans, and 54,000 Hindoos; among the latter there are 15,000 Brahmins and Fakirs, who live about the holy places, and on the Ghauts (open flights of steps), on the banks of the river, and subsist on the alms of the devotees.

25. Kanpur, Captain Leopold von Orlic[261]

I arrived at Cawnpoor on the 26th February, at 1 o'clock, when the heat was 82½° Fahr., which was extremely oppressive. The town itself (situated in 26° 30' north latitude, and 80° 12' east longitude from Greenwich) is small, mean-looking, and dirty; but on the right bank of the Ganges many hundred bungalows, the barracks of the troops, and the bazars, extend in a semicircle, for nearly five miles, which imparts to the whole a striking and splendid appearance. Cawnpoor is a principal station of the British, in which there are at present one European regiment of infantry, one European regiment of cavalry, four regiments of native infantry, one regiment of light

cavalry, some companies of artillery and several depots; in all, above 8000 men.

Several of the bungalows are most picturesquely situated, on the banks of the Ganges, which rise to the height of 100 feet: they are fitted up most luxuriously, and have very extensive gardens in which tamarinds, mangoes, bananas, neemes, acacias, and fig trees (*F. rel.*), overshadow a rich carpet of flowers which charms the senses by the magnificence of its colours, and the fragrance of its perfume. In the circumjacent country, there are fine fields of wheat and barley in ear, which are succeeded by the crops of maize, rice, sugar-cane, cotton, gram, jowary, and indigo, potatoes, pease, and cauliflower, and other vegetables, are grown in the gardens; but the former are insipid. This is the time of the birds of passage, some of which, especially the ortolans, are considered a dainty: they are rather larger than our larks, but their taste is more piquant. The climate is very agreeable to the European from October to the end of February, and fires are by no means unwelcome in the morning and evening. On the other hand, the time of the hot winds, from March to July, and the rainy season which succeeds, are equally unhealthy and intolerable.

26. Allahabad, Captain Leopold von Orlic[262]

The city, which has 30,000 inhabitants, consists of brick houses, of two and three stories high, and has in these latter times become more cleanly, but it is still called by the natives Fakirabad, that is, “the beggars’ town,” partly on account of its poverty, and partly on account of the great resort of fakirs and pilgrims. Trade and commerce have very much increased, since the establishment of a communication by steam boats between this and Calcutta. The numerous villas, and bungalows of the civil and military officers, surrounded by beautiful gardens, give a grand appearance to the place; for there are, probably, few other spots in India which have such handsome, and richly fitted up buildings of this kind. Roads, planted with avenues, wind between them and lead to the fort, the city, and several places of the principal circumjacent localities, as Allahabad is the seat of a high court of justice and a great military station of two regiments, some depots, and two companies of artillery.

The whole district of Allahabad contains 2760 English square miles, of which, however, only 984,951 acres are cultivated, and is inhabited by a

population of 949,446 of whom 651,877 are Hindoos, and 297,569 Mahometans…

27. Shimla, Victor Jacquemon[263]

This place is like Mont d'Or or Bagneres, the resort of the very rich, the leisured and the sick. Nine years ago the officer in charge of the military, political, judicial and financial services of this extremity of the English empire, which was acquired only fifteen years ago, took it into his head to desert his palace on the plains during the hot weather, which was terrible one year, and come up and camp here under the shade of the cedars. He was alone in a lonely spot and his friends came to visit him there. The site, the climate, everything, in fact, seemed excellent to them. They sent for a few hundred hill-men, who felled trees all round this spot, rough-hewed them, and in a month's time, with the aid of workmen from the plains, built a spacious house. Each of the guests wanted one like it; there are now more than sixty of them scattered about the mountain-tops or on their slopes. A considerable village has sprung up as though by enchantment in the midst of the space occupied by them; magnificent roads have been hewn in the rock, the luxury of the Indian capital has been established seven hundred leagues from Calcutta and seven thousand feet above sea-level, and fashion reigns like a tyrant.

B. ROAD TRANSPORT

1. A peculiar vehicle, De Grandpr[264]

The Indians have a vehicle of this kind (carriage) that is peculiar to themselves, and which in my account of their machines, I forgot to mention. Much praise indeed is not due for the invention: it exhibits a whimsical and awkward appearance; the wheels are extremely low, and upon the axle-tree are laid two beams, forming a small cross, to the extremities of which are fixed four upright posts, supporting an extravagantly large head or canopy. This little nook, as it may be called, is entirely open on three of the sides, and inclosed behind only with a piece of cloth: it will scarcely admit two persons, but one may be tolerably at ease, by the help of cushions, upon which he is obliged to sit with his legs bent under him. The carriage is drawn by two oxen abreast, and has a number of small bells fastened to it. It is seldom used in towns; but the rich and superior class of the natives employ it in their journeys to different parts of the country.

2. Bearers and Palkies, Honoria Lawrenc[265]

The bearers vary much in their mode of carriage, some keeping step and running smooth; others have a dreadful pace. Fancy yourself in a sieve shaken to try to send you through it, and occasionally receiving a smart jog to facilitate the process. Had it been possible to be ground small enough first, I am sure I should have been sifted out on the road the first stage. Some bearers make me quite sea sick. Altogether it is a most amazing conveyance and I have not yet got reconciled to being thus hoisted on men's shoulders. Not that they have any feeling of degradation from the employment; it is what they are born and brought up to and the labour is not greater than most other bodily employment. Eight men run with a *palkee*, four at a time carrying it. They are relieved at stages of about ten miles, which distance they go in about three hours, and then their work is done. It is very pleasant to see the natives in any joint labour of this kind, their good humour and willingness to help one another. Often when I have looked at a set of bearers or boatmen, each taking his turn at the work, without shirking or grumbling, I have thought how differently our own country folk would behave. Fancy too a lady who, if she have a servant in another *palkee* with her, is travelling with twenty men or upward at night through a country where for hours no habitation is seen, she very likely unable to speak a sentence of Hindustani intelligently, and with still less hope of understanding a word the bearers say. Remember too her property, perhaps shawls and jewels, all travel in the *petaras* slung to the ends of a bamboo borne on a man's shoulders, and that she and her possessions are in the power of a score of stout fellows, or double that number when the old and new sets of bearers meet. All this too on the very ground where *thugs* are slaying scores, ay hundreds of travellers, strangling a man for half a crown's worth of silver ornaments he may happen to have, or not infrequently without any purpose of plunder, merely to keep their hands in. Yet in this way an unprotected woman travells safely from one end of India to the other. Thus I have come from Kurnal hither…

This same *palkee* is a long box, about six foot long, three foot wide and a trifle higher, lined and stuffed with a mattress and pillows. Sliding doors open at each side, and at the ends are little windows. At each end projects a stoutish flattish pole, that behind being straight, that in front slightly curved

upwards, the whole is supported on low feet. Four men take this up, two in front, two behind; they have small cushions to relieve the pressure of the pole which rests on the alternate shoulders of the men; that is if the first has it on his right shoulder, the next takes it on his left. When tired they all change shoulders together. Off they trot thus loaded, and keeping up a grunting song, "huh-huh-huh-huh," or something "heek-heek, hah-hah,". They rarely set down the *palkee* till the end of the stage. Good bearers even relieve one another, without setting down, when you feel the jog suddenly cease, and the *palkee* soused down. Then comes the cry of "*baksheesh, baksheesh*!" and the traveller gives a trifle, about sixpence, for the man to smoke.

C. RIVER TRANSPORT

1. Rope transport in the Himalayas, Bishop Hebe[266]

We forded the stream without difficulty, though over a very rugged bed; but, during the rains, one of the chuprassees told me, a rope which I saw hanging loosely across the ruined arch, was to transport the postman or any other passenger. He was seated in a basket hung by a loop on this rope, and drawn over, backwards and forwards, by two smaller ones fastened to the basket on each side. This is an ingenious though simple method of conveyance, which is practiced also by the catchers of sea-fowl on many parts of the coast of Norway; it was the only way formerly in use of passing torrents or chasms in these countries; and the stone bridges which the English have erected are very ill able to resist the floods of the rainy season, which rush down these deep descents with great violence and rapidity.

2. Passage on river by Deris, or inflated skins, William Moorcrof[267]

On the 16th of March we proceeded up the left bank of the Setlej, opposite to the town of Dehr. Both banks of the river were lined with a succession of small villages the whole way. Dehr, which belongs to the Raj of Sukhet, on the right bank of the Setlej, is defended by a fort of masonry. The passage of the river was effected on deris, or inflated skins. My party consisted of about three hundred persons, sixteen horses and mules, and about two hundred maunds of merchandise and baggage. Thirty-one watermen, each managing a skin, conveyed the whole across in little more than an hour and a half. The Setlej was about one hundred and fifty feet in breadth, and was running at the rate of five miles an hour. The skins used for this purpose are

those of bullocks, which are stripped off in this manner. An incision is made in the back part of a hind led, almost the whole length, and the skin, being flayed off from the hock upwards, is turned forwards, the same management being observed as in the process technically termed casing a hare, except that the skin is cut through below and round the knees and hocks, the legs being left adhering to the body. The hide is then doubled up, and buried for a few days, in order to suffer so much decomposition as will favour the separation of the hair, which is rubbed off by the hand or a blunt wooden knife, without abrasion of the skin. The skin is then turned inside out, and the natural openings of the eyes, &c., stitched up; it is then turned back again, and the main incision sewed up with thongs of raw hide. The open ends of the limbs are tied, except one, which is left open, as a tube by which to inflate the skin. The thin tar procured from the deodar and other species of pine, is then poured into the skin, and shaken about in it until the flesh inside is well charged with it, and it is then tanned exteriorly, by steeping in an infusion of pomegranate husks. When required for use the waterman blows into it through the hind tube, and ties up the opening. A double thin cord is fastened round the inflated skin, across which the waterman places himself on his chest, holding the string with his left hand, whilst, with his right, he manages a short oar, assisting his passage with his hands and feet. Sometimes a piece of stick is tied in one of the legs, and left projecting from it for the waterman to hold instead of the string. The passenger, with as much baggage as he can carry, sits astride the ferryman's back, with his knees bent, and resting on the skin. When heavy and bulky articles are to be transported, two skins are brought together, the ferryman of each laying hold of one of the projecting legs of the other skin, and a frame or raft, supporting the burden, lies across the backs of both. A charpai, or Hindustani bedstead, forms the most convenient raft. Horses and mules are led over, the waterman holding them by a string in one hand, whilst he paddles himself and his human load across in the manner above described. When not inflated the skin is slung over the back, and carried about without any inconvenience. No expedient seems equally well adapted for the transport of large bodies of men and baggage over the most rapid rivers, or so likely to be serviceable as a wreck buoy or float, to be carried on board ship. The cost of a deri usually a rupee and a half, and its weight is not above sixteen pounds. A couple of deri-men usually accompany persons

of rank hunting in the hills, in order to carry them across the mountain streams, the rapidity and fury, if not the depth of which, render it impossible to ford them without such assistance.

BRIDGES

3. Jhula [swinging bridge], William Moorcrof[268]

We left Srinagar [the old capital of Garwal] on the 4th of February, a little before noon, and at some distance from its western termination crossed the Alaknanda by a jhula, or swinging bridge, of considerable span, and of the construction common in these mountains. The ropes used in its formation are made of a variety of spartum or star-three grass. The river ran between high rocky banks and was thirty-six feet deep in the middle. After heavy rain it rises as much more, and has been known to attain a total depth of eighty-six feet, rendering it necessary to carry the bridge higher up the face of the mountain. In the channel of the river are enormous blocks of stone, of an entirely different description from the adjacent rocks, and evidently rolled down by the current from a higher eminence amongst the mountains.

4. Remarkable suspension bridge, Baron Huge[269]

The road now led over a mountain, at the foot of which winds the Jelam. On the bank of river is the fort of Ghorigurh, and over against it, on the perpendicular height, is Uri Kilah; a rope bridge, or sort of ladder, is thrown over the roaring flood, stretching from the deep abyss to the mountain above. I dismounted in order to witness some men pass over this bridge, which in reality is an enterprise attended with considerable peril, it being nothing better than a thick rope twisted together, made out of horse hides. At the distance of every third foot is a loop or knot, which connects the skins together, and prevents the passenger from slipping off; but as it would be impossible to strain this material tight, he finds himself occasionally receding from the mountain across the deep abyss. On each side, however, there is another rope, about four feet above the footway, to lay hold by. In descending as well as ascending this contrivance the utmost precaution is necessary to grasp the hand ropes firmly, and to plant the foot securely on the loops or knots; the weight causing the bridge to fall from Uri as nearly perpendicularly as possible, it requires the greatest presence of mind. Its length is from 500 to 600 feet. The danger when two persons meet is not so great as might be imagined, unless they are both laden with some burden,

which certainly increases the difficulty; but I need hardly say that such a bridge is incapable of bearing the weight of any animal, though I did, to my no small astonishment, see one man carrying a sheep on his back across this frail construction.

5. Cane bridge, Joseph D. Hooke[270]

In the gorge of the Rungeet the heat was intolerable though the thermometer did not rise above 9[271] The mountains leave but a narrow gorge between them, here and there bordered by a belt of strong soil, supporting a towering crop of long cane-like grasses and tall trees. The troubled river, about eighty yards across, rages along over a gravelly bed. Crossing the Rungmo, where it falls into the Rungeet, we came upon a group of natives drinking fermented Murwa liquor under a rock; I had a good deal of difficulty in getting my people past, and more in inducing one of the topers to take the place of a Ghorka (Nepalese) of our party who was ill with fever. Soon afterwards, at a most wild and beautiful spot, I saw, for the first time, one of the most characteristic of Himalayan objects of art, *a cane bridge*. All the spurs, round the bases of which the river flowed, were steep and rocky, their flanks clothed with the richest tropical forest, their crests tipped with pines. On the river's edge, the *Banana, Pandanus*, and *Bauhinia*, were frequent, and *Figs* prevailed. One of the latter (of an exceedingly beautiful species) projected over the stream, growing out of a mass of rock, its roots interlaced and grasping at every available support, while its branches, loaded with deep glossy foliage, hung over the water. This tree formed one pier for the canes; that on the opposite bank was constructed of strong piles, propped with large stones; and between them swung the bridge, about eighty yards long, ever rocking over the torrent (forty feet below). The lightness and extreme simplicity of its structure were very remarkable. Two parallel canes, on the same horizontal plane, were stretched across the stream; from them others hung in loops, and along the loops were laid one or two bamboo stems for flooring; cross pieces below this flooring, hung from the two upper canes, which they thus served to keep apart. The traveller grasps one of the canes in either hand, and walks along the loose bamboos laid on the swinging loops; the motion is great, and the rattling of the loose dry bamboos is neither a musical sound, nor one calculated to inspire confidence; the whole structure seeming as if about to break down.

With shoes it is not easy to walk; and even with bare feet it is often difficult, there being frequently but one bamboo, which, if the fastening is loose, tilts up, leaving the pedestrian suspended over the torrent by the slender canes. When properly and strongly made, with good fastenings, and a floor of bamboos laid *transversely*, these bridges are easy to cross. The canes are procured from a species of *Calamus*; they are as thick as the finger, and twenty or thirty yards long, knotted together, and the other pieces are fastened to them by strips of the same plant. A Lepcha, carrying one hundred and forty pounds on his back, crosses without hesitation, slowly but steadily, and with perfect confidence.

A deep broad pool below the bridge was made available for a ferry: the boat was a triangular raft of bamboo stems, with a stage on the top, and it was secured on the opposite side of the stream, having a cane reaching across to that on which we were. A stout Lepcha leapt into the boiling flood and boldly swam across, holding on by the cane, without which he would have been carried away. He unfastened the raft, and we drew it over by the cane, and, seated on the stage up to our knees in water, we were pulled across, the raft bobbing up and down over the rippling stream.

6. Bridges on the Gomti, Captain Leopold von Orlic[272]

There are two bridges over the Goomty; one of stone, which is arched, at the north end of the city, and a pontine bridge at the south. An iron bridge of three arches, 200 paces in length, which Saadut Ali caused to be brought from England in 1810, had remained, up to this time, in the cases in which it was brought. Now, however, it was at length resolved to put it up; but when the workmen came to place it together, they discovered that some of the pieces were broken, and thus the undertaking is necessarily delayed…

BOATS

7. Sailing in a budgeroo, Mrs. Nathaniel Kindersle[273]

A *budgeroo* is not much unlike a city barge; the covered part generally divided into two pretty good rooms, and an open *verander*, carrying from ten to twenty oars, and as many men, called *dandies*; the master, who steers, is called a *sarang*.

These fellows are very dextrous in their way, and seem to have the property of fishes; at least I must look upon them as amphibious animals, for the water appears to be as much their element as the land; in the passage

up the river they mostly tow; but when they come to a creek, of which there are many very broad, they fasten the rope round their wastes, and, throwing themselves from the land, which is often very high, swim across, dragging the *budgeroo* after them.

When the squalls of wind and rain come on, if they can find no place to lay by, they jump into the river, and hang with their hands upon the edge of the boat, to keep it steady, with just their mouth above the water; in this manner they continue till the squall is over. The work of towing, or as it is called, tracking, is sometimes exceedingly laborious; for the banks, which, when the river is lowered, are the height of a house at least above the water, are so softened by the rains, that the *dandies* sink midleg at every step they take; frequently large pieces of the banks give way, and by their fall boats are sunk or overset.

Sometimes they row; then it is they seem to enjoy themselves, singing all together, with great vehemence, some songs peculiar to their employment.

A family has frequently two *budgeroos*, besides boats; one of the boats is for cookery, the others for servants, provisions, furniture, and other necessaries; for whenever people remove from one place to another, they are obliged to carry all these things with them, even *palenqueens,* carriages, and horses; so that the troop of attendants of every kind amounts to a great number of people.

When one chooses to dine, &c. the *budgeroo* is stopped, and the boats which are wanted come round it, and the dinner is served with as much order as on shore; it is surprising how they can cook half a dozen or more dishes, in a boat only defended from the air by a tilt made of mats.

Except in the squalls, which are frequent in the season, it is a most easy method of travelling, and, when a party of *budgeroos* go together, very agreeable.

When the *budgeroos* stop at night, the *dandies* make their fires on the shore, each *cast* by themselves, and boil their rice, which is all they live upon.

8. Variety of boats, William Hodge[274]

It being determined by the Bengal Government that it was expedient, for the public utility, that the Governor General should make a tour through a part of the country, Mr. Hastings, with that liberality and attention to the

arts which has ever characterized his conduct, acceded to my request, and permitted me to accompany him.

On the 25th of June, 1781, therefore, I embarked in a budgerow for this expedition…From the number of gentlemen who necessarily attended the Governor General, the fleet was very large, and consisted of every variety of the boats of the country, except those which are called *burs,* and of which we met with several in our course. These vessels are large rude barks, the sides of which are raised very high, and sewed together with the fibers of the cocoa-nut tree. They have only a single mast, with a large square sail, and the bottoms of them are nearly flat. They take in a great quantity of water from their sides and bottoms, which compels the crew to employ some people continually in bailing. They are used for the carriage of cotton, and other very bulky materials, the weight of which cannot bear any proportion of their size. Indeed, it would be impracticable to employ boats which were calculated to draw any considerable quantity of water on this river, as the navigation is extremely dangerous, from the sands being constantly shifting. I have known an island, four miles in length, and containing some villages, wholly swept away in one season; in the mean time, at a little distance, other islands were formed, from the sands being thrown up. This phenomenon took place off the point of Rajemahel, in the year 1782.

The boats used by the natives for travelling, and also by Europeans, are the budgerows, which both sail and row: they have in general from twelve to twenty oars. These boats vary in their size according to the condition of their owners; some may be about sixty feet in length, having very high sterns; many of them twelve feet from the water's edge, and quite sharp at the upper point: in the center they broad, having a considerable bearing in the water, and quite sharp forward. They are steered with a large paddle or oar, extending ten feet from the stern; and there is generally one mast in the center, on which is hoisted a large square sail: they have likewise a topmast, on which is a square sail for fine weather. These boats are ill calculated to go near the wind, and indeed are dangerous, from the great weight abaft; they are, however, extremely commodious, having in the center a small verander, or open portico, opening by a door into a handsome room, lighted by a range of windows on each side. This is the dining or sitting room,

within which is a convenient bed chamber, generally containing a small closet: the height of the sitting room is usually from seven to nine feet. Besides this boat, a gentlemen is usually attended by two others; a pulwah, for the accommodation of the kitchen, and a smaller boat, a paunchway, which is destined to convey him either on shore or on board, as it frequently happens that the budgerow cannot come close to the shores, where he might wish to land. These boats sail more expeditiously than the budgerows; but the paunchways are nearly of the same general construction, with this difference, that the greatest breadth is somewhat farther aft, and the sterns lower: the pulwahs are a broad boat, and not so sharp forward or aft as the other two. The English gentlemen have made great improvements on the budgerow in Bengal, by introducing a broad flat floor, square sterns, and broad bows. These boats are much safer, sail near and keep their wind, and there is no danger attending their taking the ground; they are, besides, calculated for carrying a greater quantity of sail. Another boat of this country, which is very curiously constructed, is called a Moor-punky: these are very long and narrow, sometimes extending to upwards of an hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth; they are always paddled, sometimes by forty men, and are steered by a large paddle from the stern, which rises either in the shape of a peacock, a snake, or some other animal. The persons employed to paddle are directed by a man who stands up, and sometimes he makes use of a branch of a plant to direct their motions. In one part of the stern is a canopy supported by pillars, in which are seated the owner and his friends, who partake together of the refreshing breezes of the evening. These boats are very expensive, owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and gilt ornaments, which are highly varnished, and exhibit a very considerable degree of taste.

9. Navigation defective, De Grandpr[275]

The navigation of the Indians is still very defective. That their ships are bad is not from the want of excellent materials. The *teak* wood grows in abundance, and is equal to the oak of Europe. Their vessels are awkward in their form, and are put together with little solidity: they are scarcely even caulked; and if they were not coated with a composition made for this purpose, some of them would not be able to float. This substance is a mixture of lime and fish-oil; it adheres so closely to the planks of the ship,

that it fills all the crevices, and effectually prevents the water from penetrating. It is called by the Indians *galgat.*

They have another preparation, called *sarangousti,* which they spread over the heads of the nails and joints of the timbers. It is made of dry pitch and fish-oil, which are beaten together till the mixture assumes the consistency of a soft paste; in this state it is applied, and it gives such extraordinary hardness as to turn the edge of the best tempered instruments. These two compositions cannot be too strongly recommended to European mariners.

The Indian vessels are called *parias*. If their hull be defective, the manner of rigging them is not less so. The masts are of teak, and are extremely heavy; the ropes are of cocoa-hair, which they call *kaire;* and they have few blocks and sails. Accordingly, though some of the vessels are so large as to amount even to six hundred tons, they are only adapted for short voyages, which they accomplish with the aid of the monsoons. They are sufficiently numerous to perform the whole carrying business between the coast and Bengal. Their usual cargo is salt and rice. The greater navigation, from coast to coast, is made by vessels of European construction.

10. Catamarans and masoolla boats in Madras, Honoria Lawrenc[276]

The water was perfectly speckled with boats of which catamarans chiefly attracted my attention as being most novel. Three logs of wood are lashed together, the middle one is rather longer than the other two, and a little turned up at one end. A raft is thus formed, which barely floats, so that at a little distance it is not visible above the surface, and the men appear sitting on the water. Some catamarans had only one rower, but most had two…

The catamaran is moved by a long broad thin paddle, rounded at each end, and held by the middle; the rowers sit face to face, in a kneeling position resting on their heels, so as to show the soles of the feet, which, as well as the palms of the hands, are white. Sometimes when the raft itself was not seen, it was amusing to observe the men, apparently squatting on the water, and brandishing the paddles at one another. They row by sticking rapidly first at one side, then at the other. These men brought fruit for sale in large flat baskets, made of bark. How these are kept dry is more than I know, for when I was afterwards going through the surf, I saw men and cargoes and all, washed clean off. But such a trifle seemed to cause these amphibious beings no manner of inconvenience. Their hands soon reappeared above the

surf, they swam about, regained the catamaran, and plied their paddle as if nothing had happened. I am told that sharks are rarely found within the line of surf; were it otherwise the poor boat men would have little chance of their lives.

The *masoolla* boats are almost equally curious, they are shaped much like half the rind of a melon, only more concave and the end more pointed upwards. They are formed of planks sewn together with cord made of coco-nut bark, and are caulked with the same, without any metal being used in the construction. There are bars or rather branches of trees, laid across the top, the men sit on one and rest their feet on the next. The oars are merely long pliant boughs, with a broad piece of wood tied to one and all together looking like ill proportioned malt shovels. These play in ropes, by which they are tied to the gunwale. The accommodation boats, intended for passengers, have one end planked, cushioned seats and an awning over head. At the stern a man stands, steering by means of a long oar, likewise tied to its place. Thus the whole make is of the rudest kind, and appeared particularly uncouth after the neat shape and high finish of an English vessel, but the wood and fastenings of the *masoolla* boats are all so pliant and elastic that it yields to the wave and lives, where a boat of ours would founder.

11. Sails of country boats, Honoria Lawrenc[277]

You would be astonished what absolute rags are the sails of country boats, and still more so that these tatters do carry along the vessel. Except in boats that are partly of European build, the bamboo is one of the chief materials, forming masts, helms, oars, spars, anchors. If there be no wind, we track by a rope fastened to the mast and pulled by a set of the *dandees* [boatmen], who walk on the bank. Sometimes they are obliged to go through the water, and even to swim a considerable distance. They seem to feel neither heat nor moisture and they roll about in the river, their grinning black faces appearing above the water…

We sail or track along until sunset, when we lie to, close to shore, and anchor, or rather *lagao*. This is: several ropes are put out from the boat, each having at the end a strong bamboo stake which is driven into the ground, and so we are secured for the night.

12. Boatmen or *dandees,* Honoria Lawrenc[278]

We are, on board, about forty souls, ourselves, our servants, the *manjee* (commander) and crew. The boatmen are called *dandees*, from *dand*, an oar, and the profession is followed by both Hindus and Mussulmanns. Our men are dark, spare and active, most of them young, for their work does not favour long life. They wear mainly a waist-cloth and small skull cap of white or coloured cotton. The *manjee* is in no way distinguished from those under him, except that instead of pulling the ropes, he steers and gives orders, which he delivers in a sort of loud, prolonged chant audible at a good distance….

They [the *dandees*] are all a most loquacious race, and their chief pleasure seems to be smoking a "*hubble-bubble*" or pipe, a cocoa-nut shell or small hollow globe of wood which has a long tube inserted at the upper part, with a little earthen saucer on the top, where the lighted tobacco is placed. The globe is fitted with water and from one side of it projects another tube, to which the mouth is applied and thus the smoke is inhaled through the water. The *hubble-bubble* is the chief refreshment of all the hard working classes, as the *hookah* is the grand recreation of the idle.

13. A description of the experimental trip made by the *Hooghly* steamer to Allahabad in 182[279]

She left Coolie Bazar soon after daylight on the 18th July, 1828, stowed with coals on deck and below, to the extent of about 40 tons, at a draught of water exceeding any at which she had been previously tried under steam. On the 11th at noon she passed Berhampore, and on 12th, entered the great river, and anchored at sunset at about 8 miles from the Sooty mouth of the Bhagiretty. Here, we understand, considerable difficulty was experienced in steering the vessel owing to the eddies and whirlpools, which at this season are so frequent. The inconvenience was afterwards overcome by using a rudder made on board after the plan of the native boats. Her first supply of coal was taken in at Rajmahal which reached on the 13th in the evening, leaving it again on the 14th at day light and arriving on the 20th Patna, where she remained one day, and having received a fresh supply of coals, proceeded on and arrived a little after noon of the 27th at Benares. Here it was suggested that many of the higher class of natives would be highly gratified by seeing the vessel manoeuvre, and she was accordingly steamed

up to the western extremity of the city, returned and anchored; the tops of the houses, the minarets, the ghats, and the whole banks of the river were lined with natives eagerly gazing at the novel spectacle. Many natives of distinctions visited the Hooghly, and were highly pleased and astonished with the explanations they received as to the power which enabled her, unaided by sails or oars, to make her way against wind and tide, and rapt in wonder at the extraordinary effects it could produce. The *Hoogly* left Benares on the 28th, and arrived at Allahabad on the 1st instant, a few hours after daylight. She remained there until the 3rd.

This day being fixed for her departure, several gentlemen repaired on board at daylight to witness a display of her powers. The vessel was got under way and steamed a couple of miles up the Jumna. On her return off the Fort, where she had to wait for her pilot, a message was received from Doorjun Sal expressing his desire to visit the vessel. Having obtained the requisite permission he came on board accordingly, attended by a guard and accompanied by his son, a smart intelligent lad; they examined the vessel very minutely, asking a great many questions and appearing much delighted with what they saw and heard.

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Chapter 7
Laws, Justice and Crimes

A. Legal System of Hindus
B. Some indigenous forms of seeking redress
C. Indigenous institutions of dispensing justice – the panchayats
D. Impact of British judicial system
E. Thuggee

A. LEGAL SYSTEM OF HINDUS

1. Legal Codes comparable to Digest of Justinian, William Robertso[280]

That the Hindoos were a people highly civilised, at the time when their laws were composed, is most clearly established by internal evidence contained in the Code [compilation of ancient texts under the instructions of Warren Hastings] itself. Among nations beginning to emerge from barbarism, the regulations of law are extremely simple, and applicable only to a few obvious cases of daily occurrence. Men must have been long united in a social state, their transactions must have been numerous and complex, and judges must have determined an immense variety of controversies to which these give rise, before the system of law becomes so voluminous and comprehensive as to direct the judicial proceedings of a nation far advanced in improvement. In that early age of the Roman republic when the laws of the Twelve Tables were promulgated, nothing more was required than the laconic injunctions which they contain for regulating the decisions of courts of justice; but, in a later period, the body of civil law, ample as its contents are, was found hardly sufficient for that purpose. To the jejune brevity of the Twelve Tables, the Hindoo code has no resemblance; but with respect to the number and variety of points it considers, it will bear a comparison with the celebrated Digest of Justinian, or with the systems of jurisprudence in nations most highly civilised. The articles, of which the Hindoo Code is composed, are arranged in natural and luminous order. They are numerous and comprehensive, and investigated with that minute attention and discernment which are natural to a people distinguished for acuteness and subtilty of understanding, who have been long accustomed to the accuracy of judicial proceedings, and acquainted with all the refinements of legal practice. The decisions concerning every

point (with a few exceptions occasioned by local prejudices and peculiar customs) are founded upon the great and immutable principles of justice, which the human mind acknowledges and respects, in every age, and in all parts of the earth. Whoever examines the whole work, cannot entertain a doubt of its containing the jurisprudence of an enlightened and commercial people. Whoever looks into any particular title, will be surprised with a minuteness of detail and nicety of distinction, which, in many instances, seem to go beyond the attention of European legislation; and it is remarkable, that some of the regulations which indicate the greatest degree of refinement, were established in periods of the most remote antiquity.

[William Jones's Third Discourse] "In the first of the sacred law tracts, (as is observed by a person to whom Oriental literature, in all its branches, has been greatly indebted,) which the Hindoos suppose to have been revealed by Menu, some millions of years ago, there is a curious passage on the legal interest of money, and the limited rate of it in different cases, with an exception in regard to adventures at sea; an exception which the sense of mankind approves, and which commerce absolutely requires, though it was not before the reign of Charles I that our English jurisprudence fully admitted it in respect of maritime contracts." It is likewise worthy of notice, that though the natives of India have been distinguished in every age for the humanity and mildness of their disposition, yet such is the solicitude of their lawgivers to preserve the order and tranquility of society, that the punishments which they inflict on criminals are (agreeably to an observation of the ancients already mentioned) extremely rigorous. [Code] "Punishment (according to a striking personification in the Hindoo Code) is the magistrate; punishment is the inspirer of terror; punishment is the nourisher of the subjects; punishment is the defender from calamity; punishment is the guardian of those that sleep; punishment, with a black aspect and a red eye, terrifies the guilty."

2. Political institutions blended with the idea of religion, Robert Orm[281]

Although the notion of absolute power admits of nothing which can be sanctified from its grasp, whence the king, as in other despotic States, may, if he pleases, become heir to any man in his kingdom: yet custom has not

established this right to him in Indostan; and these perhaps are the reasons why neither the Moors or Gentoos have been subjected to it.

1. All the political institutions of the Gentoos are so blended with the idea of religion, that this is generally effected where these are concerned. The softness of manners which these people receive from the climate, has fixed all their attention to the solaces of a domestic life. There are not more tender parents, or better masters, in the world: such a people will make wills in favour of their offspring: and the prince finds himself restrained by policy from establishing a right so utterly shocking to the nature and disposition of the subject. He is likewise restrained by religion: the name of God invoked in the testament of a Gentoo, gives it as sacred an authority as with those who have better notions of a deity; and the Brachman is too much interested, as father of a family, to sanctify a practice which would affect his own property. Thus the Gentoo princes were never seen to assert this right, excepting when avarice had got so far the ascendant, as not only to confound all their notions of policy, but even to make them look on religion as the prejudice of education.

2. The Moors, in the first outrages of conquest, doubtless possessed themselves of all kinds of property: but when the Gentoos would not be converted, and were left to the observance of their own rites, the right of testaments was continued, and still subsists amongst them. The Gentoos, by their subtilty and application, find many means of gaining wealth under the Moors; and this wealth they devolve by will to their male children. The obstacles which these may meet with in taking possession, will be explained hereafter.

3. The idea of being fellow-conquerors; the complacency arising from perpetual victories; the immense wealth which these conquests afforded; might have been the causes which prevented the first Mahomedan princes of Indostan, from establishing amongst those of their own religion, this utmost effort of absolute power. They were contended with knowing that they had at all times the power to seize, without declaring that they intended to inherit every man’s property.

4. When the kingdom came to be divided into distinct provinces; when many of these provinces rendered their Nabobs almost independent of the throne; it would have been the height of impolicy to have attempted such an institution; it would have been impossible to have effected it.

5. Had the throne attempted such violence upon such subjects as were more immediately within its reach, the next province, or, if not that, one beyond it, would have afforded an asylum, where a part of the persecuted wealth, bestowed with address, could not fail to procure safety and protection to the remainder; especially if the heirs, as they doubtlessly would, took sanctuary with princes, who either were dissatisfied with, or disregarded, the authority of the court: hence confusions and revolts may be strengthened, if not produced.

6. …The different methods of inheritance amongst the Gentoos, are settled by their religion, according to the different casts by which they are distinguished. In general, the females are recommended to the care of the brothers; and these are commonly ordered to divide equally: sometimes first cousins, especially if born under the same roof, share equally with the brothers: sometimes the first wife of the deceased is intrusted with the management of the whole estate during life – a custom attended with no consequences prejudicial to the children, as she cannot enter into a second marriage. It is always recommended by the parent, that the house, if in a way of trade, be not divided; and as surely it happens, that divisions ensure amongst the heirs.

3. Gentoos left to follow their laws by Tartars, Robert Orm[282]

…There are no digests or codes of laws existing in Indostan: the Tartars who conquered this country could scarcely read or write and when they found it impossible to convert them to Mahomedanism, left the Gentoos at liberty to follow their own religion…

4. Oppression prevails, Robert Orm[283]

Imitation has conveyed the unhappy system of oppression which prevails in the government of Indostan throughout all ranks of the people, from the highest even to the lowest subject of the empire. Every head of a village calls his habitation the Durbar, and plunders of their meal and roots the wretches of his precinct: from him the Zemindar extorts the small pittance of silver, which his penurious tyranny has scraped together; the Phousdar seizes upon the greatest share of the Zemindar's collections, and then secures the favour of his Nabob by voluntary contributions, which leave him not possessed of the half of his rapines and exactions: the Nabob fixes his rapacious eye on every portion of wealth which appears in his province,

and never fails to carry off part of it: by large deductions from these acquisitions, he purchases security from his superiors, or maintains it against them at the expense of a war.

Subject to such oppressions, property in Indostan is seldom seen to descend to the third generation.

B. SOME INDIGENOUS FORMS OF SEEKING REDRESS

1. *Dharna*, John Shor[284]

The inviolability of a Brahmin is a fixed principle of the Hindus; and to deprive him of life, either by direct violence, or by causing his death in any mode, is a crime which admits of no expiation. To this principle may be traced the practice called *Dherna*, which was formerly familiar at Benares, and may be translated Caption or Arrest. It is used by the Brahmins in that city, to gain a point which cannot be accomplished by any other means; and the process is as follows:

The Brahmin who adopts this expedient for the purpose mentioned, proceeds to the door or house of the person against whom it is directed, or wherever he may most conveniently intercept him: he there sets down in *Dherna*, with poison or a poignard, or some other instrument of suicide in his hand, and threatening to use it if his adversary should attempt to molest or pass him, he thus completely arrests him. In this situation the Brahmin fasts; and by the rigor of the etiquette, which is rarely infringed, the unfortunate object of his arrest ought also to fast; and thus they both remain until the institutor of the *Dherna* obtains satisfaction. In this, as he seldom makes the attempt without resolution to preserve, he rarely fails; for if the party thus arrested were to suffer the Brahmin sitting in *Dherna* to perish by hunger, the sin would for ever lie upon his head. This practice has been less frequent of late years, since the institution of the Court of Justice at Benares in 1783; but the interference of that Court, and even that of the Resident there, has occasionally proved insufficient to check it; as it has been deemed in general most prudent to avoid for this purpose the use of coercion, from an apprehension that the first appearance of it might drive the sitter in *Dherna* to suicide. The discredit of the act would not only fall upon the officers of justice, but upon the government itself.

2. Maratha chiefs were frequently subject to the pressure of *dharna* from their soldiers. Thomas D. Broughton, who spent a year at the

camp of Daulat Rao Sindhia in 1809, observed this practic[285]

The pecuniary distresses into which Seendhiya is plunged and which, no doubt, I shall have many opportunities of recounting to you, sometimes place him in the most ridiculous situations, for a reigning prince, that it is possible to conceive. A few days ago a man called upon me on the part of two *Khans*, with whom I had some acquaintance, and who command a large *Risalu* in the Muha Raj's service. He informed me that, as usual, his masters were in the utmost distress for money; being driven to the necessity of borrowing it, for their daily expenses, at the ruinous rate of *five per cent* per month! He stated their claims upon the Muha Raj to amount to nearly seven lakhs of rupees: and added, that if they could not get their accounts settled immediately, they meant to go the next day and sit *dhurna* at his tents. This curious mode of enforcing a demand is in universal practice among the Mahrattas: Seendhiya himself not being exempt from it. The man who sits the *dhurna*, goes to the house or tent of him whom he wishes to bring to terms; and remains there till the affair is settled: during which time the one under restraint is confined to his apartment, and not suffered to communicate with any persons but those whom the other may approve of. The laws by which the *dhurna* is regulated are as well defined and understood as those of any other custom whatever. When it is meant to be very strict, the claimant carries a number of his followers, who surround the tent, sometimes even the bed, of his adversary, and deprive him altogether of food; in which case, however, etiquette prescribes the same abstinence to himself: the strongest stomach of course carries the day. A custom of this kind was once so prevalent in the province and city of Benares, that Brahmuns were trained to remain a long time without food. They were sent to the door of some rich individual; where they made a vow to remain without eating, till they should obtain a certain sum of money. To preserve the life of a Brahmun is so absolutely a duty, that the money was generally paid; but never till a good struggle had taken place to ascertain whether the man was staunch or not: for money is the life and soul of all Hindoos. In this camp there are many Brahmuns, who hire themselves out to sit *dhurna* for those, who do not like to expose themselves to so great an inconvenience.

3. The practice of *kur,* whereby a pile of wood was erected, on which a cow, calf or old woman was placed and it was announced that the pile would be set on fire unless the grievance was redressed; John Shore recorded an instance of *kur* in Benaras in 1788 by three Brahmin[286]

Their own explanation is summarily this: That they held lands in partnership with others, but that the public assessment was unequally imposed upon them; as their partners paid less, whilst they were charged with more than their due proportion; they therefore refused to discharge any part of the revenues whatever, and erected a *Koor* to intimate the government's officers from making any demand upon them. Their sole object, as they explicitly declared, was to obtain an equal distribution of the public assessment between themselves and their partners.

4. *Traga* or self-infliction, Marianne Postan[287]

[Some castes perform] what is called Traga, or a self-infliction, which compels the victim's debtor to make good his obligations; or any one to redress an injury he may have committed against him. The form of Traga, in common use, is made by pushing a spear blade through both cheeks, and in this state dancing before the person against whom Traga is made. This is borne on all occasions without a symptom of pain, which if displayed would destroy its efficacy.

C. INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS OF DISPENSING JUSTICE – THE PANCHAYATS

1. Thomas Munro regarded trial by panchayats as the most effective means of granting justice; he observed that trial by panchayats was generally popular among the natives and regarded fair and lega[288]

No native thinks that justice is done where it [the panchayat] is not adopted; and in appeals of causes formerly settled, whether under a native government or under that of the Company, previous to the establishment of the Courts, the reason assigned in almost every instance was that the decision was not given by a panchayat, but by a public officer, or by persons acting under his influence or sitting in his presence. The native who has a good cause always applies for a panchayat; while he who has a bad one, seeks the decision of a Collector or a Judge, because he knows that it is easier to deceive them…

The defects of the punchayet are better known to the natives than to us; yet with all its defects they hold it in so much reverence, that they say, where the punj sits God is present. In many ordinary cases the punchayet is clear and prompt in its decision, but when complicated accounts are to be examined, it is often extremely dilatory. It adjourns frequently; when it meets again some of the members are often absent, and it sometimes happens that a substitute takes the place of an absent ember...

[Munro was confident that these irregularities could be rectified and even otherwise did not cause half the inconveniences of English courts. He felt the British should employ the panchayats more than hitherto because their duties] are of the most essential advantage to the community, and there is no other possible way by which they can be so well discharged…We ought to avail ourselves of their aid, by extending the range within which the operations of the punchayet are now confined. Its cognizance of all suits, within a certain amount, both in the Zillah and district Moonsiff's courts, should be abolished, and neither party should have the option of declining its jurisdiction.

2. Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his *Report of the Territories Conquered From The Paishwa* in 1821, noted the importance of panchayats in Maratha territor[289]

The Punchayet may…be considered as the great instrument in the administration of justice…the decision of a Punchayet was always respected, as the proverbial expression of *Panch Parmeshwar*, (A punchayet is God Almighty) fully testifies…It was [with the help of panchayats]…that ordinary disputes were settled. Those about boundaries, which were extremely frequent, (except in Candeish) were settled by a Punchayet, composed of Daishmooks, Daispandies, Patails and Coolcurnees, assisted by the Mahrs of the disputing villages, who are the established guardians of land marks and boundaries.…Disputes about cast were settled by the cast unless when a complaint of unjust expulsion took placed when the Government ordered a Punchayet of responsible persons of the cast from an unprejudiced part of the country.…

[Whatever the defects of the panchayat system, under it the Maratha country flourished], and the people seem to have been exempted from some of the evils which exist under our more perfect Government…The

advantage of this [system] was particularly felt among the lower order, who are most out of reach of their rulers, and most apt to be neglected under all Governments. By means of the Punchayet they were enabled to effect a tolerable dispensation of justice among themselves…

A Patail was restrained from exercising oppression, both by the fear of the Mamlutdar and by the inconvenience of offending the society in which he lived, and when both parties were disposed to a Punchayet, he had no interest in refusing his assistance to assemble one. A Punchayet can scarcely be perplexed in the simple causes that arise under its own eyes, nor can it easily give a corrupt decision when all the neighbours know the merits of the case. Defendants, witnesses and members are all within the narrow compass of a village, and where all are kept from earning their daily bread during the discussion, there is not likely to be much needless complaint or affected delay.

This branch of the Native system, therefore, is excellent for the settlement of the disputes of the Ryots among themselves, but it is of no use in protecting them from the oppression of their superiors, and it is evident that the plan of leaving the people to themselves could never have been sufficient for that purpose. But here another principle comes into operation. The whole of the Government revenue being deprived from the Ryot, it was the obvious interest of Government and the agents to protect him, and prevent his being exposed to any exactions but their own. The exactions of Government were limited in good times by the conviction, that the best way to enrich itself was to spare the Ryots; and those of its agents by the common interest of Government, and the Ryots in restraining their depredation. By these principles, while the Native Government was good, its Ryots were tolerably protected both from the injustice of their neighbours, and tyranny of their superiors, and that class is the most numerous, most important, and most deserving portion of the community...

The Punchayet itself, although in all but village causes it had the defects before ascribed to it, possessed many advantages. Though each might be slow, the number that could sit at a time even under the superintendence of one person, must have enabled them to decide many causes. The intimate acquaintance of the members with the subject in dispute, and in many cases with the characters of the parties, must have made their decisions frequently correct; and it was an advantage of incalculable value in that mode of trial

that the judges, being drawn from the body of the people could act on no principles that were not generally understood; a circumstance which by preventing uncertainly and obscurity in the law, struck at the very root of litigation. The liability of Punchayets to corruption was checked by the circumstance, that it did not so frequently happen to one man to be a member as to make venality very profitable, while the parties and the members being of his own class, he was much exposed to detection and loss of character: accordingly the Punchayets appear, even after the corrupt reign of BAJEE ROW, to have retained in a great degree the confidence of the people, and they do not appear to have been unworthy of their good opinion. All the answers to my queries (except those of the collector of Ahmednugger) give them a very favourable character, and Mr. CHAPLIN in particular is of opinion that in most instances their statement of the evidence is succinct and clear, their reasoning on it solid and perspicuous, and their decision, in a plurality of cases, just and impartial.

Their grand defect was procrastination, and to counteract it the suitors had recourse to the same remedies as with people in power, importunity, intercession of patrons, and sometimes no doubt to promises, fees and bribes.

3. Popularity of panchayats, John Malcolm [Agent to the Governor General for the Affairs of Malwa from January 1818 to December 1821][290]

Courts of Punjayet are common to all the Native States of India; their exact shape and form vary; but every where the principles upon which they are founded are nearly the same. The rules of these Courts are much more flexible than is easily reconcilable to our improved system of jurisprudence; but this, in states so liable to changes in their administration as those to which this constitution belongs, is an advantage: it facilitates resort to them at any period, and under all circumstances they are a corrective to power, and a benefit to the people…Punjayet courts of arbitration so obviously depend upon character, that they can have no existence but in the general impression in favour of the individuals of whom they are composed. They may indeed be viewed as created by public opinion, and this accounts for the Members paying their chief court to that as the source of reputation; but history gives us the most conclusive evidence regarding these Punjayet

courts. Among the despotic Princes of India they have been frequent or otherwise, as these have been just or oppressive: when violence prevailed, they have been altogether discontinued; and it is singularly illustrative of this institution, that the most artful and tyrannical chiefs have never been able to employ them in aid of their oppression. The character of Punjayet courts, however, is best understood from the general sentiment of the whole of the unprotected part of the community of India in their favor; they are associated with every idea they have of justice, nor can they, while in their present condition, both as to knowledge and order of society, be ever brought to appreciate more artificial and improved Systems of jurisprudence…

The Punjayet Courts, with all their advantages, have many and serious defects…

…it is, I believe, now very generally admitted, that this system requires great modification, if not alterations; and there can be no doubt, that the partial establishment even of Punjayet Courts would not only be most popular with our Native subjects, but tend beyond all other Institutions to lay deep the foundation of our power, by associating with our administration of justice the most respectable of our subjects.…

In small towns and villages, the Punchayet is composed of men of certain offices, classes, and character. These courts, however, can never become an efficient part of the British jurisprudence without a considerable change in their constitution, forms, and proceedings. The reasons are obvious; the same classes of men do not fill the same places in society, under our government, as they did under a Native prince; nor are men actuated by similar motives.

Our administration, though just, is cold and rigid. If it creates no alarm, it inspires little, if any, emulation. The people are protected, but not animated or attached. It is rare that any native of India living under it can suffer injury or wrong; but still more rare that he can be encouraged or elevated by favour or distinction. Our rules and regulations constitute a despotic power, which is alike imperative upon the governors and the governed. Its character compels it to generalize, and its forms, as well as principles, are unyielding. To engraft upon this system an institution such as the Punchayet is no easy task; but if satisfied of its excellence, we should not be deterred from its introduction by any difficulties of our own creation…

D. IMPACT OF BRITISH JUDICIAL SYSTEM

1. W. H. Sleeman, who served in the Sagar and Nerbudda territories from 1820, and was later Resident at Gwalior [1843-1849] and at Lucknow [1849-1856], on the difference between native and English court[291]

I believe that as little falsehood is spoken by the people of India, in their village communities, as in any part of the world with an equal area and population. It is in our courts of justice where falsehoods prevail most, and the longer they have been anywhere established, the greater the degree of falsehood that prevails in them. Those entrusted with the administration of a newly-acquired territory are surprised to find the disposition among both principals and witnesses in cases to tell the plain and simple truth. As magistrates, they find it very often difficult to make thieves and robbers tell lies, according to the English fashion, to avoid running a risk of criminating themselves. In England, this habit of making criminals tell lies arose from the severity of the penal code, which made the punishment so monstrously disproportionate to the crime, that the accused, however clear and notorious his crimes, became an object of general sympathy. In India, punishments have nowhere been, under our rule, disproportionate to the crimes; on the contrary, they have generally been more mild than the people would wish them to be, or think they ought to be, in order to deter from similar crimes; and, in newly-acquired territories, they have generally been more mild than in our old possessions. The accused are, therefore, nowhere considered as objects of public sympathy; and in newly-acquired territories they are willing to tell the truth, and are allowed to do so, in order to save the people whom they have injured, and their neighbors generally, the great loss and annoyance unavoidably attending upon a summons to our courts.

In the native courts, to which ours succeed, the truth was seen through immediately, the judges who presided could commonly distinguish truth from falsehood in the evidence before them, almost as well as the sylvan gods who sat in the pipal or cotton-trees; though they were seldom supposed by the people to be quite so just in their decisions. When we take possession of such countries, they, for a time at least, give us credit for the same sagacity, with a little more integrity. The prisoner knows that his neighbors expect him to tell the truth to save them trouble, and will detest

him if he does not; he supposes that we shall have the sense to find out the truth whether he tells it or not, and then humanity to visit his crime with the punishment it merits, and no more.

The magistrate asks the prisoner what made him steal; and the prisoner enters at once into an explanation of the circumstances which reduced him to the necessity of doing so, and offers to bring witnesses to prove them; but never dreams of offering to bring witnesses to prove that he did not steal, if he really had done so; because the general feeling would be in favour of his doing the one, and against his doing the other.

2. Testimony of natives in British courts, W.H. Sleema[292]

There is, I believe, no class of men in India from whom it is more difficult to get the true statement of a case pending before a court than the sepoys of our native regiments; and yet there are, I believe, no people in the world from whom it is more easy to get it in their own village communities, where they state it before their relations, elders, and neighbors, whose esteem is necessary to their happiness, and can be obtained only by adherence to truth. Every case that comes before a regimental court involves, or is supposed to involve, the interest or feelings of someone or other of their companions and the question which the deponent asks himself is – not what religion, public justice, the interests of discipline and order, or the wishes of his officers require, or what would appear manly and honourable before the elders of his own little village, but what will secure the esteem, and what will excite the hatred, of his comrades. This will often be downright, deliberate falsehood, sworn upon the Koran or the Ganges water before his officers.

Many a brave sepoy have I seen faint away from the agitated state of his feelings, under the dread of the Deity if he told lies with the Ganges water in his hands, and of his companions if he told the truth, and caused them to be punished. Every question becomes a party question, and the ‘point of honour’ requires that every witness shall tell as many lies about it as possible. When I go into a village, and talk with the people in any part of India, I know that I shall get the truth out of them on all subjects as long as I can satisfy them that I am not come on the part of the Government to inquire into the value of their fields with a view to new impositions, and this I can always do; but, when I go among the sepoys to ask about

anything, I feel pretty sure that I have little chance of getting at the truth; they will take the alarm and try to deceive me, lest what I learn should be brought up at some future day against them or their comrades. The Duke of Wellington says, speaking of the English soldiers: 'It is most difficult to convict a prisoner before a regimental court-martial, for, I am sorry to say, that soldiers have little regard to the oath administered to them; and the officers who are sworn well and truly to try and determine *according to the evidence*, the matter before them have too much regard to the strict *letter* of that administered to them.' Again: 'The witnesses being in almost every instance common soldiers, whose conduct this tribunal was instituted to control, the consequence is that perjury is almost as common an offence as drunkenness and plunder, etc.'

3. W.H. Sleeman on how natives attributed declining fertility of the soil to perjury that was encouraged by English court[293]

On the 14th (January 1836) we came on ten miles to Kosi, for the most part over a poor soil badly cultivated, and almost exclusively devoted to autumn crops, of which cotton is the principal. I lost the road in the morning before daylight, and the trooper, who usually rode with me, had not come up. I got an old landholder from one of the villages to walk on with me a mile, and put me in the right road. I asked him what had been the state of the country under the former government of the Jats and Marathas, and was told that the greater part was a wild jungle. 'I remember,' said the old man, 'when you could not have got out of the road hereabouts without a good deal of risk. I could not have ventured a hundred yards from the village without the chance of having my clothes stripped off my back. Now, the whole face of the country is under cultivation, and the roads are safe; formerly the government kept no faith with their landholders and cultivation, exacting ten rupees where they had bargained for five, whenever they found the crops good; but, in spite of all this "zulm" (oppression), said the old man, 'there was then more "barkat" (blessings from above) than now. The lands yielded more returns to the cultivator, and he could maintain his little family better upon five acres than he can now upon ten.'

'To what, my old friend, do you attribute this very unfavorable change in the productive powers of your soil?'

‘A man cannot, sir, venture to tell the truth at all times, and in all places,’ said he.

‘You may tell it now with safety, my good old friend; 1 am a mere traveller (“musafir”) going to the hills in search of health, from the valley of the Nerbudda, where the people have been suffering much from blight, and are much perplexed in their endeavour to find a cause.’

‘Here, sir, we all attribute these evils to the dreadful system of *perjury*, which the practices of your judicial courts have brought among the people. You are perpetually putting the Ganges water into the hands of the Hindoos, and the Koran into those of Mohammedans; and all kinds of lies are every day told upon them. God Almighty can stand this no longer; and the lands have ceased to be blessed with that fertility which they had before this sad practice began. This, sir, is almost the only fault we have, any of us, to find with your government; men, by this system of perjury, are able to cheat each other out of their rights, and bring down sterility upon the land, by which the innocent are made to suffer for the guilty.’

On reaching our tents, I asked a respectable farmer, who came to pay his respects to the Commissioner of the division, Mr. Fraser, what he thought of the matter, telling him what I had heard from my old friend on the road. ‘The diminished fertility is,’ said he, ‘owing, no doubt, to the want of those salutary fallows which the fields got under former governments, when invasions and civil wars were things of common occurrence, and kept at least two thirds of the land waste; but there is, on the other hand, no doubt, that you have encouraged perjury a good deal in your courts of justice; and this perjury must have some effect in depriving the land of the blessing of God. Every man now, who has a cause in your civil courts, seems to think it necessary either to swear falsely himself, or to get others to do it for him. The European gentlemen, no doubt, do all they can to secure every man his right, but, surrounded as they are by perjured witnesses, and corrupt native officers, they commonly labour in the dark.’

Much of truth is to be found among the village communities of India, where they have been carefully maintained, if people will go among them to seek it. Here, as almost everywhere else, truth is the result of self-government, whether arising from choice, under municipal institutions, or necessity, under despotism and anarchy; self-government produces self-esteem and pride of character.

E. CRIMES

THE PHENOMENON OF THUGGEE

1. Initiation ceremony of a Thug, Philip Meadows Taylo[294]

The day after my adventure with the tiger, I left our village with my father. We travelled on horseback, and on the fourth morning afterwards reached Sheopoor, the town from which the grand expedition was to set out. It was here too, that I was to be admitted into the band of Thugs, and I looked forward to my inauguration with much impatience, and perhaps some dread for I knew not what ceremonies I had to go through. We put up in the house of Moedeem, where several other Thug leaders were also; and after refreshing ourselves, my father bid me accompany him to the council which was to determine on the future operations. I was presented to the members, ten in number, who were the jemadars of the different bands. I could see, from the respect and consideration with which my father was treated, that he was looked upon as the chief of the whole; I was gratified by the reception I met with, and my conduct in the affair with the tiger, the whole circumstances of which were related by my father, raised me at once to a high station in their respect.

Wait for Dussehra

As it still wanted two days of the festival of Dussehra, my inauguration was postponed to that day, for it is esteemed a particularly fortunate one by the Thugs, and indeed by all classes. On it, you are already aware, that all great undertakings are commenced by armies, and in like manner by us Thugs, for the breaking up of the rains gives a hope that the adventure will not be impeded by them; and the continuance of fine weather which follows it, allows the band to travel in comfort, and with better hope of booty from the chance of falling in with travellers, who also take advantage of the break in the weather to commence long journeys.

Why Bhawani sacred for Muslims

Above all, it is a day peculiarly sacred to Bhowanee, our patroness and goddess. Still, being a Moosulman, I could not then see why such respect was paid to the festival of the Dusera or indeed why it was kept at all; and I applied to my father for a solution of my doubts on the subject.

“It is necessary to your fully understanding this,” said he, “that I should give you an outline of our belief in the Divine origin of our profession,

which is intimately connected with the faith of the Hindoos, and by whom we Moosulmans have been instructed in the art of Thuggee."

"This is wonderful indeed," said I; "how do you reconcile any connection between the faith of unbelievers and that of the blessed prophet?"

"I cannot pretend to solve the difficulty," said my father; "but as their relation is far more ancient than ours, and no doubt had a Divine origin, there are many points in it which one of the true faith may follow without offence, so that he does not join them in all their forms and profession. Indeed, this is impossible, as no one can become a Hindoo; but, as I told you before, Thuggee is one of the means by which Alla works out his own ends; and as the profession of it has been handed down to us from ages, and becomes the fate of those who are called to follow it, there is no possibility of avoiding the profession though one desired to do so; and, as a direct consequence, no sin in associating with Hindoos in the practice of it, from whom it has had its origin. Do you understand me?"

"Perfectly," said I; "it was not to question its propriety that I asked the question, but only to know how it was that Hindoo festivals were acknowledged and kept by us Moosulmans."

"The Dusera is the only one," said my father, "which is observed; and the reason of this is, that it is the fittest time of the year to commence our enterprises, and has been invariably kept sacred by all Hindoo Thugs. But I must tell you of the origin of Thuggee, that you may judge for yourself how ancient it is, and how well the instructions then given by Divine command have been followed up. In the beginning of the world, according to the Hindoos, there existed a creating and destroying power, both emanations from the Supreme Being. These were, as a matter of consequence, at constant enmity with each other which still continues. The creative power, however, peopled the earth so fast, that the destroyer could not keep pace with him, nor was he allowed to do so; but was given permission to resort to every means he could devise to effect his objects. Among others, his consort Devee, Bhowanee, or Kalee, for she is known under these names and many others, constructed an image, into which, on this occasion, she was empowered to infuse the breath of life. No sooner was this effected, than she assembled a number of her votaries, whom she named Thugs. She instructed them in the art of Thuggee; and to prove its efficacy, with her own hands destroyed before them the image she had made, in the manner

which we now practise. She endowed the Thugs with superior intelligence and cunning, in order that they might decoy human beings to destruction, and sent them abroad into the world, giving them, as the reward of their exertions, the plunder they might obtain from those they put to death, and bidding them be under no concern for the disposal of the bodies, as she would herself convey them from the earth. Ages passed on in this manner, and she protected her votaries from human laws, and they were everywhere found to be faithful: but corruptions crept in among them with the increased depravity of the world; and at last, a gang more bold and curious than the rest, after destroying a traveller, determined, instead of following the old custom of leaving the body unnoticed, to watch and see how it was disposed of. They hid themselves, as they thought, secure from observation in the bushes by the side of the road, and waited the arrival of the goddess. But what mortal can escape the eye of Divinity? She quickly espied them, and called them before her. Terror-stricken by her splendid and terrific appearance, and in the utmost dread of her vengeance, they attempted to fly; but she arrested their steps, and in an awful manner upbraided them for their want of faith.

" 'You have seen me.' said she, 'and looked upon a power which no mortal has ever yet beheld without instant destruction; but this I spare you; henceforward, however, I shall no longer protect you as I have done. The bodies of those whom you destroy will no longer be removed by me, and you must take your own measures for their concealment. It will not always be effectual, and will often lead to your detection by earthy powers, and in this will consist your punishment. Your intelligence and cunning still remain to you. I will in future assist you by omens for your guidance; but this my decree will be your curse to the latest period of the world.'

"So saying she disappeared, and left them to the consequences of their own folly and presumption: but her protection has never been withdrawn. It is true, the remains of those who fall by our hands are sometimes discovered, and instances have been known of that discovery having led to the apprehension of Thugs, at least so I have heard; but during my lifetime I have never known of one, and it is my firm belief that such instances have been permitted on purpose to punish those who have in some way offended our protectress, by neglecting her sacrifices and omens. You therefore see how necessary it is to follow the rules which have guided our fraternity for

ages, and which cannot be changed without incurring the displeasure of the Divine power, nor is there anything in our creed to forbid it.

Nothing in our creed to forbid it

We follow the blessed precepts our prophet; we say our Namaz five times a day; we observe all the rules of our faith; we worship no idols; and if what we have done for ages, ever since the invasion of India by our forefathers, was displeasing to the apostle, surely we should have had, long ere this, some manifestation of his displeasure. Our plans would have been frustrated, and exertions rendered of no avail; we should have dragged on a miserable existence, and, long ere this, should have abandoned Thuggee, and our connection with its Hindoo professor."

Had thought connection with Kafirs offensive

"I am convinced," said I, "for your relation is wonderful. Truly have you said that we are under the special protection of Providence; and it would be sinful to question the propriety of any usages which have been transmitted from a period so remote, and followed without deviation. I will allow that I had thought this open connection with Kafirs as offensive, because I was led from the representations of the old Moolla who was my instructor, to believe them sunk into the lowest depths of depravity and bad faith; but he must have been ignorant or a bigoted old fool."

2. Peculiar dialect and signs, Edward Thornto[295]

The operations of the Thugs are facilitated, and their designs cloaked, by a peculiar dialect: they have recourse, also, to a variety of signs, both for concealment, and for the purpose of communicating with comrades beyond the influence of speech. Drawing the back of the hand along the chin, from the throat outwards, implies that caution is requisite – that some stranger is approaching. Putting the open hand over the mouth, and drawing it gently down, implies that there is no longer cause for alarm. If an advanced party of Thugs overtake any traveller whom they design to destroy, but have need of more assistance, they make certain marks on the roads, by which those of the gang who follow understand that they are required to hasten forwards. A party in advance also leaves certain marks, where a road branches off, as intimations to those who are behind. They draw their feet along the dust, in the direction they have taken; and if their friends are to follow quickly, they leave the dust piled up at the end of the line where the foot drops, or make a

hole in the dust with the heel. If the road afford no dust, they have two stones, placed one upon the other, in the line they have taken; and strew a few leaves of trees along the road. If their co-adjutors are to make haste, they make a very long line of leaves. They have many other signs, for similar purposes…

Superstitions

The superstitions of the Thugs are all of Hindoo origin: yet Mahometans adopt them with a belief equally implicit, and a devotion equally ardent. The greater number of the Thugs in the South of India are said to be Mahometans: not only do they profess to embrace the creed of Mecca, but, to a considerable extent, they follow it consistently. They marry, inherit, eat, and drink, according to the Koran: their devotions are statedly performed as the rule of Mahometan orthodoxy prescribes; and the Paradise to which their hopes are directed, is that pourtrayed by the cold, unspiritual, and sensual imagination of the false prophet to whom they profess allegiance: yet they pay divine honours to the impersonation of Destruction, which, in the eyes of all sound Mahometans, must be idolatry – a crime severely denounced in the Koran, and held by all good Mussulmans in abhorrence. These inconsistencies they find it hard to reconcile: sometimes they deny the worship of the goddess – the fact, however, is indisputable. At other times they seek to identify the patroness of the Thugs with a heroine of their own creed, to the great scandal of their brethren not initiated in the mysteries of Thuggee.

3. The Thugs, Captain Leopold von Orlic[296]

…Both Hindoos and Mahometans belong to the Thugs…According to the deposition of an old Thug, nine-tenths of their number in the kingdom of Oude are Mussulmans; in the Doab, between the Ganges and the Jumna, four-fifths are Hindoos; to the south of the Nerbudda, three-fourths Mussulmans; in Rajahpootana, one-fourth Mussulmans; in Bundelkund, Sangoo, Bengal, Behar, and Orrisa, half are Hindoos, and half Mahometans.

The Thugs have their own language (Ramaseeana), and their particular signs, which are understood by all of them, however remote they may live from each other. There are various branches or sects among them, some of which are of higher rank than others; and, though they act together in the practice of their diabolical crimes, they keep themselves distinct in their

modes of life. The Jumaldhee Thugs, in the kingdom of Oude, and to the east of the Ganges, are known as being particularly crafty, skilful, and mysterious. They are reserved even to their wives, and do not instruct their children in their murderous trade till they have attained mature age.

The Mooltanea Thugs are a Mahometan sect in the north of India. Accompanied by their wives and children, they undertake journeys under the character of Brinyares, take with them a train of oxen and cows, laden with corn or merchandise, which they offer for sale in their camp, to attract victims. In strangling them, they use, instead of cloths, the cords of their oxen. Its is said that the Mooltaneas kill their daughters as soon as they are born, or, if they preserve them alive, they do not permit them to marry out of their own tribe. They live in no kind of community with the other Thugs, though they use their language, signs, and customs.

The Chingarees, or Naiks, are a branch of the Mooltaneas, and above a hundred families of them live in the neighbourhood of Hingolee. They follow the manners and customs of the Mooltaneas, by whom they are considered as inferior.

The Sooseeas are a younger class of Thugs, of the lowest Hindoo castes; they live in Jeypoor, Kishunghur, Bandu, Joudpoor, Tonk, and other places in Malwa and Rajahpootana; all the other Thugs despise them as an inferior tribe, and though they often employ them in their enterprise, they never eat with them. They are seen to travel through the country as merchants, money-carriers, or sepoys, who are in search of employment. When they travel in the former capacity, their leader, in the garb of an opulent merchant, is on horseback, in a wagon, or in a palanquin, surrounded by his companions, who serve him in the most respectful manner, and manifest the greatest deference towards him.

The Phansigar sect, so called from the manner in which they kill their victims, undertake long journeys, under the pretext of looking after thieves and murderers. Their leader is generally on horseback: they are accompanied by children under twelve years of age, to obviate suspicion, and oxen, to bring back their plunder in safety. A band generally consists of forty or fifty men, who set out on their journey in small divisions of ten or twelve, and meet at certain fixed places of rendezvous. They are assisted by the petty Poligars, or landholders, and by the chiefs of the villages, to whom

they give up a portion of their plunder. Fathers frequently bring their children to them, to be instructed in the ways of murder.

The Phansigars were once very numerous, particularly in the district of Chittor, and are among the most cruel of the Thug sects; for the Phansigar does not hesitate to murder a man for a rupee, and kill even Coolies and Faquirs. Many hundred travellers are annually murdered by them: they make particular signs with their hands, and have a language unknown to the other Thugs.

The Phansigars (Phansi, i.e. Noose) live also in Mysore, the Carnatic, and Chittor, and first became known to the English in 1799, after the conquest of Seringapatam, when about 100 of them were taken, in the vicinity of Bangalore. They consist of Mussulmans and Rajahpoot Hindoos, and there also are Brahmins among them. They compare themselves with the tiger, which they never kill, affirming that a good Phansigaree is never attacked by the tiger. They never murder boys and girls: the former are brought up to their own profession, and the latter intermarry with their sons…

Crime rate small compared to England

It would be very unjust to form an unfavourable conclusion of the moral state of the whole people from these criminal sects; on the contrary, it appears from the statistical notices respecting the criminals of India, compiled by Colonel Sykes, that those people have the advantage of civilised Europe. It may, indeed, be questioned, whether the police can be so strictly exercised in India as in England and other European countries.

In the presidency of Bengal, the population of which is forty millions, the number of persons sentenced to death was 38 in the year 1838, 25 in 1839, and 27 in 1840, exclusively of the Thugs; whereas in England, during the same years, the numbers were 116, 56, and 57. In the same years, 81, 72, and 103 criminals were sentenced, in Bengal, to transportation or imprisonment for life; and in England, the numbers who suffered the same punishment were 266, 205, and 238. The number of persons condemned in 1837, including offences against the police, amounted to 38,902, which makes 1 to 1028 of the population; and in the year 1840, in which 42,785 were sentenced, 1 out of every 935 souls.

In the presidency of Madras, the population of which is 13,050,000, there was in the first half of the year 1839, 1 criminal to 609 souls; and in the latter half, 1 to 633, of whom 21 were sentenced to death; while, in England

and Wales, 56 persons were condemned to death: in 1840, 20,622 were found guilty in this presidency, of whom 31 were condemned to death, and 69 to transportation; in England and Wales 27,187 were sentenced, of whom 77 were punished with death, and 238 to transportation.

In the presidency of Bombay, which contains 6,300,000 inhabitants, in two years and a half, from the 1st January, 1838, to the 1st July, 1840, 15 on an average were annually sentenced to death, 45 to transportation, and 7 to imprisonment for life. The total amount of all crimes and misdemeanours, including those under cognisance of the police, was 91,999 in the space of four years in this Presidency, making nearly 23,000 in a year, or one criminal to every 273 souls.

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Chapter 8
Some Indigenous Institutions

A. THE VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

1. Thomas Munro was among the early British administrators to point out that the village community had always been the basic unit of administration in India and middlemen and tyrants like Tipu Sultan had usurped peasant rights in villages. The following excerpt is taken from his report from Anantpoo[297]

Every village, with its twelve Ayangadees as they are called, is a kind of little republic, with the Potail, at the head of it; and India is a mass of such republics. The inhabitants during war, look chiefly to their own Potail. They give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred: wherever it goes the internal management remains unaltered; the Potail is still the collector and magistrate, and head farmer. From the age of Menu until this day the settlements have been made either with or through the Potails.

2. Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his *Report On The Territories Conquered From The Paishwa,* described the village communities he observed in Maratha territor[298]

In whatever point of view we examine the Native government in the Deccan, the first and most important feature is the division into villages or township. These communities contain in miniature all the materials of a state within themselves, and are almost sufficient to protect their members, if all other government were withdrawn. Though probably not compatible with a very good form of government, they are an excellent remedy for the imperfections of a bad one; they prevent the bad effects of its negligence and weakness, and even present some barrier against its tyranny and rapacity.

Each village has a portion of ground attached to it, which is committed to the management of the inhabitants. The boundaries are carefully marked and jealously guarded. They are divided into fields, the limits of which are as exactly known: each field has a name, and is kept distinct even when the cultivation of it has long been abandoned. The villagers are almost entirely

cultivators of the ground, with the addition of the few traders and artisans that are required to supply their wants. The head of each village is the Patail, who has under him an assistant, called Chaugula, and a clerk called a Coolkurnee. There are besides 12 village officers, well known by name of the Barra Bullotee. These are the astrologer, the priest, the carpenter, barber, &c. but the only ones who are concerned in the administration of the government are the Sonar, or Potedar, who is silver-smith and assayer of money, and the Mhar, who, in addition to various other important duties, acts as watchmen to the village. Each of these classes consists of one or more individuals, according as their original families have branched out. The Mhars are seldom fewer than four or five, and there are besides, where those tribes are numerous, very frequently several Beels or Ramoossees, employed also as watchmen, but performing none of the other duties of the Mhar.

The Patails are the most important functionaries in the villages, and perhaps the most important class in the country. They hold their office by a grant from the government, (generally from that of the Moguls) are entitled in virtue of it to lands and fees, and have various little privileges and distinctions, of which they are as tenacious as of their land. Their office and emoluments are hereditary, and saleable with the consent of the Government, but are seldom sold except in cases of extreme necessity, though a partner is sometimes admitted with a careful reservation of the superiority of the old possessor. The Patail is head of the police, and of the administration of justice in his village, but he needs only be mentioned here as an officer of revenue. In that capacity he performs on a small scale what a Mamlutdar or collector does on a large: he allots the lands to such cultivators as have no landed property of their own, and fixes the rent which each has to pay: he collects the revenue for Government from all the ryots, conducts all its arrangement with them; and exerts himself to promote the cultivation and the prosperity of the village. Though originally the agent of the Government, he is now regarded as equally the representative of the ryots, and is not less useful in executing the order of the Government than in asserting the rights, or at least in making known the wrongs, of the people…

The result…of my own enquiries is, that a large portion of the ryots are the proprietors of their estates, subject to the payment of a fixed land-tax to

Government; that their property is hereditary and saleable, and they are never dispossessed while they pay their tax, and even then they have for a long period, (at least 30 years) the right of reclaiming their estate, on paying the dues of Government…

3. Sir James Mackintosh [1765-1832; Recorder of Bombay from February 1804 to November 1811] observed the village communities during a tour of the Deccan in 180[299]

In every village are a set of officers, the chief of whom is the 'potail,' or headman, who, with the assistance of the 'punchaet,' or village jury, determines small disputes, and punishes petty offences. These offices are in practice generally hereditary; but the tenure is undefined, and in some measure dependent upon the approbation of the villagers and the superior officers of government: they are, however, very seldom removed. They are scarcely affected by great revolutions. Every succeeding conqueror addresses his orders directly to them, and they are the immediate superiors, whom the people, under every government, obey: they are paid by a proportion of the village crop. Among the officers is the town astrologer – a person who, besides his pretended science, performs the important function of announcing to the cultivators the regular seasons for the operations of agriculture. The barber and the poet are also members of this corporation. In every such village are a certain number of men of the lowest caste, or rather outcastes, who are allowed land on condition of carrying the baggage of travellers, and guiding them from stage to stage. Native travellers never pay them for either service: Europeans generally pay them for the labour of carrying baggage. In a country without roads, the necessity of guides may be easily conceived…

At the town of Athoorna where he halted, Mackintosh recorded

The present potail is a 'dunghar,' or Shepard. The office had been in his family for three generations, and was bought by his grandfather from the former holder, a 'malee,' or gardener. This transaction is said not to be unfrequent, but it requires the assent of the other members of the corporation. All the officers are considered as hereditary, and not removable at the pleasure of jagheerdars. In case of small crimes, the potail and koolkurney, calling to their assistance four or six aged men of the various castes, try and punish the offenders. Civil disputes are settled in the same

manner. These officers and assessors form the Punchaet, who are selected from castes with such impartiality, that even the 'Mahr' furnish assessors, though they be so low as to have no Bramin for their guru, and to have only a member of their own caste in that capacity, who offers their worship to a rude stone without the walls, venerated as an emblem of Lacksmee, the wife of Vishnu, and the goddess of Fortune and Plenty. In cases of serious crimes, it is the duty of the potail and koolkurney to report the case to the jagheerdar, or superior officer intrusted with the property and government of the district, which are seldom separated in India. The whole people of the village may be present at all meetings of the Punchaet. The potail and koolkurney receive an eighth and a twelfth of the produce of the village fields, as their salary…It appears that affairs are in the first instance settled by the village punchaet, composed of the potail, koolkurney, and the most respectable and aged persons of different castes, as assessors, but with a sort of appeal to the superior punchaet of the district, composed of the 'deshmook' and 'deshpandy,' with assessors selected in the same manner…

[Mackintosh noted that] The village fields are always spoken of as the hereditary land of the villagers (though we avoid, in our questions, every expression that might suggest such an idea). A strong instance of its prevalence occurred here. We asked the koolkurney if there were any Mussulmen here. He answered, 'none entitled to hereditary land;' and on being further questioned, made the title to hereditary land the distinction between an inhabitant and a sojourner. Their accounts of the town and district administration are as before. The killahdar is appointed by the jagheerdar to command a fort; the cutwal to maintain the police of a large town; and the comowisdar to collect the revenue, with some political authority not well defined. Except these appointments, all the other officers of towns and districts are hereditary, and discharge all the duties of magistracy – but that of plunder, which is reserved for what is called the government. Comparing Mr. Duncan's account of Benary with Mr. Prendergast's from Guzerat, and Dr. Buchanan's and Colonel Wilk's of the South, there seems no reason to doubt that this is the universal and immemorial constitution of Hindu society, and that an innumerable body of small republics, with hereditary chiefs, has preserved this vast country from that total ruin, which its nominal governors would otherwise have brought upon it.

4. Mark Wilks [1760?-1831], Resident at Mysore from 1803 to 1808, wrote on the village communities in 181[300]

Every Indian village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic; and exhibits a living picture of that state of things which theorists have imagined in the earlier stages of civilization, when men have assembled in communities for the purpose of reciprocally administering to each other's wants: 1. the Goud, Potail, Muccuddim, or Mumdil (as he is named in different languages), is the judge and magistrate; 2. the Curnum, Shanboag, or Putwaree, is the register; 3. the Taliary or Sthulwar, and, 4. the Totie, are severally the watchmen of the village and of the crops: 5. the Neerguntee distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; 6. the Jotishee, or Joshee, or astrologer, performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the lucky or unlucky days and hours for all the operations of farming: 7. the smith, and 8. carpenter, frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer; 9. the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; 10. the washerman keeps clean the few garments which are spun, and sometimes woven, in the family of the farmer, or purchased at the nearest market; 11. the barber contributes to the cleanliness, and assists in the toilet of the villagers; 12. the silversmith, marking the approach of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which they delight to bedeck their wives and their daughters: and these twelve officers (Barra bullowuttee, or Ayangadee), or requisite members of the community, receive the compensation of their labour, either in allotments of land from the corporate stock, or in fees, consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village.

In some instances the lands of a village are cultivated in common, and the crop divided in the proportions of the labour contributed, but generally each occupant tills his own field; the waste land is a common pasture for the cattle of the village; its external boundaries are as carefully marked as those of the richest field, and they are maintained as a common right of the village, or rather the township (a term which more correctly describes the thing in our contemplation), to the exclusion of others, with as much jealousy and rancour as the frontiers of the most potent kingdoms. Such are

the primitive component parts of all the kingdoms of India…The interior constitution and condition of each separate township remains unchanged; no revolutions affect it; no conquest reaches it. It is not intended to assert that the village in our contemplation may not have produced the Caesar of his little world; the rights of the inhabitants may have been invaded by the Potail, by the Poligar ruling over twenty, by the Wadeyar ruling over thirty-three, by the collector over two hundred, or by the sovereign of twenty thousand townships: each or either of these persons may have attempted, or have succeeded, or have failed, in persuading or forcing an augmentation of the proportion of money or of grain paid by the townships to the state, but conquests, usurpations, or revolutions, considered as such, have absolutely no influence on its condition. The conqueror, or usurper, directly or through his agents, addresses himself as sovereign or representative of the sovereign to the head of the township; its officers, its boundaries, and the whole frame of its interior management remain unalterably the same; and it is of importance to remember that every state in India is a congeries of these little republics.

5. John Malcolm described the enduring character of the village communities on the basis of his personal experience in Central Indi[301]

The rights of the Native hereditary officers of a village are much respected in Central India; and never did a country afford such proofs of the imperishable nature of this admirable institution. After the Pindarry war, every encouragement was held out for the inhabitants to return to their desolate homes. In several districts, particularly those near the Nerbudda, many of the villages had been waste for more than thirty years. The inhabitants, who had been scattered, followed all occupations: many Potails, who had been obliged to leave their lands, had become plunderers, and remained at or near their ruined villages; some of their relations and friends followed their example; others cultivated grounds at a distance of several hundred miles from their homes; while a great majority went to the large towns, where they found a temporary asylum, and obtained subsistence by labouring in gardens or fields. But there is no people in whose hearts the love of the spot where they were born seems more deeply implanted than the Hindus; and those of Central India, under all their miseries and dispersion, appear never for a moment to have given up the

hope of being restored to their homes. The families of each village, though remote from each other, maintained a constant communication, – inter-marriages were made, and the links that bound them together were only strengthened by adversity. When convinced that tranquility was established, they flocked to their roofless houses. Infant Potails (the second and third in descent from the emigrator) were in many cases carried at the head of their parties. When they reached their villages, every wall of a house, every field was taken possession of by the owner or cultivator, without dispute or litigation amongst themselves or with Government; and in a few days every thing was in progress, as if it had never been disturbed…[Malcolm records that in the year 1818 as a mark of encouragement, he gave turbans to more than a hundred Potails who returned to their desolate villages].

6. Charles Metcalfe in his Minute of the Board of Revenue dated 17 November, 183[302]

The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds to revolution; Hindoo, Patan, Mogul, Mahratta, Sik, English are all masters in turn; but the village communities remain the same…If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that villages cannot be inhabited, the scattered villagers nevertheless return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives. A generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the place of their fathers; the same site for the village, the same position for the houses, the same lands, will be occupied by the descendants of those who were driven out when the village was depopulated…

7. John Lawrence, when Collector of Delhi, on the vitality of village communitie[303]

They are admirably adapted to resist the evil effects of bad seasons, epidemics and other evils incidental to this country. Bound together by the ties of blood connection, and, above all, common interest, like the bundle of sticks…they are difficult to break. Drought may wither their crops, famine and disease may depopulate their houses, their fields may be deserted for a

time, but when the storm blows over, if any survive, they are certain to return.

8. W.H. Sleeman on the high degree of self-governance in Indian village[304]

There is perhaps no part of the world where the communities of which the society is composed have been left so much to self-government as in India. There has seldom been any idea of a reciprocity of duties and rights between the governing and the governed; the sovereign who has possession feels that he has a right to levy certain taxes from the land of the maintenance of the public establishments, which he requires to keep down rebellion against his rule, and to defend his dominions against all who may wish to intrude and seize upon them; and to assist him in acquiring the dominions of other princes when favorable opportunities offer; but he has no idea of a reciprocal duty towards those from whom he draws his revenues. The peasantry from whom the prince draws his revenues feel that they are bound to pay that revenue; that, if they do not pay it, he will, with his strong arm, turn them out and give to others their possessions – but they have no idea of any right on their part to any return from him. The village communities were everywhere left almost entirely to self-government; and the virtues of truth and honesty, in all their relations with each other, were indispensably necessary to enable them to govern themselves. A common interest often united a good many village communities in a bond of union, and established a kind of brotherhood over extensive tracts of richly cultivated land. Self-interest required that they should unite to defend themselves against attacks with which they were threatened at every returning harvest in a country where every prince was a robber upon a scale more or less large according to his means, and took the field to rob while the lands were covered with the ripe crops upon which his troops might subsist; and where every man who practiced robbery with open violence followed what he called an '*imperial* trade' (padshahi kam) – the only trade worth the character of a gentleman. The same interest required that they should unite in deceiving their own prince, and all his officers, great and small, as to the real resources of their estates; because they all knew that the prince would admit of no other limits to his exactions than their abilities to pay at the harvest. Though, in their relations with each other, all these

village communities spoke as much truth as those of any other communities in the world; still, in their relation with the Government, they told as many lies; – for falsehood, in the one set of relations, would have incurred the odium of the whole of their circles of society – truth, in the other, would often have involved the same penalty. If a man had told a lie to *cheat* his neighbour, he would have become an object of hatred and contempt – if he told a lie to *save* his neighbour's fields from an increase of rent or tax, he would have become an object of esteem and respect. If the Government officers were asked whether there was any truth to be found among such communities, they would say, No, *that the truth was not in them*; because they would not cut each other's throats by telling them the real value of each other's fields.

9. Richard Temple [1826-1902; who served as John Lawrence's Secretary in Punjab], in 1851 on village communities in the Punja[305]

These wonderful communities, which have been noticed by the greatest writers on the growth and formation of human society, displayed their largest and yet their minutest development in the Punjab. Although in their main constitution there was a generic resemblance between them all, yet specific varieties existed in almost every one. The record of all these for each member of the brotherhood, and for the whole community in every parish, was undertaken, shewing what every individual had to pay, and the exact amount of his share or holding. Next the unwritten rules and customs, which from time immemorial had governed the affairs of the fraternity were reduced to writing. The revenue was assessed by the settlement officer on the whole village or parish, and the village community then distributed the burden among themselves…

10. George Campbell, appointed Deputy-Commissioner and Political Assistant of Khytul and Ladwa, the easternmost district of the Cis-Sutlej states in May 1846, described the village communities and village self-government in the areas the British had begun to acquir[306]

Indeed sometimes these villages were almost too strong for the rulers, and only paid (revenue) with considerable difficulty. The villages were almost all walled and fortified. I remember one strong village in Khytul, which for generations had made it a point of honour never to admit a Government officer within their walls; they paid the revenue over the wall, and that was

enough. In that same village the different “Pattis” (subdivision of village) were barricaded against one another. They all combined against an outside foe, but could not trust one another.

On village communities at Wadnee, south of the Sutlej, between Ludhiana and Ferozepur

[The villages are] a model of constitutional government…I have always thought that throughout India a very great deal of harm has been done by the interference of our authorities, both executive and judicial (especially judicial), with indigenous village corporations…

I continued to do all I could to maintain and foster the village constitutions, always believing that they are the true foundation of local self-government – the basis from which we may work upwards. As those village constitutions then existed they certainly worked admirably well; and I think that, more fortunate than other parts of India, the Punjaub still retains these corporations in good vitality. As respects the limited common interest in property, the common rights in grazing, etc., and the common liability for the revenue, the people showed no desire whatever to dissolve that community of interest. If any man ever did from any cause fail to make up his quota of the revenue, the others were always very ready to take over his holding.

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Chapter 9
Architecture

A. Temples, sacred wells and pillars
B. Cave temples
C. Palaces
D. Forts
E. Mosques
F. Tombs
G. Minars
H. Gardens

A. TEMPLES, SACRED WELLS AND PILLARS

1. Deogir, William Hodge[307]

…on the following day arrived at Deogur, a small village, famous for the resort of Hindoo pilgrims, this being a sacred spot. There are five curious Pagodas here, of perhaps the very oldest construction to be found in India. They are simply pyramids, formed by pileing stone on stone, the apex is cut off at about one-seventh of the whole height of the complete pyramid, and four of them have small ornamental buildings on the top, evidently of more modern work, which are finished by an ornament made of copper, and gilt, perfectly resembling the trident of the Greek Neptune. These Pagodas have each a small chamber in the center, of twelve feet square, with the lamp, hanging over the Lingham. The passage to it is exactly of a height and width sufficient to admit one person. This chamber can have no light from without, but what enters from the door and through the passage.

2. Buxar, monument to Lord Ram, George Forste[308]

The curiosities to be seen at Buxar are few, and excepting one, not worthy of enumeration. But this one, the Hindoos hold in a degree of estimation not inferior to that of the Neapolitans for the blood of Saint Januarius, or those of their faith in general for the holy house at Loretta. The monument in question, which is erected on a small mount to the westward of the fort, is sacred to the memory of the God Ram, who is seen occasionally officiating as the Mars of the Hindoos; and is said to have the direction of war and victory. It would appear, that Ram, whilst a youth, made a visit to this eminence, and tarried on it for the space of seven days, where he was taught

from some learned master of the science, the art of managing the bow, and wonderful were his feats with this weapon in after-times: indeed, were the most moderate of them to be recorded, it would be readily admitted without torturing the phrase, that Ram "drew a long bow."

3. Sitakund, Thomas Twinin[309]

Having heard of a celebrated hot well in the neighbourhood, called Seetacoon, I procured a guide, and mounting my tanyan at gunfire, directed my morning ride towards it.…I found the well without difficulty. It consisted of a basin of water a few feet square, supplied by a bubbling source at the bottom. Some fragments of brickwork seemed to imply that it was once in a state of less neglect than at present. It probably was protected against injurious aggression by a wall, or had a temple dedicated to Seeta, or baths attached to it. I had no means of ascertaining the heat, but my guide, when he arrived, said it was sufficient to boil an egg in a very short time, – a fact I could easily conceive, for I could not keep my hand in the water for a moment. No mineral quality was discoverable in it either by the taste or by the external appearance of the ground over which it flowed away. Its principle virtue was its purity and consequent wholesomeness, and also its property of remaining good for a great length of time in casks or bottles. For these reasons it is not only much drunk by the wealthier inhabitants of Monghir, or such as can afford to send for it, but is often dispatched to Calcutta for the use of persons about to undertake a long sea voyage. On these occasions it is either sent off in large jars, or in bottles filled at the spring. I was told that in the latter case it would preserve its tasteless purity for more than a twelvemonth.

4. The Agni-kund at Abu, James Tod who began his journey from Udaipur on 1st June 182[310]

While the camp-baskets were unlocking, I could not resist taking a peep at the fire-fount and the shrine of Achil-eswar, one of the most renowned in the fabulous annals of the Hindus. The Man-agni-coonda is about nine hundred feet long by two hundred and forty in breadth, excavated in the solid rock, and lined with solid masonry of immensely large bricks. An insulated mass of rock has been left in the center of the coond, on which are the ruins of a shrine to Mata, the universal mother. On the crest of the

northern face of the coond is a group of small temples dedicated to the Pandu brothers, but, like the former, a mass of ruins.

5. The shrine of Achil-eswar at Abu, James To[311]

On the western side is the shrine of Achil-eswar, the tutelary divinity of Aboo. There is nothing striking as to magnitude, and still less as to decoration, in this, but it possesses a massive simplicity which guarantees its antiquity. It occupies the center of a quadrangle, surrounded by smaller fanes, alike primitive in form, and built of blocks of blue slate. But it is the object of worship which confers celebrity, being nothing less than the great toe of the devil, for so we must translate *Patal-eswar*, the Lord of Hell. On entering, the eye is attracted by a statue of the mountain nymph, Mera, the wife of this multiform divinity, which, at first sight, appears to be the object of adoration; and it is only on stooping to look into a deep fissure of the rock, termed the *Brimh-khar*, that the bright nail of Siva is visible, which has attracted homage from myriads of votaries from the remotest ages. In front of the temple is a brass bull, of colossal size, bearing the marks of violence on his flanks, the hammer of the barbarian having penetrated them in search of treasure, Mahomed Beyra, Padsha or king of Ahmedabad, has the credit of this sacrilege; but whether it was rewarded by the discovery of any secret hoard, is not told: though the legend details the manifestation of Siva's wrath upon the "barbarian king" for the ill-treatment of his favorite. In descending from Aboo, after the reduction of Achilgurh, his banners "fanned by Conquest's crimson wing," confusion waited on them from an unlooked-for source. A legion of bees, issuing from their pinnacled retreats, attacked and pursued the invaders even to Jhalore. To commemorate this victory over the spoiler, the name of *Bhomar-t'hal*, or 'Bees Valley,' was given to the spot. A temple was erected, and from the captured arms thrown away in their flight, a vast *tridanta* (trident) was formed, and placed in front of the divinity who thus avenged the insult to Nanda.

6. Jain temples at Mt. Abu, James To[312]

Here every thing is Jain, and the shrine dedicated to Vrishabdeva [Rishabhdeva] is well worth of notice, from its containing no fewer than twelve immense images to this, the first of the twenty-four pontiffs who attained the honours of apotheosis. They are said to weigh many thousand maunds, and to be a compound of all the metals. Near the base of the inner

fort, on the left hand, on leaving it, is another temple dedicated to Parswanat'h [Parasnath], whose statute it contains. This was erected or repaired by the celebrated Komarpal, King of Anhulwarra, the patron of the sect, and disciple of Hemachundra, a potent name among the Jains…

Dilwara

…Let the reader discard his shoes, and prepare to enter with me the sacred fanes of Dailwara. This is a contraction of Dewulwarra, 'the place or region of temples,' a term aptly applied to the site of this numerous group, from which I select two of the most remarkable.

The reader will be pleased to consider himself at the entrance of the shrine sacred to Vrishabdeva, the first of the Jains. Beyond controversy this is the most superb of all the temples of India, and there is not an edifice besides the Mahal that can approach to it. The pen is incompetent to describe the exuberant beauties of this proud monument of the Jains, raised by one of the richest of their votaries (by whose name, and not that of the pontiff enshrined within, it is still designated), and which continues to attract pilgrims from every region of India. Bimul Shah, whose work has immortalized him, was a merchant of Anhulwarra, at one time the Tyre of India, and the ancient stronghold of the Jain faith. It was, however, towards the close of her long career of renown, that these two edifices were erected and happily for these votaries of Jainism, who, to use the words of the bard, "exchanged their perishable wealth for an immortal name," for hardly were the fabrics reared, when the metropolis of Western India was sacked, its merchants driven forth, and their riches transferred to the Northern Invader. Previous to their erection, the immediate spot was occupied by the orthodox divinities, Siva and Vishnu, whose ministers would not tolerate the approach of any of the sectarian enemies of their faith; but the Sahoos of Nehrwalla, giving this the preference over any other site on the surface of Aboo, determined to try the effect of gold on the sovereign, or, as they allegorically say, "Lacshmi herself entered into the scheme, to gain a victory for their faith." The bribe was high, they offered to cover as much ground as they required for their purpose with silver coin, – a temptation too powerful for the Pramara to withstand, – and, despite the anathema of the priests of Bal-Siva and Vishnu, he took the lacs of the Jain merchants. The name of the prince is not mentioned, but the date of the temples shews him to be the same sacrilegious Dharaburz, who attempted to inundate the

Khar of Sacti. The merchants were not ungrateful of Lacshmi, whom they enshrined in a niche on the right hand of the entrance.

The temple of Vrishabdeva [Rishabhdeva]

The temple of Vrishabdeva stands isolated in the center of a quadrangular court, the length of which, from east to west, is about one hundred and eighty feet, and the breadth one hundred feet. Along its internal faces are ranges of cells, nineteen on the larger, and ten on each of the smaller sides, each cell being of uniform dimensions….

The whole is of pure white marble, every column, dome, and altar varying in form and ornament, the richness and delicacy of execution being indescribable. Each of the fifty-eight cells merits an entire day's study, and a first-rate pencil to delineate it. It is asserted that each separate cell was added by wealthy individuals, of various cities and countries, professing the Jain faith, which may account for the great diversity of style and ornament, while the harmony and symmetry of the whole attest that one master-mind must have planned and executed it, except at the south-west angle, where some dissimilarity prevails. The altars are of a chaste and simple design, while money, labour, skill, and taste, have been lavished on the details of the colonnade, wherein each of the columnar rules of Jain architecture has its example. Each cell contains its statue decided to the particular object of worship of the person at whose expense it was raised, and inscriptions recording the period of erection are carved on the inner lintel of every doorway…

Temple dedicated to Parswanat'h

I could have consumed a month in surveying the works of the princely merchant, but time pressed, and other objects of equal importance awaited me. Passing through a court, a flight of steps conducts to the rival temple, dedicated to Parswanat'h, the twenty-third and most popular of the Jineswars. This shrine was erected by the brothers Tej Pal and Bussunt Pal, likewise merchants of the Jain persuasion, who inhabited the city of Chandravati during the sway of Dharaburz, and when Bheem Deo was paramount sovereign of Western India. The design and execution of this shrine and all its accessories are on the model of the preceding, which, however, as a whole, it surpasses. It has more simple majesty, the fluted columns sustaining the munduff are loftier, and the vaulted interior is fully equal to the other in richness of sculpture, and superior to it in the

execution, which is more free and in finer taste... It is impossible to give a distinct idea of the richness and variety of the *bassi-relievi* either of the principal dome or the minor ones which surround it. We must not, however, overlook a singular ornament pendant from the larger vault, the delineation of which defies the pen, and would tax to the utmost the pencil of the most patient artist. Although it has some analogy to the corbeille of a gothic cathedral, there is nothing in the most florid style of gothic architecture that can be compared with this in richness. Its form is cylindrical, about three feet in length, and where it drops from the ceiling, it appears like a cluster of the half-disclosed lotus, whose cups are so thin, so transparent, and so accurately wrought, that it fixes the eye in admiration….

7. Temple of Rudra-Mal one of the grandest efforts of Hindu architecture, James To[313]

SIDPOOR – JUNE 20th – In the infancy of our geography of India, the illustrious D' Anville said of this city, *"ville qui tire son nom des Shites, ou toiles peintes, qui s'y fabriquent;"* but it boasts of a more dignified etymology, being called after its patron, the Balhara prince, Sid-Rae. By some he is supposed to be the founder, but there is every reason to believe that he was only the renovator, of this place, the position of which on the Sarasvati, flowing from the shrine of Ambabhavani, is well-chosen. Here are the remains of what in past ages must have been one of the grandest efforts of Hindu architecture, a temple dedicated to Siva, and termed Roodra-Mala, or 'the chaplet of Roodra,' the god of battle; but so disjointed are the fragments, that it is difficult to imagine what it may have been as a whole. They are chiefly portions of porticoes, one of which tradition names the prostyle of the munduff, or vaulted mansion occupied by the bull, companion of Roodra, whose sanctum was converted into a mosque. It is said to have been a rectangular building, five stories in height, and if we may judge from one portion yet remaining, this could not have been less than one hundred feet…I found two inscriptions, from one of which I learned that it was commenced by Raja Moolraj [the founder of the Solankhi dynasty of Anhilwara], in S. 998 [A.D. 942], and from the other that it was finished by Sid-Raj…A couplet records its destruction by All-u-din – "In S. 1353 [A.D. 1297], came the barbarian Alla: the Roodra-Mala he levelled, "carrying destruction amongst the lords of men."

8. Palitana, James To[314]

PALIT'HANA – NOVEMBER 17th –…never did pilgrim, Jain or Buddhist, approach the sacred Mount Satrunja with more excited feelings than I, a "barbarian" Frank.

I had, however, allowed imagination to outstrip experience, having no right to look for grand discoveries in the lands over which Mahomed [Mahmud of Ghazni] and Alla [Alauddin Khalji] had led their legions, fulfilling the iconoclastic injunctions of Moses, conveyed through the Prophet of Islam…however extensive their demolition of religious edifices, it was beyond the power of these conquerors to destroy the memorials of a sect which, more than any other, depended on tradition for the perpetuity of their tenets.

Palit'hana, 'the dwelling of the Palli,' is situated at the eastern base of Satrunja, the mount sacred to Adnath (the first of the twenty-four hierophants of the Jains), which rises nearly two thousand feet, and is between two and three miles in ascent, taking the sinuosities of the route into account. My researches in this interesting spot were materially aided by an introduction through my own Yuti to some learned priests, now here on a pilgrimage, who gave me much information on points connected with their religion, as well as details concerning the *teerut*, from the *Satrunja Mahatma*, a portion of which work they had with them…

Satrunja is one of the Panj-teer'thas, or five places of pilgrimage of the Jains. Of these, three, viz. Arbudha, Satrunja, and Girnar, are at hand. The fourth, Samel-sikra, is in the ancient kingdom of Magadha, now Behar, and the fifth, Chandragir, the Silver Mount, also called *Shescuta*, or the 'thousand-pinnacled,' lies amidst the snowy regions of the Hindu Kho, or Parbut-put-pamer, the Caucasus and Paropamisus of the Greeks…

We have no evidence that Mahmoud of Ghizni visited the sacred mounts of the Jains, but it is well attested, that the fury of the "sanguinary Alla" made all sects conceal their gods under-ground, for those they did not hide he destroyed. Many have since been brought to light, but comparatively few of the sculptures of ancient times are now existing. In like manner, the temples suffered, those only escaping which were converted into mosques. The consequence is, that in the Chaok of Adnat'h, although you cannot look around without beholding every where vestiges of antiquity, no entire

edifice appears to claim this distinction, as they are for the most part incongruous structures, raised from dilapidated remnants, so that Komarpal's own temple, from continual deterioration and repair, does not bear any greater signs of antiquity than that recently erected by the wealthy banker…

9. Patan-Somnath, James To[315]

NOVEMBER 29th – At length, I obtained a view of this, perhaps the most renowned of all the shrines of India, '*the city*' *par eminence*, more reverentially styled Deva-Puttun, 'the city of the god,' or still more accurately, Deva-Pat'han, 'the chief dwelling of the deity.'…As we approached, we crossed the *Triveni*, or three united streams, viz. the Vrijini, the Sarasvati (a name of the Hindu Minerva), and the Hiranya, or 'golden.'…What a host of associations arose to one who had indulged the hope of making a pilgrimage to this the most celebrated shrine connected with Hindu and Mooslem history! Pressing on to the goal, I passed, with mingled prejudice and contempt, the place of sepulture of the Mooslem saint, Abbi-Sah, nor halted for breath, until within the "temple of the sun," deserted, desecrated, a receptacle for kine, the pinnacle, to its spring from the *cella*, demolished, and the fragments strewing the ground. There is nothing of immensity, though there is great solidity, in the structure, which is of the order of sacred architecture called *Sikra-bund*, or 'pinnacled,' and with all the details of decoration laid down in the *Silpi-sastra*. The figures are bold in design, the attitudes of some striking, but the material, a coarse gritty sand-stone, does not give great scope or facility to the chisel; yet, as a whole, the edifice is imposing. The jambs and lintel of the entrance-door are of a well-polished yellow-coloured mineral, apparently jasper, though it may be that species of marble akin to the *jaune antique*. The *munduff*, or central dome, is not above sixteen feet in diameter, supported by strong, slightly ornamented columns, having a portico all round, terminated by square pilasters abutting from the external wall. Beyond the *munduff*, there is a domed vestibule, with pillars and pilasters, leading to the *sanctum*, where a globular patch of red paint, placed by the cowherds, is now the only symbol of the sun-god. The sovereigns of Nehrwalla had repaired the injuries done by Mahmoud, but the spire, again thrown down by the sanguinary Alla, has never been re-erected. North of the temple is the

Surya-coonda, excavated from the solid rock. The descent to it is by a steep flight of narrow steps. The water is said to cure the diseases of both body and mind, the term of ablution and probation being one solar revolution, during which, not only faith, but good works must be manifested, in order to make the remedy efficacious…

Shrine of Siddeshwar

From the shrine of the god of light, I descended to that of Sideswar, the god of the monastic orders, obscurely buried in an excavation of the rock, dismal and damp, the low roof supported by a few crumbling columns. One might fancy this the cave of Delphos, though the perceptions of our blind oracle proved far more acute than those of most of his brethren. However rudely executed, all was strictly characteristic of "hell's dark abode." Besides statues of Hinglaz Mata, and Patal-eswar, 'lord of the infernal regions,' there were nine small figures in high relief, carved on the frieze of a miniature shrine, said by the blind minister to be "the images of those who rule the destiny of man." There was a small square court in front of the cave, whose walls have been repaired or constructed out of the ruins of other temples, having fragments of the gods in every attitude. It is shaded by some fine Burr trees, which are sacred to Siva. Although there is nothing attractive here, yet whoever is conversant with mythology will be struck, not only by the classical nature of the cave-temple, but by the perfect contrast it exhibits between the powers of light and darkness, in juxtaposition, and the rapid transition of the votary from the one to the other.

The spot where Krishna resigned his breath

From this cave I proceeded to a spot, deemed by the Hindu the holiest of the holy, where the shepherd-god resigned his breath.…

A Peepul sapling, averred to be "a scion of the original tree," marks the spot where the Hindu Apollo expired, and a flight of steps conducts to the bed of the 'golden' Hiranya, for the pilgrim to lustrate himself. This place of purification bears the name of *Swergadwara*, or 'door of bliss,' and contends with that of Deva-puttun for superior efficacy in absolving from sin. It is adorned by two beautiful reservoirs, called the *Bhalca* and *Padma*-coondas, the 'dart and lotus fountains.' The former is a dodecahedron, whose diameter is about three hundred feet. The lotus-coond is smaller, having its surface covered with this elegant flower, sacred to Kanya [Lord

Krishna], and whence his most euphonous appellation, Comala, is derived; while on its eastern bank there is a small shrine to Mahadeo. These fountains are peculiarly sacred in the eyes of the followers of the shepherd-god, and were so in Akber's time; for Abulfazil devotes some space to the holy pilgrimages of Peepulsirr and Bhalcateerut (*bhal*, 'a dart'). Mooslmen intolerance is strikingly obvious in the erection of a place of prayer touching the consecrated Peepul, and although the government of these regions has now long been under Hindu princes of strong religious zeal, the offensive Musjid remains undisturbed, furnishing a powerful contrast between the amiable endurance of the one, and the bigotry of the other faith…

The vestibule of Somnath

Behold me in the vestibule of Somnat'h, the far-famed shrine of idolatry which lured "the star of Islam" from its orbit amidst the Paropamisan and Caucasus, to the sandy shores of the Indian ocean within the torrid zone; and though now but the shell of what it was, though denuded of its *sikra* (pinnacle), whose fragments strew the ground, divested of its majestic superstructure, and but the trunk of a once perfect form, yet from its wrecks we may judge of its pristine character. That so much has been spared, we owe to that excess of zeal, which made conquest incomplete without conversion; which transformed the *mindra* into the mosque, and the altar of the sun-god into a pulpit for the Moollah, whence, while yet reeking with blood, the song of victory resounded amid shouts of '*La Illah, Mahomed Rusool Illahi*,' 'There is but one God, and Mahomed is his prophet.' But without is another symbol of conversion, the pinnacled minarets at the entrance of the temple, the handiwork of the Mooslem artificer, whence the Muezzin of Mahmoud called aloud on the soldiers of the Faith to give glory to God and his prophet, for the victory obtained over the infidel. Could we be assured that any spark of genuine taste and liberal feeling induced him to spare even this mutilated remnant of the days of old, we might try to veil the barbarities inflicted in the name of religion, under the spirit of chivalry which braved the varied perils encountered in her cause; for this, the twelfth expedition of Mahmoud, must be ranked amongst the hardiest enterprises which frenzied ambition, under the cloak of sanctity, ever undertook…

The temple of Somnath

The temple of Somnat'h stood in the center of an immense quadrangular court, defended by its own lofty battlements. The subordinate shrines, which, like satellites, heightened the splendour of the 'Lord of the Moon,' are now levelled with the earth, and mosques, walls, and the habitations of mortals, have been raised from their *debris*. The extent of the court may be estimated by the simple fact, that the nearest of the reservoirs for the lustrations of Bal and his priests is full one hundred yards distant from the shrine. The great mosque, called the Joomma Musjid, must have absorbed the materials of at least five of these minor shrines; for its five vaulted cupolas, with all their appendages, are purely Hindu, and the enormous triple-colonnaded court, in which it stands, must have cost a dozen more.

Such was and such is the shrine of Somnat'h, even now a noble object, yet how much grander in the high and palmy days of Hinduism, with all its ministrant appendages!…

Beauty of site

Nothing can surpass the beauty of the site chosen for the temple, which stands on a projecting rock, whose base is washed by the ocean. Here, resting on the skirt of the mighty waters, the vision lost in their boundless expanse, the votary would be lulled to a blissful state of repose by the monotonous roar of the waves. Before him is the bay, extending to Billawul, its golden sands kept in perpetual agitation by the surf, in bold and graceful curvature; it is unrivalled in India, and although I have since seen many noble bays, from that of Penzance to Salernum, perhaps the finest in the world, with all its accessories of back-ground, and in all the glory of closing day, none ever struck my imagination more forcibly than that of Puttun. The port and headland of Billawul, with its dark walls raised as a defence against the pirates of Europe, form a noble terminating point of view, and form which the land trends northwards to Dwarica. The peaks of Girnar, twenty coss distant (N. 7° E.), would raise the sublimest feelings, or if he chooses more tranquil scenes, the country around presents objects of interest, the plains being well-wooded, and diversified both by nature and art.

Such is the chief temple of paganism, the destruction of which, in A.H. 416 (A.D. 1008), was deemed by the Sultan of Ghizni an act of religious duty.

10. Lord Ellenborough in Ferozpur with the gates of the Somnath temple, Captain Leopold von Orlic[316]

Lord Ellenborough, the Governor General, made his entry into Ferozpur on the 9th of December, with 120 elephants, 700 camels, and numerous wagons…General Nott crossed the Sutlej with his corps on the 23rd of December, the anniversary of the murder of Sir William M'Naughten. He brought with him the famous sandal-wood gates of Somnauth, which were covered with red cloth, embroidered with gold, and drawn by twenty-four oxen. It is said that Mahmood the Ghuznevide took these gates with him to Ghuznee, when he destroyed the temple of Somnauth, in 1025; but this splendid Hindoo temple, to which they are to be restored, retains scarcely a trace of its former magnificence, and its remains have been converted into a mosque. The Maharaja, Shere Singh, had not only sent a bodyguard to receive the gates on British territory, but had given a present of a sum of money to the escort. When I went to examine the gates more closely the next day, I found a number of Brahmins, strewing flowers upon them, who assured me there was not the slightest doubt that they were genuine. They are most skillfully carved with stars and arabesques, and bordered with Kufic characters, but unfortunately the gates are so much injured, that scarcely the half of the beautiful work has been preserved.

11. The temple of Dwarka, James To[317]

The temple of Dwarica, the most celebrated of all the shrines raised to Crishna [Krishna], is built upon an eminence rising from the sea-shore, and surrounded by a fortified wall, which likewise encircles the town, from which it is, however, separated by a lofty partition-wall, through which it is necessary to pass to see it to advantage. The architectural character of this temple is that to which we are accustomed to give the name of pagoda. It may be said to consist of three parts: the munduff, or hall of congregation; the *devachna*, or *penetralia* (also termed *gabarra*); and the *sikra*, or spire… the chisel of Islam had been also at work, and defaced every graven image, nor is there enough remaining to disclose the original design: nevertheless, this obliteration has been done with care, so as not to injure the edifice.

The basement, or square portion of the temple, from which springs the *sikra,* was the *sanctum* in former ages, when *Budha-trivicrama* was the object of adoration, anterior to the heresy of Crishna, who was himself a

worshipper of Budha, whose miniature shrine is still the *sanctum-sanctorum* of Dwarica, while Crishna is installed in a *cella* beyond. The *sikra*, or spire, constructed in the most ancient style, consists of a series of pyramids, each representing a miniature temple, and each diminishing with the contracting spire, which terminates at one hundred and forty feet from the ground. There are seven distinct stories before this pyramidal spire greatly diminishes in diameter; each face of each story is ornamented with open porches, surmounted by a pediment supported by small columns. Each of these stories internally consists of column placed on column, whose enormous architraves increase in bulk in the decreasing ratio of the superimposed mass, and although the majority at the summit are actually broken by their own weight, yet they are retained in their position by the aggregate unity. The capitals of these columns are quite plain, having four cross projections for the architraves to rest on; and by an obtuseness in the *Silpi* not to be accounted for, several of these architraves do not rest on the columns, but on the projections; and, strange to say, the lapse of centuries has proved their efficiency, though Vitruvius might have regarded the innovation with astonishment. The entire fabric, whose internal dimensions are seventy-eight feet by sixty-six, is built from the rock, which is a sand-stone of various degrees of texture, forming the substratum of the island; – it has a greenish hue, either from its native bed, or from imbibing the saline atmosphere, which, when a strong light strikes upon it, gives the mass a vitreous transparent lustre. Internally it has a curious conker-like appearance. The architraves are, however, an exception, being of the same calcareous marine conglomerate, not unlike travertine, as already described in the temple of Somnat'h.

The foundation of this shrine must have been laid in the solstice, as its front varies ten points from the meridian line; and as the *Silpi*, or architect, in these matters, acts under the priest, we may infer that the *Surya Siddhanta* was little known to the Goorgoocha Brahmins, the ministrants of their times, who took the heliacal rising of those days as the true east point; its breadth is, therefore, from N.N.W. to S.S.E. Contrary to custom, it has its back to the rising sun, and faces the west.

Crishna is here adored under his form of Rinchor, when he was driven from his patrimony, Surasena, by the Budhist king of Magadha. A covered colonnaded piazza connects the *cella* of Crishna with a miniature temple

dedicated to Deoki, his mother; and within the ample court are various other shrines, one of which, in the S.E. angle, contains the statue of Budha Trivicrama, or, as he is familiarly called, Tricam-Rae and Trimnat'h, which is always crowded with votaries. Opposite to this, or at the S.W. angle of the main temple, is a smaller one, dedicated to another form of Crishna, Madhu Rae, and between these is a passage leading by a flight of steps to the Goomtee, a small rivulet, whose embouchure with the ocean is especially sacred, though is would not wet the instep to cross it. From the grand temple to the *sungum*, or point of confluence, where there is a small temple to Sungum-Narayn, the course of the Goomtee is studded with the cenotaphs of those pilgrims who were fortunate enough to surrender life at this "*dwara* of the deity." Amongst them are four of the five Pandu brothers, countenancing the tradition that the fifth proceeded across the Hemachil, where, being lost sight of, he is said to have perished in its snows, and whither he was accompanied by Baldeo, the Indian Hercules, whose statue is enshrined in the south-west corner of the great *munduff*, several step under ground. Baldeo is represented on his ascent from *patal*, or the infernal regions, after some monstrous combat.

12. Temple of Pandus in Kashmir, William Moorcrof[318]

About half a mile further on [from Kshir Nag] we came to an interesting ruin on our right. Like others of the same kind, it is called by the peasants a building of the Pandus, the heroic princes of Hindu epic verse, but believed here to have been giants. The edifice must have been a square temple, with four doors, approached by broad and spacious porches, and enclosed by a wall with four gates opposite to the doors of the central structure. A part of one of these was still standing, but of the walls the foundations alone remain, and the temple itself is a confused mass of ruins. The most remarkable feature of these remains was their magnitude. All the blocks were of immense size, and many of them could not have weighed less than ten tons. Many of them also presented traces of most elaborate sculpture. At the adjacent village of Wantipur [Avantipur, founded by King Avanti Varma in 876A.D.] we found similar remains, and here also one of the gateways was nearly entire. This was much richer than in the first edifice, and was covered with ornaments, scrolls, and figures. Two masses of stone on each side of the entrance, and each supported by a single pillar, were of an

extraordinary size. The shape of the temple was undefined, and the principal part of its fragments seemed to be carved cornices or portions of the roof. The stone of which these buildings were constructed is a limestone, which is susceptible of a high polish, and might be termed grey marble.

13. Mahaballipuram, Bishop Hebe[319]

…the real city of Maha-Bali-poor, whose ruins stand among the cliffs at the distance of a short half-mile inland. This has really been a place of considerable importance as a metropolis of the ancient kings of the race of Pandion, and its rocks which, in themselves, are pretty and picturesque, are carved out into porticos, temples, bas-reliefs, &c. on a much smaller scale, indeed, than Elephanta or Kennery, but some of them very beautifully executed. They differ from those of the north and west of India (which are almost all dedicated to Shiva or Kali,) in being in honour of Vishnu, whose different avatars are repeated over and over in the various temples, while I only saw the solitary lingam, if it be one, which I have mentioned, in the sea, and one unfinished cave, which struck me as intended for a temple of the destroying power.

Many of the bas-reliefs are of great spirit and beauty; there is one of an elephant with two young ones strikingly executed; and the general merit of the work is superior to that of Elephanta, though the size is extremely inferior. I had heard much of the lions which are introduced in different parts of the series, and the execution of which are said to be more remarkable because no lions are known to exit in the south of India. But I apprehend that the critics who have thus praised them have taken their idea of a lion from those noble animals which hang over inn-doors in England, and which, it must be owned, the lions of Maha-Bali-poor very remarkably resemble; they are in fact precisely such animals as an artist who had never seen one, would form from description…

14. The pillar at Surij Bagh [the Bagh was made by Surij Bahri, who was summoned to Kashmir by Moti Ram, the first viceroy under Ranjit Singh], Baron Huge[320]

The Surij Bagh is probably on the site of the once famous city of Parihasapur, of the marvels of which the native legends speak so highly. This city was built by the great conqueror Lalitaditya, who reigned from

A.D. 714 to 750, and was adorned with many fine temples and monuments; among others, with a pillar cut out of one stone, twenty-four yards high, at the top of which stood the image of Garuda, half-man, half-eagle. Sikandar Budh Shikan probably destroyed it, but several fragments were seen in 1727 by Mohammed Azim. Immense images of gold, silver, and other metals, also adorned the interior, but all traces of this splendour have disappeared.

15. Enormous pillar, G.T. Vign[321]

At the commencement of the fourth mile from Pampur, a low spur of steep rock descends from the mountains, and rests upon the flat upon the bank of the river. Near its extremity, where it may be about one hundred feet high, is the capital, and five feet of the shaft, of an enormous limestone-pillar. The capital is about five feet in diameter, and polygonal. The plinth is much damaged, but enough is left to show that it was composed (at least I thought so) of four gigantic female busts, most likely those of Luksmi, if the pillar supported the Garuda or bird of Vishnu, as mentioned below. It is lying on its side, and was probably overthrown by the zeal of "the idol-breaker". A flat surface, sufficiently large to answer the purpose of a base; has been cut on the rock; but I could not discover a vestige of any other ruin near it. About half a mile nearer the city is another large block, on which are rudely sculptured the knees and legs of a gigantic sitting figure, not crossed like those of a Hindu figure in general, but apparently bent like those of an Egyptian statue; all the remainder seemed to have been broken off; but although the uncultivated slope around it is strewed with large masses of stone, I saw nothing that must be necessarily supposed to have formed part of the image. Near them again are some enormous *lingams,* or pieces of sculpture, that are, as is well known, venerated by the Hindus as the emblems of Siva.

I could not contemplate these massive relics without imagining for a moment that they may have originally been parts of a city and vast Hindu temple, which, being near the modern city, and consequently of so much the greater sanctity and importance, must have called for the especial notice of Butshikan.

16. Patan, G.T. Vign[322]

After Martund, the old ruin at Putun is perhaps the best specimen of the square ruined Hindu temple to be found in the valley. The walls and colonnade of the peristyle are no longer in existence, and the interior of the remaining building, with its well carved and graceful figures of Vishnu and Luchmi, are well worth the inspection of the traveller, being scarcely inferior to those at Martund.

B. CAVE TEMPLES

1. Carli: 'One of the most magnificent chambers I ever saw', Maria Graha[323]

…we almost fancied ourselves in a Gothic cathedral. Instead of the low flat roof of the cave of Elephanta, this rises to an astonishing height, with a highly coved roof, supported by twenty-one pillars on each side, and terminating in a semicircle. Opposite to the entrance is a large temple (if I may call it so), not hollowed, with a dome, on which is fixed a huge teak umbrella, as a mark of respect. Without the pillars there is a kind of aisle on each side of about six feet wide, the length of the cave is forty paces, and its breadth is fourteen. Here are no sculptures within the cavern except on the capitals of the pillars. The columns are mostly hexagons, though the number of angles varies; the bases are formed like compressed cushions; the capitals resemble are inverted flower, or a bell, on the top of which are two elephants, with two riders on each; and on several of the columns there are inscriptions in a character not hitherto decyphered. There is a very curious circumstance in this cavern, which is, that the roof is ribbed with teak wood, cut to fit the cove exactly, and supported by teeth in the timber fitting to corresponding holes in the rock; I imagine this to be a precaution against the destruction of this beautiful work by monsoon rains. The cave of Carli is really one of the most magnificent chambers I ever saw, both as to proportion and workmanship. It is situated near the top of a wooded mountain, commanding one of the finest prospects in the world; its reservoirs cut, like itself, out of the living rock, overflow with the purest water, and the country around it is fertile enough to supply every thing in abundance for human subsistence. The cave is a temple, and on each side there are corridors, with cells proper for the residence of priests and their families. But the most laboured part of the work is the portico of the temple. One-third of its height is filled up by a variety of figures, one of which, in a

dancing posture, is remarkable for gracefulness of design, and the ends are occupied to the same height by gigantic elephants; above these is a cornice of reeds, bound together by fillets at equal distances, and the space over it is filled by small arched niches, finished with the same cornice. The center is occupied by a horseshoe arch, with a pointed moulding above, and below there is a square door of entrance to the cave. To protect the portico from the injuries of the weather, a rude screen was left at the entrance part of which has fallen in; before it there is an enormous pillar crowned with three animals and now overgrown with moss and grass.

The difference between the cavern temples of Carli and Elephanta is striking. Here are no personifications of the deity, no separate cells for secret rites; and the religious opinions which consecrated them are no less different. The cave of Carli is a temple dedicated to the religion of the Jines [Jains], a sect whose antiquity is believed by some of the greater than that of the Brahminical faith, from which their tenets are essentially different, though many of their customs agree entirely with those of the Bramins, as might be expected from natives of the same country.

2. Elephanta Caves: 'A thousand fantastic shapes,' Anna Harriette Leonowen[324]

The principal cave is of great extent, excavated out of the solid rock; the colossal columns of the portico seem to hold up the mountain above them. On either side of the entrance great creepers come down in heavy masses over the mountain. Rows and rows of columns handsomely ornamented appear within, growing beautifully less in the distance and vanishing amid gloomy shadows and a thousand fantastic shapes.…The massiveness and strength of the pillars, which find their deep foundations in the earth below, supporting the elephant-shaped mountain above, is rendered more and more striking by the thousand and one scenes of Hindoo, and particularly Saivic, mythology, in part solemn and majestic, in part grotesque and absurd, that fill every part of the walls; gods and goddesses, heroes and monsters, almost stand out of the rocks.…Enormous creepers and trees have forced themselves through certain cracks and crevices in the mountain, and the whole scene is very wild and pagan; which enhances the beauty and mysterious appearance of the caves.

3. Kanheri Caves, Bishop Hebe[325]

The principal curiosities of Salsette, and those which were our main object in this little tour, are the cave temples of Kennery. These are, certainly, in every way remarkable from their number, their beautiful situation, their elaborate carving, and their marked connection with Buddh and his religion. The caves are scattered over two sides of a high rocky hill, at many different elevations, and of various sizes and forms. Most of them appear to have been places of habitation for monks or hermits. One very beautiful apartment of a square form, its walls covered with sculpture, and surrounded internally by a broad stone bench, is called "the durbar," but I should rather guess had been a school. Many have deep and well-carved cisterns attached to them, which, even in this dry season, were well supplied with water…

On the East side of the portico is a colossal statue of Buddh, with his hands raised in the attitude of benediction, and the screen which separates the vestibule from the temple is covered, immediately above the dodo, with a row of male and female figures, nearly naked, but not indecent and carved with considerable spirit, which apparently represent dancers. In the centre is large door, and, above it, three windows contained in a semicircular arch, so like those which are seen over the entrance of Italian Churches, that I fully supposed them to be an addition to the original plan by the Portuguese, who are said, I know not on what ground, to have used this cave as a Church, till I found a similar and still more striking window of the same kind in the great cave of Carlee. Within, the apartment is, I should conceive, fifty feet long by twenty, an oblong square terminated by a semicircle, and surrounded on every side, but that of the entrance, with a colonnade of octagonal pillars. Of these the twelve on each side nearest the entrance are ornamented with carved bases and capitals, in the style usual in Indian temples. The rest are unfinished.

In the centre of the semicircle, and with a free walk all around it, is a mass of rock left solid, but carved externally like a dome, and so as to bear a strong general likeness to our Saviour's sepulchre, as it is now chiseled away and enclosed in St. Helena's Church at Jerusalem. On the top of the dome is a sort of spreading ornament like the capital of a column. It is, apparently, intended to support something, and I was afterwards told at Carlee, where such an ornament, but of greater size, is also found, that a large gilt umbrella used to spring from it. This solid dome appears to be the

usual symbol of Buddhist adoration, and, with its umbrella ornament, may be traced in the Shoo-Madoo of Pegu, and other more remote structures of the same faith. Though it is different in its form and style of ornament from the lingam, I cannot help thinking it has been originally intended to represent the same popular object of that almost universal idolatry, which Scripture, with good reason, describes as "uncleanness and abomination."

4. Bamian, Charles Masso[326]

We are encamped at Bamian opposite to the idols and caves, so much the objects of European curiosity…As my stay at this time was brief, I could do little more than visit and examine the antiquities, with the view of ascertaining what they were, – a necessary step prior to speculating on their origin and character.…

I had discovered, in the niche of the superior idol, a six-lettered inscription, with which, and the other facts I collected, I returned to Kabul. Subsequently, the discovery of a coin of a well-marked series, with a legend, plainly in similar characters, encouraged me to attempt the removal of the mystery enshrouding the remains, especially as the coin presented the bust of a sovereign identical with one figured amongst the paintings in the niche of the second idol as to size, unquestionably establishing a connexion between them. I therefore drew up a Memoir on the *Antiquities of Bamian*, which I forwarded through my friend, Sir Henry Pottinger, to the late ever-to-be-lamented James Prinsep, and which was inserted in his *Journal of the Asiatic Society in Bengal.*

In it I pointed out that there were now in existence three large idols, with the niches in which many other smaller ones had once stood. That every idol had its suit of caves, amongst which some had domes or vaulted roofs, being, as I supposed, temples. I further showed, that besides the mass of caves obviously connected with the idols, there were certain apertures in the face of the rock, now inaccessible, which never could have been intended for dwelling of the living, but were, probably, the repositories of the dead. I could but remember that the corpses of the older Persian monarchs were consigned to such receptacles, and I thence drew an inference bearing materially on the character of the locality. I have since observed, not without satisfaction, that Abul Fazil notes, that in his time the inhabitants showed a corpse in one of the caves, whose state of preservation, and period

of deposit, were matters of wonder and conjecture to them. No doubt an embalmed corpse of an ancient sovereign of the country, or other illustrious person deposited here.…

I have recently visited the Buddhist temples in the island of Salsette, and certainly there can be no doubt of the resemblance between the colossal figures of Buddha in them, and those of the Bamian niches. They are, in like manner, erect, clothed in the same drapery, and stand in the same attitude. Amongst the innumerable smaller seated figures of Buddha at Salsette the attitudes are only three, those of meditation, prayer, and teaching or expounding. The colossal and erect figures invariably represent him in the last, or teaching attitude, with one arm extended, while the other supports the drapery of his robes, which attitudes is that of the Bamian idols. The latter, in common with those of Salsette, have what have been called "pendulous ears," but an examination of the Salsette images enabled me to verify, beyond doubt, that the ears have been formed with due care as to their proportions, the seeming excess being merely occasioned by the rings affixed to them, which is manifest in all of them when closely inspected, but palpably so in some instances where circular rings have been substituted for the ordinary oblong and lengthened ones.

C. PALACES

1. Palace of the Pandavas, William Moorcrof[327]

On the following day we rode to Islamabad, and on this occasion visited some remarkable remains in its vicinity, on the top of the low ridge or platform formerly noticed, and which is called Karawe Matan. The summit of this was for the most part perfectly level, and commonly a mile in breadth, and according to the report of the people of the country, was formerly the site of a large city, the capital of Kashmir. Scattered over the ground, indeed, we found fragments of mortar and bricks, but no relics of any note till we came to the end of the mound, where, at a distance of about two miles from Islamabad, stood the ruins we were in quest of. These from their elevated situation were widely conspicuous, and were of very remarkable extent and character. Like most of the architectural remains in Kashmir, they are termed Khana Panduwa, a house or palace of the Pandus. They consisted of a main building in the center of an open space, surrounded by a wall. The central structure was composed of a body and

two small wings, the former about fifty-six feet long by twenty-six feet wide, running east and west, and twenty-eight feet high, was divided into two chambers of different dimensions; the western face comprised a large, lofty, arched portal, with four carved pilasters, two on each side; the eastern front had a wide recess, occupied by a false doorway, with an ornamental arch, and on the sides of which were pilasters; similar recesses decorated the northern and southern ends: opposite to these extremities also were the two wings or chambers, connected formerly by a colonnade with the center. They were built with massive walls, but the interior was not above six feet square. On the inside of the enclosing wall formerly extended a series of columns, forming a sort of portico all round, and a series of small chambers or cells ran along its outer face. The whole was constructed of stones of immense size and weight, embellished with elaborate sculpture. The roofs had generally fallen in, but where remaining, were of large flat slabs of stone. The walls were for the most part entire, their massiveness having resisted not only time and earthquakes, but the assaults of man: one of the rulers of Kashmir, Sultan Hamadan, is said to have attempted in vain to undermine the edifice, or to destroy it by fire. It is fortunate he was not acquainted with the use of gunpowder. In its present condition the palace of the Pandus is a precious specimen of ancient art, and deserves a foremost place amongst the remains of Hindu antiquity.

2. Jaipur palace, Bishop Hebe[328]

The palace, with its gardens, occupies about one-sixth part of the city. It presents to the streets an extremely high front of seven or eight stories, diminishing in the centre to something like a pediment, and flanked by two towers of equal height topped with open cupolas. Within are two spacious courts and many smaller ones, surrounded by cloisters of stone pillars, except in the verandahs leading to the principal rooms, which are of marble. The gardens, which I was first taken to see, are extensive, and, in their way, extremely beautiful, full of fountains, cypresses, palm-trees, and flowering shrubs, with a succession of terraces and alcoves, none of them, singly taken, in good taste, but altogether extremely rich and striking. Two very large and handsome tanks terminate the grounds towards the north. The garden is surrounded by a high embattled wall, having a terrace at the top like that of Chester, and beneath it a common passage, (as one of the

ministers of state, who accompanied us, told me,) for the Zennanah to walk in….

The ascents throughout the palace are not by stairs, but by inclined planes of very easy slope, and certainly less fatiguing than the European style. The passages are all narrow and mean, and the object in the whole building seems more to surprise by the number, the intricacy, and detail of the rooms and courts, than by any apartments of large size and magnificent proportions. A great part of the windows are glazed with small panes of stained or plain glass in latticed frames of white marble. The stained glass was said to be from Venice. These upper rooms, which are in fact a part of the Zennanah, have their floors chiefly covered with stuffed white cotton quilts, over which, in certain places, sitringees are placed, and, in the more costly rooms, small Persian carpets. There are very strong wooden doors in different parts of the building whose hinges and locks are as rude as those of a prison, but the suites of apartments themselves are only divided by large striped curtains hung over the arched doorways. The ceilings are generally low, and the rooms dark and close; both the walls and ceilings are, however, splendidly carved and painted, and some of the former are entirely composed of small looking-glasses in fantastic frames of chunam mixed with talc, which have the appearance of silver till closely examined. The subjects of the paintings are almost entirely mythological, and their style of colouring, their attitudes, and the general gloomy silence and intricacy of the place reminded me frequently to Belzoni's model of the Egyptian tomb.

After a long suite of these strange rooms, we were taken into a very striking and beautiful apartment, where breakfast was prepared for us. It was a small pavilion with arches on either side, opening into two small cloistered courts, the one filled by a beautiful cold bath about thirty feet square, the other by a little flower garden divided, *parterre* wise, with narrow winding paths of white marble, with a *jet d'eau* in every winding, to the number, I should think, of fifteen or twenty, which remained playing all the while we were at breakfast. Nothing could be prettier or more refreshing than the sight and sound of these tiny fountains, though I did not think the effect improved when all at once several of the principal ones began to throw up water tinged with some yellow dye. It was evidently much admired by the natives, and reminded me of "the golden water," which,

together with “the talking bird” and the “singing tree,” cost the princess in the Arabian tale so many labours to obtain.

3. Palace at Amer by Jai Singh, Bishop Hebe[329]

…we reached the town, which almost entirely consisted of temples, and had few inhabitants but grim and ghastly Yogis, with their hair in elf-knots and their faces covered with chalk, sitting naked and hideous, like so many ghouls, amid the tombs and ruined houses. A narrow winding street led us though these abodes of superstition, under a dark shade of peepul trees, till we found ourselves on another steep ascent paved with granite and leading to the palace. We wound along the face of the hill, through, I think, three gothic gateways, alighted in a large moss-grown quadrangle surrounded by what seemed to be barracks and stables, and followed our guides up a broad and long flight of steps through another richly-ornamented gateway, into the interior courts of the building, which contain one very noble hall of audience, a pretty little garden with fountains, and a long succession of passages, cloisters, alcoves and small and intricate apartments, many of them extremely beautiful, and enjoying from their windows, balconies, and terraces, one of the most striking prospects which can be conceived. The carving in stone and marble, and the inlaid flowers and ornaments in some of these apartments, are equal to those at Delhi and Agra, and only surpassed by the beauties of the Tage-mahal. My companions, none of whom had visited Umeer before, all declared that, as a whole, it was superior to the castle of Delhi. For myself, I have seen may royal palaces containing larger and more stately rooms, – many, the architecture of which in a purer taste, and some which have covered a greater extent of ground, (though in *this*, if the fortress on the hill be included, Umeer will rank, I think, above Windsor,) but for varied and picturesque effect, for richness of carving, for wild beauty of situation, for the number and romantic singularity of the apartments, and the strangeness of finding such a building in such a place and country, I am able to compare nothing with Umeer; and this, too, was the work of Jye Singh! The ornaments are in the same style, though in a better state, than those of his palace at Jyepoor, and the size and number of the apartments are also similar. A greater use has been made of stained glass here, or else, from the inaccessible height of the window, the glass has remained in better preservation. The building is in good repair, but

has a solitary and deserted aspect; and as our guide, with his bunch of keys, unlocked one iron clenched door after another, and led us over terraces and up towers, down steep, dark, sloping passages, and through a long succession of silent courts, and dim vaulted chambers, seen only through coloured glass, and made more gorgeously gloomy by their carving, gilding, and mirrors, the idea of an enchanted castle occurred, I believe, to us all; and I could not help thinking what magnificent use Ariosto or Sir Walter Scott would have made of such a building. After all we saw only part of it. Higher up the hill was another grim-looking ward, with few external windows, but three or four elegantly-carved kiosks projecting from its roof, and a few cypresses peeping over its walls, which they said was the Zennanah, and not allowed to be seen; and above this again, but communicating by a succession of gates and turrets, was the castle which I have mentioned, grimmer and darker still, with high towers and machicollated battlements, with a very few ornamented windows, many narrow loop-holes, and one tall minaret rising above the whole cluster. The interior of this, of course, was not shewn; indeed, it is what the government of Jyepoor considers as its last resource. The public treasure used to be laid up here; and here, it is said, are many state-prisoners, whose number is likely to be increased if the present rule continues.

4. Fatehpur Sikri, Bishop Hebe[330]

…We rambled some time among its courts,…There are four buildings particularly worthy of notice, one a small but richly-ornamented house, which is shewn as the residence of Beerbal the Emperor's favourite minister, whom the Mussulmans accuse of having infected him with the strange religious notions, with which, in the latter part of his life, he sought to inoculate his subjects. Another is a very beautiful octagonal pavilion in the corner of the court, which appears to have been the Zennanah, and was variously stated to us to have been the Emperor's private study, or the bed-chamber of one of his wives who was a daughter of the Sultan of Constantinople. It has three large windows filed with an exquisite tracery of white marble, and all its remaining wall is carved with trees, bunches of grapes, and the figures of different kinds of birds and beasts, of considerable merit in their execution, but the two last disfigured by the bigotry of Aurungzebe, who, as is well known, sought to make amends for

his own abominable cruelty and wickedness towards his father and brothers, by a more than usual zeal for the traditions and observances of Islam. The third is a little building which, if its traditional destination be correct, I wonder Aurungzebe allowed to stand. It consists merely of shrine or canopy supported by four pillars, which the Mussulman ciceroni of the place pretend was devoted by Acbar to the performance of Magical rites. Whatever its use may have been, it is not without beauty. The fourth is a singular pavilion, in the center of which is a pillar or stone pulpit richly carved, approached by four stone galleries from different sides of the room, on which the Emperor used to sit on certain occasions of state, while his subjects were admitted below to present their petitions. It is a mere capriccio, with no merit except its carving, but is remarkable as being one of the most singular buildings I have seen, and commanding from its terraced roof a very advantageous view of the greater part of the city, and a wide extent of surrounding country.

Of this last much appears to have been laid out in an extensive lake, of which the dam is still to be traced, and the whole hill on which the palace stands bears marks of terraces and gardens, to irrigate which an elaborate succession of wells, cisterns, and wheels appears to have been contrived adjoining the great mosque, and forcing up the water nearly to the height of its roof. The cisterns are still useful as receptacles for rain-water, but the machinery is long since gone to decay. On the whole, Futtehpoor is one of the most interesting places which I have seen in India, and it was to me the more so, because, as it happened, I had heard little about it, and was by no means prepared to expect buildings of so much magnitude and splendour.

5. Water Palace, Mandu, Emma Robert[331]

The tumults and wars which during a long period distracted the Rajpoot states, have left the still beautiful and once flourishing city of Mandoo in desolation and ruin. It stands on the flat tabular platform of a mountain belonging to the Vindhyan range, but which is separated from the neighbouring hills by a wide chasm – one of those gigantic works which, though a freak of nature, bears a close resemblance to the designs of man. The appearance is that of an artificial ditch, of enormous dimensions. Over this, to the north, is a broad causeway, which at some seasons forms the only approach, the surrounding ravine being filled with water during the

rains. This passage is guarded by three gateways, still entire, placed at a considerable distance from each other; the last being on the summit of the hill, which is ascended by a winding road cut through the rock. The masses of ruined buildings which spring amidst a redundance of vegetation, apparently the unchecked growth of ages, somewhat resemble those of the city of Gour in Bengal, where the forest has intruded upon the courts and halls of palaces; but the buildings at Mandoo are upon a more splendid scale, and they occupy a better situation upon an elevated height; both are almost equally left to the exclusive dominion of wild and savage beasts…

The prevailing style of the architecture in Affghan, and some of the specimens are the finest which that splendid race have left in India; the material is chiefly a fine calcareous red-stone, but the mausoleum of Hossein Shah, one of the most remarkable relics still existing, is composed entirely of white marble, brought from the banks of the Nerbudda. The Tehaz Ka Mahal, ship, or as we have rendered it, water-palace is erected upon an isthmus, which divides two large tanks of water from each other; the situation is exceedingly picturesque, and the calm, quiet beauty of the building, particularly when reflected from the glassy surface of the mirror, which stretches itself below on either side, affords an object of delightful though pensive contemplation to the traveller, who has come suddenly upon this wreck of former splendour.

6. Palace at Deeg, Captain Leopold von Orlic[332]

A handsome, but ruinous gate, of the time of the highest splendour of the Mogul empire, leads into Deeg, which is otherwise quite open, and contains a neglected clay citadel, and some colossal Mogul ruins, which resemble those of Delhi. On the other hand, there is a palace built by Runjeet Singh, which is one of the finest Hindoo edifices of modern date. On my arrival there, I was received by the governor of Deeg, and the principal persons in the town, who offered to show me the palace and the gardens.

The palace, which is situated in a pleasant fruit and flower garden has a very fine façade, and projecting wings. There are several open, vaulted colonnades, in the Mogul Hindoo style, which are closed with curtains. Great care has been bestowed on the water workes; there are no less than 600 fountains, in the most varied forms; but as eight days are requisite to make them play, I was obliged to content myself with looking at the

hundreds fountains of the front basin. From the center arcade of the principal building is a complete view of these waterworks and the garden in its whole length; and here a seat was placed that I might enjoy this interesting sight, as well as the splendid show of flowers…

7. Constantia, Captain Leopold von Orlic[333]

In a desolate mangoe-garden, four miles to the south of the city, near to the river, is a large, shapeless palace, called Constantia, which was erected by Claude Martin, the Frenchman, at an expense of 150,000*l* sterling. We rode to it the following morning, before sunrise accompanied by some horsemen. Constantia, which is five stories high, is built of marble, sandstone, and bricks; it is a medley of the French, Italian, and Greek styles, combined with Hindoo and Mahometan architecture and has two towers, which stand on either side of the platform: the battlements and towers are adorned with colossal lions. The apartments, which are small and dark, ornamented with looking glasses, shells, and various kinds of Italian sculptures, and bas-reliefs, of plaster of Paris and marble. It bears the following inscription: "*Labore et Constantia*."…

This extensive palace is now in the possession of the King, who allows the English to live in it at their pleasure. From the summit of the towers, there is a very wide and noble prospect: to the south spreads the valley of the Goomty, bordered by corn-fields, jungles, and woods; and to the north lies the large handsome city, to which the minarets, and the gilded and white cupolas of the numerous palaces and sepulchres, give inexpressible splendour. In front of the palace of Constantia, is a reservoir, with a column forty feet high, rising in the center, and the eye is refreshed by the bright colours of a pretty flower-garden and the dark green of the mangoes, which flourish all around.

Next to this is an extensive domain called the Dilkusha Park, "The King's Delight;" it is an artificial wilderness, well stocked with antelopes, peacocks, and jackals. In this park is a small country-house, belonging to the King, which was built by Mr. Ousley, an Englishman, who resided here as aide-de-camp to Naseer ud Dowlah. The apartments are fitted up in the French style, and are ornamented with indifferent oil paintings. When we had viewed it, we rode home along a fine road lately made through the park.

D. FORTS

1. The fort of Chunar, William Hodge[334]

The fort of Chunar is situated on the Ganges, near twenty miles above the city of Benares: it is built on a rock, which is fortified all round by a wall, and towers at various distances. At that end overlooking the river is situated the citadel, which has formerly been strong. This fort is said to be of the highest antiquity, and originally built by the Hindoos.

In the citadel there is an altar, consisting of a plain black marble slab, on which the tutelary deity of the place is traditionally at all times supposed to be seated, except from sunrise until nine o'clock in the morning, when he is at Benares, during which time, from the superstition of the Hindoos, attacks may be made with a prospect of success. In various parts of the fort there are old sculptures of the Hindoo divinities, now nearly defaced by time. There are likewise on the gates some old Persian inscriptions, mentioning in whose reign, and by whom, the fort was repaired and strengthened.

This has always been considered as a post of great consequence upon the Ganges, from its insulated situation, projecting forwards to a considerable extent, and being of considerable height. It is besieged by the English in the war carried on, during the years 1764 and 1765, against the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah when he joined Meer Cossim, and was gallantly defended by its commandant, an Abyssinian in the service of that prince.

2. Gwalior Fort, William Hodge[335]

The fort of Gwalior is seated on the top of a considerable mountain, rising from a perfect flat country. To the west are some considerable hills, among which is the pass of Narwah, leading to Ougion, the capital of the Malwah country, at present possessed by Madajee Scindia. The rock on which the fort is situated is on every side perpendicular, either by nature or art. At the north-west end is the citadel and a palace, and a chain of seven gates leading to the town at the foot of the mountain. The town, and indeed the whole base of the mountain, is surrounded by a wall; and the place has been generally considered, by Europeans, as the Gibraltar of the East, as well for its natural situation as for the works that have been constructed for its security. The town is large, and contains some few remains of good houses, and a mosque.

During the time of the Mogul government this place was the state prison, where the obnoxious branches of the Royal Family were always confined, and where they were allowed, for their amusement, a large menagerie of beasts, such as lions, tigers, &c. On the top of the mountain, I am told, there are considerable cultivated plains, and a good supply of water; insomuch, that a vigilant and active governor might defend it against almost any number of enemies, who could only attack it from below.

This ancient and celebrated fortress is situated in the heart of Hindostan Proper, being about eighty miles to the south of Agra, the ancient capital of the empire, and one hundred and thirty from the nearest part of the Ganges. From Calcutta it is, by the nearest route, upwards of eight hundred miles; nine hundred and ten by the ordinary road; and about two hundred and eight from the British frontiers. In the ancient division of the empire it is classed in the subah of Agra, and is often mentioned in history as the capital of a district which produced a large revenue. We first read of it in the History of Hindostan, in the year 1008, and, during the two following centuries, it was twice reduced by famine. It is probable that it must, in all ages, have been a military post of the utmost consequence, both from its situation in respect to the capital, and from the peculiarity of its site, which was generally deemed impregnable. With respect to its relative position, it must be considered, that it stands on the principal road leading from Agra to Malwah, Guzerat, and the Decan; and that near the place where it enters the hilly tract, which advances from Bundelcund, Malwah, and Agimere, to a parallel with the river Jumna, throughout the greatest part of its course. From these circumstances, as well as from its natural and acquired advantages as a fortress, the possession of it was deemed as necessary to the ruling emperors of Hindostan, as Dover Castle might be to the Saxon and Norman Kings of England.

3. Allahabad Fort, George Forste[336]

The fort of Allahabad, which is built of stone, occupies a large space of ground, and has been amply supplied with superb and useful buildings whether for promoting the pleasures or conveniences of life…

In the palace yard stands a round pillar of about forty feet high, consisting of an entire stone, which coarsely resembles the porphyry, and seems covered with an inscription, in the ancient Hindoo character; but the letters

are so much effaced and impaired by the ravages of time which, my friend, spares not even marble, that they are become illegible. The erection of this monument is attributed to Beemshyne [Bhimsen], who, your Bramin will tell you, was in his day a powerful chief, and one of the principal warriors in the Mhah Bhaut [Mahabharat]. But as a devout believer, you must not repose too much faith on the Bramin's account of the era in which this Beemshyne is said to have flourished; for he will tell you that our great progenitor was not even heard of in those days. The Mahometans, who as furiously destroyed every monument and curious vestige not expressive of their doctrine, as they were actuated by a blind zeal in its propagation and support, have endeavoured to claim the construction of this pillar, and over the Hindoo record, they have engraved the names of many of their emperors, since the time of Babr.

4. Lahore Fort, William Moorcrof[337]

Lahore is surrounded by a brick wall about thirty feet high, which extends for about seven miles, and is continuous with the Fort. The latter, in which the Raja resides, is surrounded by a wall of no great strength, with loop-holes for musketry; a branch of the Ravi washes the foot of its northern face, but it has no moat on either of the remaining sides. The palace within this inclosure, called the Saman Burj, which is of many stories, is entirely faced with a kind of porcelain enamel, on which processions and combats of men and animals are depictured. Many of these are as perfect as when first placed in the wall. Several of the old buildings are in ruins, others are entire, and throw into shade the meaner structures of more recent date. Ranjit Singh has cleared away some of the rubbish, and has repaired or refitted some of the ruined buildings of Jehangir and Shah-jehan; but his alterations have not always been made with good feeling or taste. The great square and buildings of the principal mosque have been converted into a place of exercise for his Sipahi infantry, and he has stripped the dome of the mausoleum of Asof Jah, the brother of Nurjehan Begam, of its white marbles, to apply them to the erection of some insignificant apartments in the garden-court of the Mosque. The Diwan Am, or general hall of audience, is a long apartment supported by many pillars. The Diwan Khas or private audience-hall, is a suite of small chambers offering nothing remarkable.

5. The celebrated fortress of Attok, William Moorcrof[338]

An order from Ranjit Singh procured us admission into the celebrated fortress of Attok, but we were not allowed to see much of its interior. Proceeding from the serai to the gateway on the north, along a perfectly good road, unprovided with any defences, we entered into a small projecting court, about twenty yards long, in which Suja-al-mulk was confined by Jehandad Khan, after he was driven from Afghanistan. From hence we passed through another gate into the bazaar, a narrow lane of shops, chiefly for the sale of provisions, and along this we were conducted to the opposite or southern gateway, which opened upon the side of the hill immediately above the ferry over the Indus. The gates of the fort are lofty and large, and the walls are of the same description as those of Rotas, thick, crenated, and pierced with loopholes: the direction of the bazaar is parallel with the river, and the bazaar is four hundred paces long: between it and the river front are houses, and at the south-west angle a bastion projects into the stream: on the side of the bazar, farthest from the river, the fort contracts and extends in the form of an irregular parallelogram, about five hundred yards to the east. The interior is discernible from the right bank of the river, and the eastern end is commanded by hills of greater elevation than that on which it stands. Opposite to its southern face, and divided from it by a ravine which descends to the bank of the river, stands a petty village, on a level with the gateway. On the right bank of the river, and within musket-shot of the southern postern of the fort, is the village of Khairabad, defended on the west by a mud redoubt, and by several small stone buildings, intended as stations for infantry, erected on different points of a ridge of low hills, about a hundred yards to the westward; the most remote is within the range of artillery from the fort, and perfectly commands the latter. This is the case, however, with even the road to Peshawar, on the Khairabad side, and it would not be necessary to erect batteries on the hills. The fort of Attok, however impregnable it may be to Sikhs or Afghans, could oppose no resistance whatever to Europeans engineers.

6. Rohtas Fort, William Moorcrof[339]

Leaving Jelum on the 13th of November, we marched across a cultivated plain in a north-westerly direction, to the foot of the mound on which stands the celebrated fort of Rotas, and traversed a narrow stony defile with the

fort close on the left, the base of the walls being about sixty or seventy feet higher than the pathway. The killadar refused to admit us to see the fortress; but riding along its western face, we found several practicable breaches in the walls, by one of which we ascended and entered an abandoned outwork. The structure was found to be most massive, the walls, of stone cemented with mortar, being in some places thirty feet thick. They were crenated throughout, and provided with a double row of loop-holes. The outwork we had scaled seemed intended to protect an immense bhauli or well of masonry. Passages of great breadth wound round it to the bottom, communicating with it by arched openings into its sides, and they led to the water's edge in so many places, that from fifty to a hundred persons might draw water at once. From this spot we entered into the body of the fort, and ascended the highest part of the parapet without attracting observation. The interior of the fort extends about two miles and a half. It is of a long, narrow form, and its two sides and eastern end rest upon the edges of ravines which separate it from a table-land of equal elevation as the hill on which it stands. The western face of the hill has the Gham rivulet running along its foot, the bed of which abounds with quicksands, and must be dangerous to ford, at least in the rains. The Sikhs have erected a small mud fort within the principal gateway. Near the fort are a serai, said to have been constructed by Aurangzeb, and a garden, enclosed by a wall, attributed to Shir Shah. There was formerly a Persian inscription over one of the gateways of Rotas, recording the date of its construction by Shir Shah, and denouncing an imprecation upon any of his successors who should suffer it to fall into decay. Zeman Shah, it is reported, took offence at the tenor of the inscription, and commanded it to be effaced. The fort is said to have been erected by Shir Shah to curb the predatory incursions of the Ghikars…

7. Agra Fort, Honoria Lawrenc[340]

…At gunfire then, we started to visit the fort, one of the marvellous monuments left by Akbar. Here we are again in a wilderness of sandstone and white marble. The place is quite strong enough for all picturesque purposes, and I suppose is really able to resist anything but artillery. I do not affect military knowledge, but the fort wall gave me the same idea as that round the town of Delhi, of being the enclosure of a park, rather than a fortification. Long unbroken lines of wall stretching from turret to turret,

and bastion to bastion. One hall the *Dewan Am*, or hall of public audience, as *Dewan Khass* means the place of private audience, is a splendid room now used as an arsenal. Here Lord Ellenborough gave his grand entertainments last year, and here stand the much talked of *Somnath* gates with their drapery of scarlet and gold, the flags taken in China and other trophies. The gates are in a much less crumbled and shattered state than I expected to see, the carving is very fine and the upper part and frame are in good repair…

E. MOSQUES

1. Juma Masjid, Fatehpur Sikri, Bishop Hebe[341]

The approach to Futtehpoor is striking; it is surrounded by a high stone wall, with battlements and round towers, like the remaining part of the city walls at Oxford. Within this is a wide extent of ruined houses and mosques, interspersed with fields cultivated with rice and mustard, and a few tamarind trees, and nearly in the middle, on a high ridge of rocky hills, is a range of ruinous palaces, serais, and other public buildings, in the best style of Mussulman architecture; and to form the center of the picture, a noble mosque, in good repair, and in dimensions equal, I should think, to the Juma Musjeed of Delhi…

We found our tents pitched among the ruins and rubbish, about a bow-shot from the foot of the hill and in full view of the great gate of the mosque, which is approached by the noblest flight of steps I ever saw. The morning was still cool, and we determined to see the curiosities without loss of time. The steps of which I have spoken lead to a fine arch surmounted by a lofty tower; thence we pass into a quadrangle of about five hundred feet square, with a very lofty and majestic cloister all round, a large mosque surmounted by three fine domes of white marble on the left hand, and opposite to the entrance two tombs of very elaborate workmanship, of which that to the right contains several monuments of the imperial family; that to the left a beautiful chapel of white marble, the shrine of Sheikh Soliman, who had the good fortune to be a saint as well as a statesman.

The impression which this whole view produced on me will be appreciated when I say, that there is no quadrangle either in Oxford or Cambridge fit to be compared with it, either in size, or majestic proportions, or beauty of architecture. It is kept in substantial repair by the British

Government, and its grave and solid style makes this an easier task that the intricate and elaborate inlaid work of Secundra and the Tage-mahal. The interior of the mosque itself is fine, and in the same simple character of grandeur, but the height of the portal tower, and the magnificence of the quadrangle had raised my expectations too high, and I found that these were the greatest as well as the most striking beauties of Futtehpoor.

F. TOMBS

1. Tombs of Amir Khusrau and Muhammad Shah, Thomas Twinin[342]

The first was the tomb of Meer Khosroo Dehooley, the beautiful symmetry of which was delineated in the choicest white marble, and was still admirable amidst the partial degradation which impaired it. I next saw the durgah of Nizamaddeen and the mausoleum of Mahomed Shah Padshah.

2. Tomb of Princess Jahanara, Thomas Twinin[343]

Not far from these monuments, I saw with deeper interest that of the Princess Jehannara, the Euphrasia of Hindostan. She was the eldest daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan, and the voluntary companion and chief solace of his long confinement in the fortress of Agra. [A] Persian inscription, beautifully traced in letters of black marble, was inlaid in the white marble of which the tomb was composed…

3. Tomb of Baba Wali in Hazara country, William Moorcrof[344]

Between this and the Serai of Hassan Abdal the valley is somewhat contracted, although the hills are low: at the foot of one of these is the tomb of the saint from whom the place is named, and who is also known by the more familiar denomination of Baba Wali. It is a square building, containing a tomb of marble, and standing in a walled court…

Miracle wrought by Nanak

Beyond the tomb was a spot on the edge of a rill, trickling from a block of stone, supposed to have been sanctified by a miracle wrought there by Nanak, the founder of the Sikh faith. Nanak coming to the place fatigued and thirsty, thought he had a claim upon the hospitality of his brother ascetic, and invoked the spirit of Baba Wali for a cup of water. The Mohammedan saint, indignant at the presumption of an unbeliever, replied to his application by throwing a stone at him of several tons weight. Nanak caught the missile in his hand, and then placed it on the ground, leaving the

impression of his fingers upon its hard substance: at the same time he commanded water to flow from it, and this constituted the rill here observable, along which were a number of Sikh fanatics who had come in pilgrimage. This story is curious, not only as a specimen of the credulity of the people, but as the probable invention of a very recent date. A few years only have elapsed since the place was in the possession of the Afghans, whose fierce Mohammedanism would have tolerated no Sikh pilgrims nor shrines within their boundary…

4. Ziarat of Shah Hamadan, William Moorcrof[345]

Having remained a day at Shupien, we proceeded on our journey, and at a short distance came to the Ziarat of Shah Hamadan, remarkable for a large flat stone which it contains, and which is an object of profound veneration to devout Musselmans. It is said that when the saint had arrived on the crest of Pir Panchal, on his way to Kashmir, his horse was too much fatigued to proceed, and the Shah was at a loss what to do. In this dilemma a piece of the rock volunteered to convey him to the plain, and this stone is the carriage that presented itself. Part of it, supposed to be the impression of his foot, has been completely polished by the contact of thousands of the hands and lips of the faithful.

5. Tomb of Zainul Abidin, G.T. Vign[346]

The next building to be noticed in point of antiquity is the tomb of Budshah, or Zyn-ul-ab-u-Din. He lived in 1422, and was the eighth and most renowned of the Musalman monarchs of Kashmir. Before the invasion of Timur Lung, the son of Budshah was sent as envoy to Samarkand, to present his salaam, and Timur sent back with him to Kashmir some paper, glass, or carpet makers. Shawls, it is said, were first made in Budshah's reign. He built the old palace at Lank in the Wulur Lake, and the Karywahs of Zynapur and the Pergunah of Zyn-a-Ghyr are named after him.

The tomb is of brick; in figure, octagonal; ornamented with Saracenic arches, and surmounted by a single dome, surrounded by four smaller ones. It appears to be the earliest specimen of the style that had escaped from its place of refuge at Byzantium during the dark ages. The dome reminded me of that on Justinian's church of St. Sophia at Trebizond.

6. Hazrat Bal, G.T. Vign[347]

On the left is the village of Hazrit Bal, or the Prophet's hair, so called because a single hair of Mohomet's beard is preserved there in a bottle, and exhibited on every fete-day to the people. Numerous boats of various sizes are at that time ranged along the stone quay on the border of the open space intervening between the lake and the sacred edifice in which the relic is preserved. Sikhs, Hindus, and Kashmirians of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, are there for the purpose of seeing and being seen; the Musalmans crowd around the door from which the sacred phial is exhibited; and I have seen and heard them breathing forth their aspirations, whilst they have touched the glass and pressed their lips and forehead against it, with looks of the most extreme awe and veneration. There is also a tree near the Hazrit Bal, I forget of what kind, but I think an acacia, which is said to have been brought as a cutting from Mecca. Five or six fairs are held at the Hazrit Bal in the course of the year.

7. Shrine of Nuruddin, G.T. Vign[348]

Cherar, containing the shrine of Shah-Nur-u-Din (or the light of the faith) is, by reason of its sanctity, the largest village in the centre of the western side of the valley, between Baramula and Shupeyon. The Musjid built over the tomb is of the usual Kahmirian form, but is, perhaps, better proportioned, and contains more elaborate carving, than any other. Shah Nur-u-Din himself lived a long time ago, and the Shah Sahib told me that his great celebrity was chiefly owing to his having been a Kashmirian by birth. The fakir of Eysh Mekam…was one of his disciples. His tomb is now what the Kashmirians, in Persia, would call a "bisear gurm zearut," literally, a "very warm shrine," and is the most sacred in the valley. Vows to it, and pilgrimages in performance of vows, are constant; each votary brings an offering of something, either to the shrine or in charity to the fakirs, who are of course numerous in proportion to the advantages and support they derive from such a lucrative system. Cherar is a Kusabah, and contains a bazaar.

8. Taj Mahal, Bishop Hebe[349]

I went to see the celebrated Tage-mahal, of which it is enough to say that, after hearing its praises ever since I had been in India, its beauty rather exceeded than fell short of my expectations. There was much, indeed, which I was not prepared for. The surrounding garden, which as well as the Tage itself, is kept in excellent order by Government, with its marble

fountains, beautiful cypresses and other trees, and profusion of flowering shrubs, contrasts very finely with the white marble of which the tomb itself is composed, and takes off, by partially concealing it, from that stiffness which belongs more or less to every highly-finished building. The building itself is raised on an elevated terrace of white and yellow marble, and having at its angles four tall minarets of the same material. The Tage contains, as usual, a central hall about as large as the interior of the Ratcliffe library, in which enclosed within a carved screen of elaborate tracery, are the tombs of the Begum Noor-jehan [Mumtaz Mahal], Shahjehan's beloved wife, to whom it was erected, and by her side, but a little raised above her, of the unfortunate Emperor himself. Round this hall are a number of small apartments, corridors, &c. and the windows are carved in lattices of the same white marble with the rest of building, and the screen. The pavement is in alternate squares of white, and, what is called in Europe, sienna marble, the walls, screens, and tombs are covered with flowers and inscriptions, executed in beautiful Mosaic of cornelians, lapis-lazuli, and jasper; and yet, though every thing is finished like an ornament for a drawing-room chimney-piece, the general effect produced is rather solemn and impressive than gaudy. The parts which I like least are the great dome and the minarets. The bulbous swell of the former I think clumsy, and the minarets having nothing to recommend them but their height and the beauty of their materials. But the man must have more criticism than taste or feeling about him, who could allow such imperfections to weigh against the beauties of the Tage-mahal. The Jumna washes one side of the garden, and there are some remains of a bridge which was designed by Shahjehan, with the intention, as the story goes, to build a second Tage of equal beauty for his own separate place of interment, on the opposite side of the river.

9. Tomb of Anarkali at Lahore, Charles Masso[350]

Another remarkable building south of the city, and between it and the river, is the tomb of Anarkalli, as called, concerning which is the following popular story. Anarkalli (anargul, probably, or the pomegranate blossom) was a very handsome youth, and the favourite attendant of an emperor of Hindustan. When the prince would be in company with ladies of his haram, the favourite page was excluded. It happened, that one day the emperor, seated with his females in an apartment lined with looking-glasses, beheld,

from the reflected appearance of Anarkalli, who stood behind him, that he smiled. The monarch's construction of the intent of the smile proved melancholy to the smiler, who was ordered to be buried alive. Anarkalli was, accordingly, placed, in an upright position, at the appointed spot, and was built around with bricks, while an immense super-structure was raised over the sepulcher, the expense of which was defrayed, as tradition relates, by the sale of one of his bangles. There were formerly extensive gardens, and several buildings connected with the tomb, but not a vestige can now be traced of them. This monument was once occupied by Karak Singh, the eldest and only legitimate son of the Maharaja, but was subsequently been given to an Italian officer, M. Ventura, who has converted it into a haram.

10. Tomb of Sultan Ibrahim at Bijapur, Emma Robert[351]

About half a mile to the northward of Bejapore, in the garden of the twelve Imaums, the Durga of Abou at Muzzaffir, as the natives term the majestic tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, rises with a pomp of architecture exceeding even the magnificence of the building in its neighbourhood…

The style of Ibrahim Shah's tomb differs entirely from that of the Burra Gumbooz, (another gorgeous sepulcher,) bearing a stronger resemblance to the generality of the Durgas seen in Hindoostan. It consists of a mosque and mausoleum, raised upon the same platform…The sarcophaguses of the king and his family are placed in a large hall in the center of the building... The dome above is raised on arches…

The simplicity of the central hall, which contains the monumental remains of the king and his family, forms a striking contrast to the splendour of embellishment lavished on the exterior; yet its ornaments are not less effective, or worthy of admiration…. the walls are of such finely-grained black granite, as to have been mistaken for marble. The ceiling is particularly fine, the whole roof being formed of the same kind of stone; and, as it is asserted, without the slightest admixture of timber. This ceiling is so constructed that it does not appear to rest upon the main walls of the building, but on a cornice projected from them, so that the area is reduced from forty to twenty-two feet on each side. The roof is quite flat, and richly ornamented, being divided into square compartments; the traverses of which, though of several pieces, look like solid beams; and it excites

wonder that a heavy mass, so disposed, should have existed so many years without the slightest derangement of its parts…

The mosque which fronts this splendid mausoleum, at the distance of forty yards, having a piece of water and a fountain between, is a plain building, one hundred and fifteen feet by seventy-six, crowned with a dome, and flanked at the angles of each story with slender and lofty minarets. The stones of both these buildings are so neatly put together, that it is scarcely possible to perceive where they are joined; and the whole pile, notwithstanding the absence of the white marble, which adds such brilliant splendour to the mausoleums of Hiindoostan, may vie in magnificence with the most celebrated shrines of Eastern monarchs…

11. Imambara at Lucknow, Captain Leopold von Orlic[352]

In the center of the Husan Abad is a lofty portal, ornamented with many small towers, and at the further extremity of the street is the Imaum Barree (holy place), where the Vizir Asoph ud Dowlah is buried. A noble gateway leads to the fore-court, which is planted with flowers, and opposite to it is one of the grandest structures in India, containing the mortal remains of the architect who erected the bridge. The façade is fronted by a vaulted veranda, 280 feet in length and 30 in breadth, and at the north end of it there is a silver pulpit. This is the resort of devotees: and whenever the priest chants verses from the Koran, a man with a drawn sword stands at his side. Among his audience, the descendants of the Prophet are distinguished by their green dress, and the priests by their black or blue robes. The veranda communicates with a vaulted hall 160 feet in length, 60 in breadth, and 40 in height, in the middle of which stands the silver tomb of the vizir and his wife; but this noble hall is deprived of all dignity or solemnity by the mean and trifling ornaments of lamps, chandeliers, bells, pictures, and birds, with which it is bedizened. At either extremity of this hall are two square rooms sixty-two feet in breadth. Close to this colossal edifice stands a large mosque, built of sandstone; it is ornamented with two high minarets, and three bold vaulted cupolas; and, like the mausoleum, is painted white…

G. MINARS

1. Qutb Minar, Captain Leopold von Orlic[353]

One of the greatest curiosities of Delhi is the Coottub-Minar, which is fifteen miles from the city, and is a conspicuous object at a great distance.

This celebrated pillar was erected in 1193 by Coottubud-Deen, the founder of the Ghoorides, who overthrew the throne of the Brahmins in Delhi, in commemoration of the triumph of Mahometanism over Brahminism…

About eight O'clock I stood before the lofty Coottub Minar: it is built of very fine, hard red sandstone, is 62 feet in diameter at the base, and rises to the height of 265 feet; it is divided into three stories, and the upper gallery is elevated 242 feet 6 inches above the ground. This column, which is the highest in the world, was intended by Coottub-ud-Deen to mark the entrance to a mosque which he purposed building. The lower story is about 90 feet high, and is built in alternate angular and concave channelings, on which sentences from the Koran are inscribed in raised Arabic characters; the other two stories consist of concave flutings only, and diminish gradually to the summit. The whole is crowned by a small dome, which is supported by eight square pillars: this dome was shattered by an earthquake in the year 1803, but has been restored by the English in its original form.

Ancient Buddhist and Hindu buildings

The column stands in the midst of some very ancient Bhoodist and Hindoo buildings and Mahometan ruins. The colossal gates and columns, and the bold vaults of the former, still indicate an age of great prosperity, which intended to immortalize its faith and its history by the grandest works of art. On the cornices are sculptures, representing the processions of their kings, similar to those of the princes of our times. The pilasters are ornamented with elephants' heads; and a careful observer might here trace some isolated moments of the history of an age long since past, and of which so little is known. A longer stay than I was enabled to make is however indispensable to an investigation of this kind, and I was forced to content myself with a cursory view. In one of the courts is an ancient iron pillar thirty feet high, with Sanscrit and Arabic inscriptions, on which the tyrant Nadir Shah, in a passion, struck a violent blow with a hatchet, the mark of which still remains.

2. The Firoze Shah Kotla, Captain Leopold von Orlic[354]

Late in the afternoon of the same day [14th February, 1843] I rode through the city, to the ruins of the palace of the Sultan Feroze, situated a few hundred steps without the south gate. On the plateau of this palace is the celebrated Feroze-Cotelah, or column. It is one of those columns which the

pious Fabian speaks of, in his travells 1400 years ago, and of which there is still one in the fort of Allahabad, and three others in North Behar, one in Terai, near to the frontiers of Nepaul, the second not far from Bettiah, and the third on the river Gandaki. They have all the same inscriptions, in the ancient Pali, or Deva Magadhi language, and the Feroze-Cotelah has, also, inscriptions in Persian and Sanscrit. The learned James Princep succeeded in deciphering that in the Pali language. It is an edict of As-o-ko [Ashoka], the Bhoodist king of all India, who lived from 325 to 288 B.C., forbidding the destruction of living animals, and enforcing the observance of Bhoodism [Buddhism].

The Feroze-Cotelah consists of one piece of brown granite; it is ten feet in circumference, and, gradually tapering towards the summit, rises to the height of 42 feet. It is embedded in the platform of the completely ruined palace. The sun was nearly setting when I arrived before these extensive ruins: I tied my horse to a portion of the standing wall, and clambered over ponderous arches and porticoes up to the plateau. On this spot, standing before a monument more than two thousand years old, which reminded me of three great epochs of the history of India, that of the Bhoodists, of the Brahmins, and of the Moguls, surrounded by ruins, extending further than the eye could reach, with a view of Delhi, whose minarets and domes were gilded by the setting sun, – those times and nations could not fail to rise in a magic picture before my mind.

H. GARDENS

1. Shalimar, William Moorcrof[355]

…I started at three, and at nine reached Shahlimar, the large garden laid out by order of Shah Jehan, where I took up my abode in a chamber erected by the Raja close to a well, and a reservoir which it supplies, and from which *jets d'eau* are made to play so near to the apartment as to cool the air at its entrance. Ranjit Singh has, to a considerable extent, put the garden in repair. It is said to contain a hundred bigahs, the whole inclosed by a wall, in the course of which are several buildings. The grounds are intersected by canals, and the walks are formed of bricks laid edgeways. In the middle of the garden is a large square basin for holding water, furnished with copper tubes for fountains, and a white marble slope carved into a surface of leaves and shells, divided into compartments by lines of black marble. There are

some open apartments of white marble of one storey on a level with the basin, which present in front of a square marble chamber with recesses on its sides for lamps, before which water may be made to fall in sheets from a ledge surrounding the room at top, whilst streams of water spout up though holes in the floor. This is called Sawanbhadon, as imitative of the alternation of light and darkness with clouds and heavy showers in the season of the rains. The ground is laid out in platforms, and is covered with fruit trees. The water for its supply is brought by an aqueduct from Shahjehanpur, a distance of eight kos. The gateways are lined with enamelled porcelain, and are in very tolerable repair. In the center is a building of about one hundred feet long, consisting of three lines of arched apartments separated by the pillars from which the arches spring; the roof is painted in *fresco* with flowers. Scattered about the garden, sometimes even in the walks, are fragments of marble sculpture and beautiful mosaic taken from some splendid baths built by the Mohammedan ruler, and suffered by the Sikh prince to fall into decay.

2. Floating gardens, William Moorcrof[356]

Another, and an important use, made of the abundant water surface of Kashmir, is the formation of floating gardens. Various aquatic plants spring from the bottom of the lakes, as water lilies, confervae, sedges, reeds, &c., and as the boats which traverse these water take, generally, the shortest lines they can pursue to the place of their destination, the lakes are, in some parts, cut, as it were, in avenues amongst the plants, which, in shallows, are separated by beds of sedges and of reeds. In the latter places the neighbouring farmer attempts to establish his cucumber and melon floats, by cutting off the roots of the aquatic plants just mentioned, about two feet under the water, so that they completely lose all connexion with the bottom of the lake, but retain their former situation in respect to each other. When thus detached from the soil they are pressed into somewhat closer contact, and formed into beds of about two yards in breadth, and of indefinite length. The heads of the sedges, reeds, and other plants of the float, are now cut off, and laid upon its surface, and covered with a thin coat of mud, which, at first intercepted in its descent, gradually sinks into the mass of matted roots. The bed floats, but is kept in its place by a stake of willow driven through it at each end, which admits of its rising or falling in

accommodation to the rise or fall of the water. By means of a long pole thrust amongst the weeds at the bottom of the lake from the side of a boat, and turned round several times in the same direction, a quantity of confervae and of other plants is torn off from the bottom, and carried in the boat to the platform, where the weeds are twisted into conical mounds about two feet in diameter at their base, and of the same height, terminating at the top in a hollow, which is filled with fresh soft mud, drawn from the bottom of the lake, to which sometimes wood ashes are added, though much more frequently omitted. The farmer has in preparation a large number of cucumber and melon plants, which have been raised under mats, and of these, when they have four leaves, he places three plants in the basin of every cone or mound, of which a double row runs along the edge of every bed, at about two feet distance from each other. No further care is necessary, except that of collecting the fruit, and the expense of preparing the platforms and cones is confined to the value of the labour, which altogether is trifling, as the work is very soon done. Perhaps a more economical method of raising cucumbers cannot be devised, and though the narrow beds are ordinarily almost in contact by their sides, yet, by their flexible nature, they are so separable that a small boat may be readily pushed between the lines without injuring their structure, and, for the most part, they will bear a man's weight, but, generally, the fruit is picked off from the boat. I traversed a tract of about fifty acres of these floating gardens of cucumbers and melons, and saw not above half a dozen unhealthy plants; nor have I seen in the cucumber and melon grounds in the vicinity of very populous cities in Europe, or in Asia, so large an expanse of plant in a state equally healthy, though it must be observed, without running into luxuriance of growth…

The general depth of the floating beds, or mats of weeds and of earth, taken together, was about two feet, and I now observed that some of the beds were about seven feet broad. The general arrangement was line of cucumber cones, bordering each edge, and one of water, or of musk melons, along the middle. The melon plants had become strong, and their cones were now wound round with a fresh addition of confervae and of other weeds, so as to give to each about five feet in diameter…

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Chapter 10
Language, Literature, Science, Education

A. Language
B. Literature, drama, poetry, music
C. Science and medicine
D. Education

A. LANGUAGE

SANSKRIT

1(a) "Astonishing formation," Alexander Do[357]

It has been already observed, that the Bedas [Vedas] are written in the Shanscrita [Sanskrit] tongue. Whether the Shanscrita was, in any period of antiquity, the vulgar language of Hindostan, or was invented by the Brahmins, to be a mysterious repository for their religion and philosophy, is difficult to determine. All other languages, it is true, were casually invented by mankind to express their ideas and wants; but the astonishing formation of the Shanscrita seems to be beyond the power of chance. In regularity of etymology and grammatical order, it far exceeds the Arabic. It, in short, bears evident marks, that it has been fixed upon rational principles, by a body of learned men, who studied regularity, harmony, and a wonderful simplicity and energy of expression.

Though the Shanscrita is amazingly copious, a very small grammar and vocabulary serve to illustrate the principles of the whole. In a treatise of a few pages, the roots and primitives are all comprehended, and so uniform are the rules for derivations and inflections, that the etymon of every word is, with facility, at once investigated. The pronunciation is the greatest difficulty that attends the acquirement of the language to perfection. This is so quick and forcible, that a person, even before the years of puberty, must labour a long time before he can pronounce it with propriety; but when once the pronunciation is attained to perfection, it strikes the ear with amazing boldness and harmony. The alphabet of the Shanscrita consists of fifty letters but one half of these convey combined sounds, so that its characters in fact, do not exceed ours in number.

(b) "Wonderfully concise," Nathaniel Halhe[358]

The Shanscrit language is very copious and nervous, but the style of the best authors wonderfully concise. It far exceeds the Greek and Arabick in the regularity of its etymology, and like them has a prodigious number of derivatives from each primary root. The grammatical rules also are numerous and difficult, though there are not many anomalies. As one instance of the truth of this assertion, it may be observed, that there are seven declensions of nouns, all used in the singular, the dual, and the plural number, and all of them differently formed, according as they terminate with a consonant, with a long or a short vowel; and again different also as they are of different genders: not a nominative case can be formed to anyone of these nouns, without the application of at least four rules, which differ likewise with each particular difference of the nouns as above stated: add to this, that every word in the language may be used through all the seven declensions, and there needs no farther proof of the difficulty of the idiom.

The Shanscrit grammars are called Beeakerun [Vyakaran], of which there are many composed by different authors; some too abstruse even for the comprehension of most Bramins, and others too prolix to be ever used but as references. One of the shortest, named the Sarasootee, contains between two and three hundred pages, and was compiled by Anoobhootee Seroopenam Acharige with a conciseness that can scarcely be parallelled in any other language.

The Shanscrit alphabet contains fifty letters, and it is one boast of the Bramins that it exceeds all other alphabets in this respect: but when we consider that of their thirty-four consonants near half carry combined sounds, and that six of their vowels are merely the correspondent long ones to as many which are short, the advantage seems to be little more than fanciful.

The Shanscrit character, used in Upper Hindostan, is said to be the same original letter that was first delivered to the people of Brihma, and is now called Diewnagur [Devanagari], or the language of angels; whereas the character used of the Bramins of Bengal is by no means so ancient, and though somewhat different is evidently a corruption of the former.

(c) Chiefly confined to Brahmins, George Forste[359]

In my research into the principles of the Hindoo religion, I received great aid from a conversant knowledge of the Marhatta lan-guage, and an acquaintance, though very trivial, with the Sanscrit. The use of this last tongue, now chiefly confined to a particular sect of Bramins, who officiate in the character of priests, hath ever been made the channel of conveying to the Hindoos, the essential tenets of their religion, with all the various forms of their worship. The Sanscrit is a sonorous language, abounding in pith and conciseness; and its periods flow with boldness, and terminate in a cadence peculiarly musical.

(d) "Of perfect structure," Sir William Jone[360]

The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists: there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothick and the Celtick, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanscrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of Persia.

The characters, in which the languages of India were originally written, are called *Nagari,* from *Nagara,* a city, with the word *Deva* sometimes prefixed, because they are believed to have been taught by the Divinity himself, who prescribed the artificial order of them in a voice from heaven. These letters, with no greater variation in their form by the change of straight lines to curves, or conversely, than the Cufick alphabet has received in its way to India, are still adopted in more than twenty kingdoms and states, from the borders of Cashgar and Khoten, to Rama's bridge, and from the Sindhu to the river of Siam; nor can I help believing, although the polished and elegant *Devanagari* may not be so ancient as the monumental characters in the caverns of Jara-sandha [king of Magadh mentioned in the Mahabharat; the reference is probably to inscriptions in the caves of Rajagriha, the ancient capital of Magadh], that the square, Chaldaick letters

in which most Hebrew books are copied, were originally the same, or derived from the same prototype, both with the Indian and Arabian characters: that the Phenician, from which the Greek and Roman alphabets were formed by various changes and inversions, had a similar origin, there can be little doubt; and the inscriptions at Canarah, of which you now possess a most accurate copy, seem to be compounded of *Nagan* and Ethiopicke letters, which bear a close re-lation to each other, both in the mode of writing from the left hand, and in the singular manner of connecting the vowels with the consonants. These remarks may favour an opinion entertained of many, that all the symbols of sound, which at first, probably, were only rude outlines of the different organs of speech, had a common origin; the symbols of ideas, now used in China and Japan, and formerly, perhaps, in Egypt and Mexico, are quite of a distinct nature; but it is very remarkable, that the order of sounds in the Chinese grammars corresponds nearly with that observed in Tibet, and hardly differs from that, which the Hindus consider as the invention of their Gods.

(e) Rev. William Carey on his decision to translate the Scriptures into Sanskrit with the help of the pandits at Fort William Colleg[361]

Sanskrit was the vehicle by which the learned shared their literary information; the depository of their records, and of all the science they possessed. It had, too, a sacred character, as the tongue in which were treasured the stories of their theology, the rites of their religion, the exploits of their gods. To translate the Scriptures thereinto would be to deposit them in the country's archives, and to secure for them a degree of reverence in the Indian people's eyes.

(f) Sanskrit – an index of great cultural achievement, Maria Graha[362]

Were all other monuments swept away from the face of Hindostan, were its inhabitants destroyed, and its name forgotten, the existence of the Sanscrit language would prove that it once contained a race who had reached a high degree of refinement, and who must have been blest with many rare advantages before such a language could have been formed and polished. Amidst the wreck of nations where it flourished, and superior to the havoc of war and of conquest, it remains a venerable monument of the splendor of other times, as the solid pyramid in the deserts of Egypt...

(g) Sacred language, William Macintos[363]

The Hindoo language is beautiful, expressive, and nervous. In reading and speaking, the Hindoos are very musical…There is a dead language, understood only by…the priests, called the Sancrit language, in which their sacred volumes are written.

(h) Sanskrit inseparably linked to Hinduism, Rev. Alexander Duf[364]

…every term in the sacred tongue is linked inseparably with some idea, or sentiment, or deduction of Hinduism, which is a stupendous system of error; – so that a native in acquiring it becomes indoctrinated into a false system; and, after having mastered it, is apt to become *tenfold more* a child of Pantheism, idolatry, and superstition than before! Whereas, in the very act of acquiring English, the mind, in grasping the import of *new terms*, is perpetually brought in contact with the *new ideas*, the *new truths*, of which these terms are the symbols and representatives; – so that, by the time that the language has been mastered, the student must be *tenfold less* the child of Pantheism, idolatry, and superstition than before.

2. Malabarian

(a) The Malabarian dictionary, Bartholomaus Ziegenbal[365]

I have begun compiling a dictionary, and that in such a way as to write first of all each word in Malabarian characters to which I immediately add Latin letters to show how it is to be pronounced correctly, and after that its meaning. One might wish that this language were taught and learned in Europe with as much diligence as other Oriental languages, inasmuch as the Malabarians are a great and innumerable people who might thus be helped out of their heathenish blindness by the Grace of God, if all Protestant kings and potentates would assist in this and allocate sufficient funds. It might also be to their own advantage that one would be able to understand from their writings the *arcanum* (profound mystery) of their theology and philosophy in which one may perhaps find as much that is good and reasonable as in the long since deciphered Aristotle or other heathenish scribes. I myself must confess that my 70-year-old schoolmaster often asks me such questions as tell me clearly that in their philosophy things may not be quite so illogical as people at home are wont to imagine in the case of such heathens. They are so intelligent that were they to hear the scholars in Europe discourse from the lectern on logics, rhetoric and metaphysics, they would laugh with derision and regard such art as the greatest folly about the

general misery that could ever have been invented in the world. [The dictionary was published in 1716].

(b) Father Paulinus, whose travel book contains a wealth of information on India and who gained the confidence of the Maharaja of Travancore, discussed the issue of linguistic[366]

After the king had addressed a few general questions to us concerning the naval war between the English and the French, he asked of me specifically how long I had been in Malabar and how I had managed to learn the local tongue so well. He had often noticed, the king added, that other Europeans either did not understand it at all or, lacking the proper pronunciation, expressed themselves so indistinctly that one could hardly understand them. To this I replied that I was reading most diligently the Brahmin book of Amarasinha. That caused the king uncommon amusement. What? he said, you even read our writings? That is the true and most noble motive for the king's kindness to me and trust in me throughout my stay in Malabar. He was a great admirer of the writings and religion of his people. Now that he saw that the Europeans were studying them as well, it cleared the path for me to get from him, subsequently, many a token of favour which stood the Christian religion in very good stead…

Then the king sent to us through a Brahmin, who acted as his *majordomo* and had another subordinate official with him, a set of dishes prepared in the Malabarian way and paid for out of the king's purse. This quite extraordinary favour is granted only to persons to whom the king wishes to give notable proof of his respect. The king had been learning English for several months and spoke it very well. Now that he had noticed that I was as fluent in Malabarian as in English, he sent his chamberlain, Payampalli Curipu, to me towards evening and requested me to explain to him in the Malabarian language the eight Partes Orationis of the English grammar because he still did not quite know his way about with them. It was true that he had a teacher of English but the latter was not able to explain to him the proper meaning of technical expressions in Malabarian. I put them to paper at once, setting them down side by side in two columns, in Malabarian and English.

The king found my explanation very illuminating, and henceforth always called me his Guru or tutor. He would have liked to keep me at his court;

however, the shrewd Brahmins quickly dissuaded him from that idea. In April 1784, the supervisors of the temple of Shiva in Mattincera would not allow the missionaries to sow the fields they had leased from them with rice. As there was no other plot of land to be had at such short notice, the missionaries lodged a complaint with the Governor of Cochin. However, it appeared that those fields were on the land of the King of Travancore; hence, the Governor of Cochin, Mr. van Angelbeck, was unable to do anything in the matter. Therefore he advised me to travel for a second time to Padmanaburam and to appeal to the king for a repeat rescript, for which purpose he furnished me with several letters of recommendation. On 21st April I safely arrived in Padmanaburam. I had brought the Malabarian-English-Portuguese grammar with me which I had compiled in Ciattiyati and which the king had requested of me in order to help his chamberlains learn English and Portuguese via the Malabarian tongue. The king had scarcely heard of my arrival when he immediately sent me Padmanabhenpulla and Payampalli Curipu, two young chamberlains who were to bid me welcome in his name and lead me to an audience. I found the king on the verandah, i.e. in the portico in front of his palace, where he was sitting on a Persian carpet, supporting on elbow on a large, gold-braided velvet cushion. He was inexpressibly delighted when I handed him my grammar. In my presence, he had the two abovementioned chamberlains called, showed them my grammar, advised them to study it industriously and explained to them how important it was that both princes and ministers of state acquaint themselves with those languages because of the continual contact with the Europeans. On that occasion the king presented me with a gold bangle, a gold stylus with which one writes on palm leaves and a small knife with which these leaves are properly cut. He also gave me a letter to the official in Parur, instructing him to make it public that the king had granted me the honour of naming me his court cavalier. The inner content of those presents is not all that substantial, though, for it amounts to but twelve sequinos; yet in a different sense they are of great value as the king only grants them to persons of merit. In all Malabar no one is allowed to use the aforesaid items unless the king has given him express permission. They are marks of esteem which he bestows in exactly the same way as our European princes do the ribbons of their orders. Those to whom he grants

them also enjoy certain privileges and advantages, e.g. officials cannot bring action against them without the king's knowledge, they can travel everywhere along the royal road, they need not wait in the ministers' antechambers, they need not surrender the seat of honour to anyone, and more of the same.

(c) Language in Malabar, De Grandpr[367]

They commonly write on the fan-palm leaf, using for the purpose an iron bodkin, which they move with the right hand, and conduct with the thumb-nail of the left, holding the leaf in the hand without resting it. When they wish to make a book, they cut a number of leaves of the same length, make holes in them at each end, and file them : to the cords two thin boards wider and longer than the leaves, are fastened, and which serve to preserve them. They shut the book, and fasten it by drawing the cords tight: there are books of this kind extremely voluminous.

The Moors and Malabars have different characters. The Moorish language is derived from the Persian, of which it has taken the alphabet. This language is much used in every part of Asia, China excepted. The soldiers and sailors all speak it.

The Malabar language is that of the country; it has its particular characters. The study of it is by no means disagreeable; and it has literary works numerous enough to afford any one, who is desirous of instructing himself, sufficient reading.

3. The language of Kashmir, George Forste[368]

The language of Kashmire evidently springs from the Sanscrit stock, and resembles in sound, that of the Mahrattas, though with more harshness, which has probably induced the inhabitants to compose their songs in the Persic, or adopt those of the Persian poets. Yet, in despite of the unpleasant tone of their speech, there is scarcely a person in the country, from youth to old age, who has not a taste for music.

4. Hindustani, Victor Jacquemon[369]

I spent the rainy season fifteen miles to the north of Calcutta at M. Pearson's country place, occupied chiefly in studying Hindustani, which I can now speak, understand and write well enough…Hindustani, as you know, is nothing but a rough-and-ready mixture of Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. In those parts of India where Sanskrit was formerly the vulgar

tongue, it still predominates in the Hindustani now spoken; in those geographically nearer to Arabia and Persia, on the other hand, Hindustani is scarcely more than a much corrupted Persian. I have opted for this sort of corruption, so that my jargon may be intelligible both to the people of India and, in case of need, to those of Persia.

B. LITERATURE, DRAMA, POETRY, MUSIC

1. Bartholomaus Ziegenbalg on the literary production of the Tamil intellectual worl[370]

Among these heathens, no art is more common than poetry, because all their books on religion are written in verse, and everything that is sung in their community to this day must be poetic. Hence, the older boys learn poetry in all their schools, and each learns as much of it as he can comprehend. Yet those who have a bent for it, take up poetry afterwards professionally and seek to earn their living by it. For this purpose they have various books in which the foundations of this art are expounded, such as 1. TOLKABIAM in which all precepts of this art are treated in detail; 2. DIWAGARAM and NEGENDU, which are something like dictionaries of poetry, in which copious words can be found; 3. NANNUL, which embodies instruction on how to handle letters, syllables and words and on how to deal with a brief theme by expanding it according to this art; 4. KARIGEI, in which the genders of the verses are explained, etc. However, their poetry is much more difficult than the poetry of other languages; for it consists almost entirely of foreign words and makes up quite a different language of which no Malabari can understand anything unless he has been somewhat trained and made himself familiar with the poetic words in schools. In verse these words deviate from the common construction and are inflected quite differently; this, too, causes much difficulty. In their verses they distinguish 4. PAGUM or kinds, the first is called ASHU and is the easiest kind which can be learned and understood first. The next kind is called MADURAM, and of this kind of verse one can understand only half. The third kind is called CHIDDIRUM, which means such verses as, owing to their learned and unknown words and phrases, are understood by no one, not even properly by the present-day poets. The fourth kind is called WISTARUM and comprises such verses as expand brief themes; these, too,

can be understood only little. In addition to these, they have 32 genders according to which they make up all their verses.

2. Ariel, a pupil of the French Orientalist, Eugene Burnouf [1801-1852], came to Pondicherry and translated the Tamil classic, *Tirukkural.* He wrote to Burnouf about the wor[371]

The Kurral is the masterpiece or *chef d'oeuvre* of Tamil literature – one of the highest and purest expressions of human thought.

That which above all is wonderful in this book is the fact that its author addresses himself, without regard to castes, peoples or beliefs, to the whole community of mankind; the fact that he formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason; that he proclaims in their very essence, in their eternal abstractness, virtue and truth; that he presents, as it were, in one group the highest laws of domestic and social life; that he is equally perfect in thought, in language and in poetry, in the austere metaphysical contemplation of the great mysteries of the Divine Nature, as in the easy and graceful analysis of the tenderest emotions of the heart.

3. Charles Wilkins in his preface of the *Heetopades of Veeshnoo-Sarma* said many of the fables had made their way to Europe centuries before he rendered them into English in 178[372]

The following translation…is a faithful portrait of a beautiful work, which…is the Sanskreet original of those celebrated fables, which after passing through most of the Oriental languages…at length, were introduced to the knowledge of the European world with a title importing them to have been originally written by Pilpay, or Bidpai, an ancient Brahman; two names of which, as far as my enquiries have extended, the Brahmans of the present times are totally ignorant. Sir William Jones says: "…the fables of Veeshnoo-Sarma, whom we ridiculously call Pilpay, are the most beautiful, if not the most ancient collection of Apologues in the world."

4. *Mahabharata* on par with Homer, Rev. William Carey in a letter in April 179[373]

[The *Mahabharata* was] written in most beautiful language; and much upon a par with Homer, – and was it like his Iliad only considered as a great effort of human genius, I should think it one of the first productions of the world, but alas! it is the ground of Faith of Millions of…men; and as such must be held in the utmost abhorrence. [Sanskrit and its literature was] a

golden casket exquisitely wrought, but in reality filled with…pebbles and trash.

5. Literature of Kashmir, William Moorcrof[374]

Literature of any description is almost unknown in Kashmir, and it is not easy to discover any relics of those celebrated Sanscrit compositions which originated in the patronage of the princes of the country whilst it was a Hindu principality. Our attention was especially directed to this subject by a communication from the Secretary of the Asiatic Society, who was desirous of procuring copies of the *Chronicles of Kashmir, the Raja Tarangini*, of a local legend called the *Nila Purana*, and a collection of tales, entitled the *Vrihat Katha*. The most particular inquiry was set on foot for these works, and, after much delay, we heard of two copies of the *Chronicles*, written on birch-bark, and one of the *Vrihat Katha*, on a similar material. They were shown to us, and appeared to be antient. Nothing could induce the owners to part with them, but they had no objection to copies being taken. A copy of the *Raja Tarangini* was accordingly transcribed during our stay, and one of the *Vrihat Katha* was put in hand, under the superintendence of a native friend, who promised to forward it when finished to Calcutta. The *Nila Purana* was less scarce, and a copy was purchased, and sent down. These were the only Sanscrit works of the existence of which we obtained any information.

DRAMA

6. *Shakuntala*, William Robertso[375]

It is only to nations considerably advanced in refinement, that the drama is a favourite entertainment.…From this specimen of the Indian drama [Shakuntala], every reader of good taste, I should imagine, will be satisfied, that it is only among a people of polished manners and delicate sentiments that a composition so simple and correct could be produced or relished... Dramatic exhibitions seem to have been a favourite amusement of the Hindoos as well as of other civilised nations. “The tragedies, comedies, farces, and musical pieces of the Indian theatre, would fill as many volumes as that of any nation in ancient or modern Europe. They are all in verse where the dialogue is elevated, and in prose where it is familiar; the men of rank and learning are represented speaking pure Sanskreet, and the woman Pracrit, which is little more than the language of the Brahmins, melted

down by a delicate articulation to the softness of Italian; while the low persons of the drama speak the vulgar dialects of the several provinces which they are supposed to inhabit."

7. Hindus had drama 2,000 years ago, Sir William Jones in his preface to *Shakantula* [1789][376]

Dramatick poetry must have been immemorially ancient in the Indian empire…By whomsoever or in whatever age this species of entertainment was invented…it was carried to great perfection in its kind…in the first century before Christ…at a time when the Britons were as unlettered and unpolished as the army of Hanumat (satyrs or mountaineers who participated in a great Hindu battle).

[Jones was particularly struck by the fact that Hindu drama employed verse when the dialogue was heightened or exalted, and prose when it was unceremonious and intimate]

8. On the forces of nature represented allegorically as Hindu deities, Sir William Jones, in his introduction to *Shakuntal*[377]

The deities introduced in the Fatal Ring are clearly allegorical personages. Marichi, the first production of Brahma, or the Creative Power, signifies light, that subtle fluid which was created before its reservoir, the sun, as water was created before the sea; Casyapa, the offspring of Marichi, seems to be a personification of infinite space, comprehending innumerable worlds; and his children by Aditi, or his active power (unless Aditi mean the primeval day, and Diti, his other wife, the night) are Indra, or the visible firmament, and the twelve Adityas, or suns, presiding over as many months.

9. Georg Foster [1754-1794] introduced *Shakuntala* to the German intellectual world. He brought *Shakuntala* with him in 1790 from a stay in England. *Shakuntala* set the classically inclined German literary world aflame. It brought a turn towards nature, anticipating the sentiment of romanticism. While in England, Forster became interested in India. For him, India was the symbol of a world of dignified ingenuousness and lucid simplicity. He never had the opportunity of seeing India for himself. In a letter of July 23rd, 1790 to a printer he wrot[378]

I have brought with me from England: Sacontala or The Fatal Ring, an Indian drama, translated by Sir W. Jones from the Sanskrit and written by

Calidas [Kalidas], a famous Indian poet, 1,900 years ago! The qualities of this play make it worthy of close attention. It embodies subtlety, sentiment and poetic fervour despite its childlike innocence of the as yet unformed art of drama. I have co-translated it with my friend Huber (author of *Das heimliche Gericht*). Will you please print it nicely, at 1 Caroline per forme? It is certainly very attractive, as you will see from the sample text I am now having placed in Schiller's *Thalia*.

In his foreword to *Sakontala*, Georg Forster stated

[The fascination of the work did not lie in] its having five or seven acts, but in the fact that the tenderest emotions of which the human heart is capable could have been as well expressed on the Ganges by dark-skinned people as on the Rhine, the Tyber or the Ilissus by our white race.

In a letter (of December 17th, 1795) to Wilhelm Humboldt, Forster declared enthusiastically that "in the whole Greek antique" there were "*no poetic portrayal of beautiful womanhood and beautiful love*" that came anywhere near *Shakuntala*. Even seven years later, he confessed in a letter (of February 20th, 1802) to Goethe

The other day, the Gita Govinda brought me back again also to Sacontala; why, I even read it with the idea whether one might not be able to make use of it for the stage. But it seems that the theatre is directly opposed to it, being, as it were, the only one of all the 32 winds which does not allow this ship – in this country – to sail. That is probably due to her main characteristic which is gentleness, also to a lack of movement, because the poet indulged in spinning out the emotions with a measure of commodious slowness because the climate itself invites repose.

10. Goethe in 1791 on *Shakuntala*[379]

When I mention *Shakuntala*, everything is said.

POETRY

11. A poetic people, Sir William Jone[380]

The Sanscrit Prosody is easy and beautiful: the learned will find in it almost all the measures of the Greeks; and it is remarkable, that the language of the Brahmans runs very naturally into Sapphicks, Alcaicks, and Iambicks. (An evocation of music is found in their lyrics, in the sense that music calls forth a certain emotional response by means of modes, for) the Hindu poets never fail to change the metre, which is their mode, according

to the change of subject or sentiment in the same piece. (One species of their poetry) consists almost wholly of a mystical religious allegory, though it seems on a transient view to contain only the sentiments of a wild and voluptuous libertinism.

12. Joseph Guigniaut, in 1825 on Hindu poetr[381]

The small portion of it with which we are familiar has surprised and impressed all Europe.

MUSIC

13. Harmonious mingling of music and emotional response, Sir William Jones[382]

By appropriating a different mode to each of the different seasons, the artists of India connected certain strains with certain ideas…Yet farther: since the lunar year, by which festivals and superstitious duties are constantly regulated, proceeds concurrently with the solar year, to which the seasons are necessarily referred, devotion comes also to the aid of musick and all the powers of nature, which are allegorically worshipped as gods and goddesses on their several holidays, contribute to the influence of song on minds naturally susceptible of religious emotions.

C. SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

1. The Zodiac known early, Sir Robert Barker [1777[383]

Some doubts have arisen with regard to the certainty of the ancient Bramins having a knowledge in astronomy, and whether the Persians might not have introduced it into Hindostan, when conquered by that people; but these doubts I think must vanish, when we know that the present Bramins pronounce, from the records and tables which have been handed down to them by their forefathers, the approach of the eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and regularly as they advance give timely information to the emperor and the princes in whose dominion they reside. There are yet some remains in evidence of their being at one time in possession of this science. The signs of the Zodiac, in some of their Choultrys on the coast of Coromandel, as remarked by John Call, Esq. F.R.S. in this letter to the Astronomer Royal, requires little other confirmation. Mr. Call says, that as he was laying on his back, resting himself in the heat of the day, in a Choultry at Verdapetah in the Madura country, near Cape Commorin, he discovered the signs of the Zodiac on the ceiling of the Choultry: that he found one, equally complete,

which was on the ceiling of a temple, in the middle of a tank before the pagoda Teppecolum near Mindurah; and the he had often met with several parts in detached pieces. These buildings and temples were the places of residence and worship of the original Bramins, and bear the mark of great antiquity, having perhaps been built before the Persian conquest. Besides, when we know that the manners and customs of the Gentoo religion are such as to preclude them from admitting the smallest innovation in their institutions; when we also know that their fashion in dress, and the mode of their living, have not received the least variation from the earliest account we have of them; it cannot be supposed they would engrave the symbolical figures of the Persian astronomy in their sacred temples; the signs of the Zodiac must therefore have originated with them, if we credit their tradition of the purity of their religion and customs.

2. William Jones in his article "On the Antiquity of the Indian Zodiack[384]

I engage to support an opinion…that the Indian division of the Zodiack was not borrowed from the Greeks or Arabs, but, having been known in this country from time immemorial, and being the same in part with that used by other nations of the old Hindu race, was probably invented by the first progenitors of that race before their dispersion…. Since the solar division of [the zodic] in India is the same in substance with that used in Greece, we may reasonably conclude, that both Greeks and Hindus received it from an older nation…from whom both…had a common descent.

3. M. Bailly, who authored *Traite sur l'Astronomie*, on astronomical observations of the Hindu[385]

[Astronomical tables] were sent to Europe by the French missionary Patouillet and by Gentil. Those tables were obtained from the Brahmins in Tirvalore…The motion calculated by the Brahmins during the long space of 4,383 years, varies not a single *minute* from the tables of Cassini and Meyer.

4. On the astronomy of the Brahmins, John Playfair [1790[386]

These tables [of the Brahmins of Tirvalore, a small town on the Coromandel Coast] go far back into antiquity. Their epoch coincides with the famous era of the Calyougham, that is, with the beginning of the year 3102 before Christ. When the Brahmins of Tirvalore would calculate the

place of the sun for a given time, they begin by reducing into days the interval between that time, and the commencement of the Calyougham, multiplying the years by 365^{d} , 6^{h} , $12'$, $30''$; and taking away 2^{d} , 3^{h}, $32'$, $30''$, the astronomical epoch having begun that much later than the civil. They next find, by means of certain divisions, when the current began, or how many days have elapsed since the beginning of it, and then, by the table of the duration of months, they reduce these days into astronomical months, days, etc. which is the same with the signs, degrees and minutes of the sun's longitude from the beginning of the zodiac. The sun's longitude, therefore, is found.

Somewhat in the same manner, but by a rule still more artificial and ingenious, they deduce the place of the moon, at any given time, from her place at the beginning of the Calyougham. This rule is so contrived, as to include at once the motions both of the moon and of her apogee, and depends on this principle, according to the very skilful interpretation of M. Bailly, that, 1,600,894 days after the above mentioned epoch, the moon was in her apogee, and 7^{s}, 2^{o}, $0'$, $7''$, distant from the beginning of the zodiac; that after 12,372 days, the moon was again in her apogee, with her longitude increased, 9^{s}, 27^{o}, $48''$, $10''$; that in 3031 days more, the moon is again in her apogee with 11s, 7^{o}, $3'$, $1''$ more of longitude; and, lastly, that, after 248 days, she is again in her apogee, with 27^{o}, $44'$, $6''$, more of longitude. By means of the three former numbers, they find, how far, at any given time, the moon is advanced in this period of 248 days, and by a table, expressing how long the moon takes to pass through each degree of her orbit, during that period, they find how far she is then advanced in the zodiac. This rule is strongly marked with all the peculiar characters of the Indian astronomy. It is remarkable for its accuracy, and still more for its ingenuity and refinement; but is not reduced withal, to its ultimate simplicity.

5. "Attained a superior degree of perfection," William Robertso[387]

In all the sciences which contribute towards extending our knowledge of nature, in mathematics, mechanics and astronomy, arithmetic is of elementary use. In whatever country, then, we find such attention has been paid to the improvement of arithmetic as to render its operations most easy

and correct, we may presume that the sciences depending upon it have attained a superior degree of perfection. Such improvement of this science we find in India. While, among the Greeks and Romans, the only method used for the notation of numbers was by the letters of alphabet, which necessarily rendered arithmetical calculation extremely tedious and operose, the Indians had, from time immemorial, employed for the same purpose the ten cyphers, or figures, now universally known, and by means of them performed every operation in arithmetic with the greatest facility and expedition. By the happy invention of giving a different value to each figure according to its change of place, no more than ten figures are needed in calculations the most complex, and of any given extent; and arithmetic is the most perfect of all the sciences. The Arabians, not long after their settlement in Spain, introduced this mode of notation into Europe, and were candid enough to acknowledge that they had derived the knowledge of it from the Indians. Though the advantages of this mode of notation are obvious and great, yet so slowly do mankind adopt new inventions, that the use of it was for some time confined to science; by degrees, however, men of business relinquished the former cumbersome method of computation by letters, and the Indian arithmetic came into general use throughout Europe. It is now so familiar and simple, that the ingenuity of the people to whom we are indebted for the invention, is less observed and less celebrated than it merits.

6. Extraordinary progress, William Robertso[388]

The astronomy of the Indians is a proof still more conspicuous of their extraordinary progress in science. The attention and success with which they studied the motions of the heavenly bodies were so little known to the Greeks and Romans, that it is hardly mentioned by them but in the most cursory manner. But as soon as the Mahomedans established an intercourse with the natives of India, they observed and celebrated the superiority of their astronomical knowledge. Of the Europeans who visited India after the communication with it by the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, M. Bernier, an inquisitive and philosophical traveller, was one of the first who learned that the Indians had long applied to the study of astronomy, and had made considerable progress in that science. His information, however, seems to have been very general and imperfect. We are indebted for the first

scientific proof of the great proficiency of the Indians in astronomical knowledge, to M. de la Loubere, who, on his return from his embassy to Siam, brought with him an extract from a Siamese manuscript, which contained tables and rules for calculating the places of the sun and moon. The manner in which these tables were constructed rendered the principles on which they were founded extremely obscure, and it required a commentator as conversant in astronomical calculation as the celebrated Cassini, to explain the meaning of this curious fragment. The epoch of the Siamese tables corresponds to the 21st of March A.D. 638. Another set of tables was transmitted from Chrisnabouram, in the Carnatic, the epoch of which answers to the 10th of March A.D. 1491. A third set of tables came from Narsapour, and the epoch of them goes no farther back than A.D. 1569. The fourth and most curious set of tables was published by M. le Gentil, to whom they were communicated by a learned Brahmin of Tirvalore, a small town on the Coromandel coast, about twelve miles west of Negapatam. The epoch of these tables is of high antiquity, and coincides with the beginning of the celebrated era of the Calyougham or Collee Jogue [Kali yuga], which commenced, according to the Indian account, three thousand one hundred and two years before the birth of Christ.

These four sets of tables have been examined and compared by M. Bailly, who, with singular felicity of genius, has conjoined an uncommon degree of eloquence with the patient researches of an astronomer, and the profound investigations of a geometrician. His calculations have been verified, and his reasonings have been illustrated and extended by Mr. Playfair, in a very masterly Dissertation, published in the Transcriptions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

Instead of attempting to follow them in reasonings and calculations, which from their nature are often abstruse and intricate, I shall satisfy myself with giving such a general view of them as is suited to a popular work. This, I hope, may convey a proper idea of what has been published concerning the astronomy of India, a subject too curious and important to be omitted in any account of the state of science in that country; and, without interposing any judgment of my own, I shall leave each of my readers to form his own opinion.

It may be considered as the general result of all the inquiries, reasonings, and calculations, with respect to Indian astronomy, which have hitherto been made public, “That the motion of the heavenly bodies, and more particularly their situation at the commencement of the different epochs to which the four sets of tables refer, are ascertained with great accuracy; and that many of the elements of their calculations, especially for very remote ages, are verified by an astonishing coincidence with the tables of the modern astronomy of Europe, when improved by the latest and most nice deductions from the theory of gravitation.” These conclusions are rendered peculiarly interesting, by the evidence which they afford of an advancement in science unexampled in the history of rude nations. The Indian Brahmins, who annually circulate a kind of almanac, containing astronomical predictions of some of the more remarkable phenomena in the heavens, such as the new and full moons, the eclipses of the sun and moon, are in possession of certain methods of calculations, which, upon examination, are found to involve in them a very extensive system of astronomical knowledge. M. le Gentil, a French astronomer, had an opportunity, while in India, of observing two eclipses of the moon which had been calculated by a Brahmin, and he found the error in either to be very inconsiderable.

Brahmin method of predicting eclipses different from any other

The accuracy of these results is less surprising than the justness and scientific nature of the principles on which the tables, by which they calculate, are constructed; for the method of predicting eclipses which is followed by Brahmins, is of a kind altogether different from any that has been found in the possession of rude nations in the infancy of astronomy. In Chaldea, and even in Greece, in early ages, the method of calculating eclipses was founded on the observation of a certain period or cycle, after which the eclipses of the sun and moon return nearly in the same order; but there was no attempt to analyze the different circumstances on which the eclipse depends, or to deduce its phenomena from a precise knowledge of the motions of the sun and moon. This last was reserved for a more advanced period, when geometry, as well as arithmetic, were called in to the assistance of astronomy, and, if it was attempted at all, seems not to have been attempted with success before the age of Hipparchus. It is a method of this superior kind, founded on principles and on an analysis of the motions of the sun and moon, which guides the calculations of the Brahmins, and

they never employ any of the grosser estimations, which were the pride of the first astronomers in Egypt and Chaldea.

Principles which guide Brahmins

The Brahmins of the present times are guided in the calculations by these principles, though they do not now understand them; they know only the use of the tables which are in their possession, but are unacquainted with the method of their construction. The Brahmin who visited M. le Gentil at Pondicherry, and instructed him in the use of the Indian tables, had no knowledge of the principles of his art, and discovered no curiosity concerning the nature of M. le Gentil's observations, or about the instruments which he employed. He was equally ignorant with respect to the authors of these tables: and whatever is to be learned concerning the time or place of their construction, must be deducted from the tables themselves. One set of these tables (as was formerly observed) profess to be as old as the beginning of the Calyougham, or to go back to the year 3102 before the Christian era…

[The result of the enquiries of M. Bailly] is asserted to be, that the astronomy of India is founded on observations which cannot be of a much later date than the period above mentioned. For the Indian tables represent the state of the heavens at that period with astonishing exactness; and there is between them and the calculations of our modern astronomy such a conformity with respect to those ages, as could result from nothing, but from the authors of the former having accurately copied from nature, and having delineated truly the face of the heavens, in the age wherein they lived…It is accordingly for those very remote ages (about 5000 years distant from the present) that their astronomy is most accurate, and the nearer we come down to our own times, the conformity of its results with ours diminishes. It seems reasonable to suppose, that the time when its rules are most accurate, is the time when the observations were made on which these rules are founded.…

The superior perfect of the Indian tables becomes always more conspicuous as we go farther back into antiquity. This shows, likewise, how difficult it is to construct any astronomical tables which will agree with the state of the heavens for a period so remote from the time when the tables were constructed, as four or five thousand years. It is only from astronomy

in its most advanced state, such as it has attained in modern Europe, that such accuracy is to be expected.

When an estimate is endeavoured to be made of the geometrical skill necessary for the construction of the Indian tables and rules, it is found to be very considerable; and, beside the knowledge of elementary geometry, it must have required plain and spherical trigonometry, or something equivalent to them, together with certain methods of approximating to the values of geometrical magnitudes, which seem to rise very far above the elements of any of those sciences. Some of these last mark also very clearly, (although this has not been observed by M. Bailly), that the places to which these tables are adapted must be situated between the Tropics, because they are altogether inapplicable at a greater distance from the Equator.

From this long induction, the conclusion which seems obviously to result is, that the Indian astronomy is founded upon observations which were made at a very early period; and when we consider the exact agreement of the places which they assign to the sun and moon, and other heavenly bodies, at that epoch, with those deduced from the tables of De la Caille and Mayer, it strongly confirms the truth of the position which I have been endeavouring to establish concerning the early and high state of civilization in India.

7. Science flourished, George Forste[389]

My knowledge of astronomy is so confined, that I am almost incapacitated from describing the attainment of the Bramins in that science, long before the era in which it flourished in the eastern world. The zodiac, with its twelve signs, is well known to the Hindoos, and they have bestowed on the seven days of the week, which commences with Sunday, the names of the planets. The solar year of the Hindoos, which is arranged in six seasons, consists of twelve months, containing three hundred and sixty-five days; and once in the term of four years an additional day is annexed for the completion of the earth’s precise revolutions round the sun. Commercial transactions and writings of correspondence are dated amongst the Hindoos according to the lunar, or Lumbut year, which commences about the period of the vernal equinox. The month is calculated from the full moon, and is divided into thirty equal parts. Those comprehending the moon’s increase, are termed Bood, and the portion of its wain, Bole, or Bood. On the third

year of the Lumbut, an extraordinary month is intercalated, for the inclusion of the time required, in equalizing the lunar and solar systems. The Joaguals are divided into cycles of twelve and sixty years, each of which is distinguished by its peculiar denomination. The observatory at Benares, though rude in its structure, and containing instruments suitably coarse, proves notwithstanding, that the Hindoos possess the knowledge of ascertaining the motions of the heavenly bodies. Could access be obtained to such records of the Hindoos as are divested of that redundancy of fable with which their priests have so copiously interwoven them, it would not be presumptuous to suppose, that we would discover they had been, in the more early ages of the world, one of the most enlightened nations that inhabited the earth.

8. Science of the Hindus, Thomas Twinin[390]

Among the papers collected in my journeyings was an Almanac made by the Hindoo Astronomers of Benaras, where I bought it.…It contains tables indicating the rising and setting of the sun, the phase of the moon, and the eclipses that would take place in the course of the year…The astronomical calculations it contains have been ascertained to be perfectly correct. I have seen multitudes of the natives, guided by these almanacs, assembled to observer an eclipse which had been calculated with the greatest precision…

They have records of astronomical observations actually made at the junction of the sun and moon, 3102 years before our era, when the junction *did* take place.…Their notions of the obliquity of the ecliptic are said to accord exactly with our own. The proportion of the circumference of a circle to its diameter was known to them before it was known in Europe.…

9. Maps by natives, Bishop Hebe[391]

About half-way we were overtaken by Mr. Williamson himself, who rode with us to our camp, as did also Captain Ovans, who was encamped near and employed in taking a survey of the country. This gentleman brought with him some specimens of his maps, which are extremely minute, extending to the smallest details usually expressed in the survey of a gentleman's property in England, with a copious field book, and a particular statement of the average number of farms, tanks, hills, orchards, &c. in each townland.

The execution of the maps is very neat, and their drawing said to be wonderfully accurate, though the mapping, measurement, and angles are, as well as the drawing, by native assistants. All which Captain Ovans seems to do is generally to superintend their operations, to give them instruction in cases of difficulty, to notice any error which he may discover in their calculation, and to cover with ink and finish for the inspection of Government the maps which they delineate in pencil. Their neatness, delicacy, and patience in the use of the different instruments and the pencil, he spoke of as really extraordinary; and he was no less satisfied with their intelligence, acuteness, and readiness in the acquisition of the necessary degree of mathematical science. From these gentlemen I gleaned several interesting facts about the inhabitants of this country.

MEDICINE

10. Nicolas L'Empereur, an employ of the Compagnie des Indes, posted at Balasore, in letters to his friend Gabriel Delavigne, on Indian remedies[392]

Letter dated 20 January 1699

[I plan to buy] all the books on medicine that the people here have and find out how they use them. I plan to translate these into French so that we know all the cures, great and small, that are as yet unknown to Europeans. We will thereby be able to constitute a library of medical works for India as well as a pharmacy…Indians usually compose their remedies themselves as and when they need them. There are no druggists because it is not worth their while except in Surat in Gujarat where one finds drugs imported by sea from far and wide.

Letter dated 6 January 1701

This work will be of considerable size and, once printed, nothing [of Indian medicine] will be left unknown to the European surgeon.

'Note to the Reader' in his *Jardin de Lorixa* [*Flora of Orixa*],

There are fakirs who travel all their lives and many have a lot of wisdom. However, it is difficult to get them to share any of it, unless you know them intimately and offer them alms. Otherwise,…they inform you coldly that they are not interested in money. But I have been friendly with two of them for twelve or fifteen years and through them I have met other passing fakirs. Whenever I find a simple, they instruct me about its properties and uses.

Letter dated 20 January 1727

The fakirs who have the best remedies come every winter to bathe in the Ganges. By giving them something and speaking to them in [Hindustani], directly without interpreters, they let you into their secrets. It was a fakir who thus taught me the great remedy for epilepsy.

11. Father Pierre Martin, who came to India in 1699, describes some of his observations on Indian remedie[393]

[In 1709, while in Marwar, he noted that Indian doctors did not bleed patients like French doctors did]. They practiced purges and made their patients observe a very strict diet. It must be admitted that Indians recover from many illnesses thanks to an extraordinary abstinence. By drinking only warm water, they live as long as Europeans do.

12. Have cures for most diseases, Quintin Craufur[394]

The study of medicine is followed in Hindostan, by persons who devote themselves entirely to that profession. In their books are to be found the names, and supposed causes of almost all diseases that are known, and receipts for the remedies that are to be applied. They consult the pulse with much attention, and, perhaps aided by the great sensibility of their touch, they discern with exactness the least variation in its motion. In all bilious cases they prescribe copious purging, but are at all times averse to bleeding or vomiting. In feverish complaints, they chiefly trust for a cure to extreme abstinence, and large draughts of *cangi*, or light gruel made of rice…

13. Operation of inoculation of smallpox as performed in Bengal, Ro. Coult in 173[395]

The operation of inoculation called by the natives *tikah* has been known in the kingdom of Bengall as near as I can learn, about 150 years and according to the Bhamanian records was first performed by one Dununtary, a physician of Champanager, a small town by the side of the Ganges about half way to Kasimbazaar whose memory is now beholden in great esteem as being thought the author of this operation, which secret, they say, he had immediately of God in a dream.

Their method of performing this operation is by taking a little of the pus (when the smallpox are come of maturity and are of a good kind) and dipping these in the point of a pretty large sharp needle. Therewith make several punctures in the hollow under the deltoid muscle or sometimes in

the forehead, after which they cover the part with a little paste made of boiled rice.

When they want the operation of the inoculated matter to be quick they give the patient a small bolus made of a little of the pus, and boiled rice immediately after the operation which is repeated the two following days at noon.

14. The treatment of small-pox, Edward Ives[396]

The custom of inoculating for the Small-pox among the natives, though not common in other parts of the East Indies, is frequent in Bengal; and the manner of performing the operation is in many respects singular, and different from that now practised in England. They take, as Mr. Thomas and I were informed, some matter from the pock of a person who has the disease in a favourable way, and put it into a phial or gallipot. They then dip the point of a needle in this matter, and with it prick the person intended to be inoculated several times in a circle, on the fleshy part of the arm. If he be a grown person, they prick him in both arms. After the blood is wiped away, they rub some more matter on the part, and order the patient to bathe in cold water three times a day, and to live on the most cooling things he can possibly procure, such as water-melons, cucumbers, rice, water, etc. As soon however as the fever comes on, which happens about the fifth or seventh day, the patient is ordered to leave off bathing and the cool diet, and to live on milk and sugar: the fever generally lasts three days and then goes quite off. On the second day after the pock has appeared, they wash the whole body with cold water, which fills the pustules; and this they do for the three succeeding days, two or three times each day, continuing the same regimen of milk and sugar for diet. When the pock is drying off, they sprinkle the patient with rose-water; or when this cannot be had with the juice of *Suttamullie, Suctapot, Culmee*, and root of green Turmeric. If the pock be very thick, they give the patient *Joan*-seeds to chew, and frequently tie *Bang*-leaves (which is a kind of hemp) on the parts most affected. It is a common practice among the Portuguese, and some of the Indians on the Malabar coast, when the pock is fairly turned, to lay on wood and cow-dung ashes very thick, which they think imbibe the matter, and make the scab fall off the more easily. They leave it to nature to disengage herself from this compound of ashes and pustulary discharge. Their hopes of a cure from this

method, seem to be founded on the supposed antiputrescent and absorbent quality of the ashes. I refer it to better judges to determine whether this practice be rational or not: however, in general the patients recover from this loathsome disorder.

15. Nasotomy at Kangra, G.T. Vign[397]

Bur Kangra has throughout the East an old and far-famed celebrity for a very different reason – the performance by its inhabitants of the operation of nasotomy, if such a term may be applied where a new feature is given. People come even from Persia, to seek for a new nose at this out-of-the-way place. The Emperor Akber ordered that of some miscreant to be cut off; and the sentence was carried into execution. Some time afterwards he made his appearance with a new nose; and the astonished monarch asked how he had acquired it. He was informed that Budyn, a surgeon of his own, had given the man his new nose; and he rewarded his skill by putting him in possession of a Jaghir at Kangra, and gave him the necessary writing, which is still in the possession of one of his descendants at Kangra, the Sikhs, of course, having taken possession of the Jaghir. Had the deed been produced, and shewn to me, as I wished, they would perhaps have seized that also.

Two practitioners, of whom I attempted to elicit the secrets of their art, were very unwilling to make any communication. However, I learned that they first give the patient a sufficient quantity of opium, bang, or wine, to render him senseless: they then, so I was informed, tap the skin on the forehead, above the nose, until a sort of blister arises, from which a piece of skin, of the proper shape, is then cut, and immediately applied as a nose, sewed on, and supported by pieces of cotton. The wound is then dressed with an ointment, in which blue vitriol is one ingredient.

The surgeons practice upon the credulity of the Hindus, by telling them that all that is done is by favour of the Devi, or spirit, he himself being altogether featureless; and that the operation would succeed nowhere but at Kot Kangra. On my way to and from the place I saw several persons who had been operated upon, and were returning homeward, looking quite proud of their new acquisition, which was, however, but a sorry substitute for the old feature.

D. EDUCATION

1. Fra Paolino Da Bartolomeo who was in India from 1776 to 178[398]

The education of youth in India is much simpler, and not near so expensive as in Europe. The children assemble half naked under the shade of a coconut tree; place themselves in rows on the ground, and trace out on the sand, with the fore finger of the right hand, the elements of their alphabet, and then smooth it with the left when they wish to trace out other characters. The writing master, called *Agian*, or *Eluttacien*, who stations himself opposite to his pupils, examines what they have done; points out their faults, and shews them how to correct them. At first, he attends them standing; but when the young people have acquired some readiness in writing, he places himself cross-legged on a tyger's or deer's skin, or even on a mat made of the leaves of the coconut-tree, or wild ananas, which is called *Kaida*, plaited together. This method of teaching writing was introduced into India two hundred years before the birth of Christ, according to the testimony of Magasthenes, and still continues to be practiced. No people, perhaps, on earth have adhered so much to their ancient usages and customs as the Indians.…

When the Guru, or teacher, enters the school, he is always received with the utmost reverence and respect. His pupils must throw themselves down at full length before him; place their right hand on their mouth, and not venture to speak a single word until he gives them express permission. Those who talk and prate contrary to the prohibition of their master are expelled from the school, as boys who cannot restrain their tongue, and who are consequently unfit for the study of philosophy. By these means the preceptor always receives that respect which is due to him: the pupils are obedient, and seldom offend against rules which are so carefully inculcated.

2. Education not limited to a select group, William Macintos[399]

…even the inferior classes are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic: the youth are taught, not within doors, but in the open air; and it is a singular, but not unpleasing spectacle, to behold, in every village, a venerable old man, reclined on a terraced plain, teaching a number of surrounding boys, who regard him with the utmost reverence and attention, like a shepherd feeding his flock. In those simple seminaries…the gentle and tractable sons of the Hindoos are not only prepared for the business, but instructed in the duties of life; a profound veneration for the object or objects of religious worship; a reverence of their parents; respects for their seniors; justice and

humanity towards all men, but a particular affection for those of their own Caste.

3. A.D. Campbell, Collector of Bellary, in August 1823, on native schools in his distric[400]

When the whole are assembled, the scholars, according to their number and attainments, are divided into several classes, the lower ones of which are partly under the care of monitors, whilst the higher ones are more immediately under the superintendence of the master, who at the same time has his eye upon the whole school. The number of classes is generally four, and a scholar rises from one to the other according to his capacity and progress. The first business of a child on entering school is to obtain a knowledge of the letters, which he learns by writing them with his finger on the ground in sand, and not by pronouncing the alphabet, as among European nations. When he becomes pretty dexterous writing with his finger in sand, he has then the privilege of writing either with iron style on cadjan leaves, or with a reed on paper, and sometimes on the leaf of the Aristolochia Indica, or with a kind of pencil on the Hulligi or Kad which answers the purpose of slates. The two latter in these districts are most common…

The economy with which children are taught to write in the native schools, and the system by which the more advanced scholars are caused to teach the less advanced, and at the same time to confirm their own knowledge, is certainly admirable, and well deserved the imitation it has received in England. The chief defects of the native schools are the nature of the books and learning taught, and the want of competent masters.

4. T.B. Jervis, from the South Konkan district, on the daily routine of an elementary schoo[401]

The teacher or one of the boys more advanced writes out the letters, or other lessons, on a Board covered with sand, or brick dust; he then consigns the lekhnee or pencil to his pupil who traces the form of the letters, in succession, and repeats after his instructor the various sounds and powers of each combination. Having repeated his lesson twice, or three times, after his instructor, he is left to himself, and proceeds in the same method, till he is perfect master of his task. He then rubs out the teacher’s lesson, and writes

it himself, and continues to do so, till he has fixed the form as well as the powers of the several characters in his memory.

A month, or even two are usually devoted to the ceremony of tracing the letters, *Shree Guneshayunumuhu;* after this come the letters of the alphabet, and the *barakuree* or twelve combinations of consonants with vowels, and the figures which are learnt as far as 100: certain small portions being written, and their powers learnt from the instructor till all are thoroughly acquired. Then they proceed to Multiplication Table, called Lekhe, as far as 10 times 20; after which they write down and commit to memory various tables Paokee, Neemukee, Paonekee, Suwakee, Deerkee, Ureechkee; which are multiples of fractional parts by integers; and lastly tables of money, weights and measures: These rudiments, having been thoroughly acquired, the children are said to have got through the Doolukshur, or dust writing, and they proceed to writing on paper, to reading, and arithmetic…

5. William Adam, in his First Report of July 1835, on the state of indigenous education in Benga[402]

The estimate of 100,000 such schools (indigenous elementary schools) in Bengal and Behar is confirmed by a consideration of the number of villages in those two provinces. Their number has been officially estimated at 150,748, of which, not all, but most have each a school. If it be admitted that there is so large a proportion as a third of the villages that have no schools, there will still be 100,000 that have them. Let it be admitted that these calculations from uncertain premises are only distant approximations to the truth, and it will still appear that the system of village schools is extensively prevalent…

6. Learning by versified enigmas, Reverend Robert Caldwell [1814-1891[403]

[Learning] versified enigmas and harmonious platitudes [led Indians to develop great capacity for patient labour and] an accurate knowledge of details [but inhibited development of a] zeal for historical truth [and the] power of generalization and discrimination.

7. Francis Ellis, of the Madras Civil Service, on the Indian system of memorizatio[404]

…the mode of study prevalent among the natives of India (was) the best means of conveying the law. [All knowledge and science in India] from the

lowest to the highest form of logic and theology [were] acquired by committing to memory technical verses. [The memorized verses were like a] tap root [from which the pundit could draw to] explain, illustrate or enforce dicta. [Indian reasoning was based on] the habit of their education [which rested on the memorization] of concentrated not diffuse knowledge, [which was easier to understand in verse form].

8. English schools, Captain Leopold von Orlic[405]

Among a people entertaining such religious and social principles, it must be difficult for the English to introduce Christianity and European learning: the former makes but comparatively slow progress, through the labours of the missionaries, while the latter daily gains ground, and promotes the Christian spirit and manner. Though it is only within the last twenty years that the British government has begun to provide for the establishment of schools and popular instruction, yet much has been effected within this short period. Deeply impressed with the vast importance of the subject, the government has prosecuted the undertaking on a truly noble scale, and with an energy and zeal commensurate with its end…

9. Medical College at Calcutta, Captain Leopold von Orlic[406]

On the foundation of the Medical College at Calcutta, Dwarkanath instituted an annual prize of 2000 rupees, for three years, for the best scholar, and expressed himself, in a letter, as follows:- “My own experience has taught me that no motive is more powerful with the natives than pecuniary rewards, and I am convinced that the difficulties will vanish in proportion as young men are encouraged in this manner.” This frank and sincere acknowledgment clearly intimates the motive which induces many parents to send their children to school; but, on the other hand, it is not to be denied, that occasionally a thirst for knowledge and a desire of improvement lead the youth to school. Thus, in the Hindoo College at Calcutta, I met with the only son of distinguished and wealthy parents, of Assam, who by his ardour for improvement, and his good moral conduct, was honourably distinguished among his collegiates. Two scholars, in the Hindoo College at Hooghly, had likewise devoted all their energies to the study of astronomy, and, from their own scanty means, had themselves made the requisite instruments for observing the stars; with small magnifying powers, indeed, but answering the purpose.

Boys of all ages, above seven, and of every religion and caste, from the highest Brahmin to the lowest Shoodra, are found in these schools. The scholars themselves make no distinction whatever on this account, though, in order to avoid giving offence, there is a regulation that if the parents or children of the higher caste should insist upon it, a child belonging to the lowest caste must be removed from the institution; but such a case has never occurred. Only in children of the highest caste of the Brahmins a partial separation is made when they take their meals, which are brought to them by servants of their own caste. These boys then retire to a place appropriated to them, where they sit down apart from their fellow-scholars. In other respects, they live together in a familiar and friendly manner, both in and out of school…

A very striking fact among the boys, especially the children of Hindoos, is their quick comprehension, their intellectual activity, and their love of European learning, especially metaphysics and the *belles lettres*. Of ten children of the higher classes, you will find nine who are fond of poetry, and have made themselves familiar with the best poets of England. With this passion for poetry, however, they find it difficult to make verses, though they are inexhaustible in ideas for poetical subjects. In the other branches of learning, particularly mathematics, history, and geography, I find as much knowledge among the scholars of the first class as among our first class at the Gymnasia…

Though it cannot be doubted that there are boys of remarkable talent among the scholars, it is equally true, that no men of distinguished eminence have arisen among them. They appear like tropical plants, which rapidly arrive at maturity: they attain their physical and intellectual perfection too prematurely to be vigorous and durable: they are tall and slender, but their nerves and muscles are weak, and they have no stamina. It is evident, that among them brilliant schoolboys seldom enter into life as eminent men; and it is to be feared, that the mind of the Bengalese will never acquire any very great depth, or be endowed with much activity. The few exceptions, among whom Rammohun Roy cannot be wholly excluded, are distinguished only as Hindoos, and would never have been considered great men in our own country.

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Chapter 11
Religion and Philosophy

A. Features of Hindu philosophy
B. Sacred texts
C. Hindu mythology
D. On Conversions

A. FEATURES OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY

1. The French Jesuit, Father Pons, writing in 1740, on the *Vedanta* as expounded by Shankar[407]

The concepts provided by the disciples of this Being are admirable. In its natural oneness, it is, in a way, triune through its existence, its infinite light, and its supreme joy; everything there is eternal, non-material, infinite. But because the personal experience of the Self is not consistent with this very beautiful idea, they admit of another principle, which is purely negative and which consequently has no real being, the Maya of the Self; that is to say, illusion. For example, I believe I am now actually writing to you about the system of Vedanta, but I am mistaken. In truth, I am *self*, but you do not exist; I am not writing to you at all. No one has ever conceived of Vedanta, nor of a system; I am mistaken, that is all, but my delusion has no existence. That is what they explain through the analogy they always repeat of a rope on the ground which one might think to be a snake.

2. Tenets of Bramah are most ancient, John Zephaniah Holwel[408]

Without reposing an implicit confidence in the relations the Bramins give of the antiquity of their scriptures; we will with our readers' indulgence, humbly offer a few conjectures that have swayed us into a belief and conclusion, that the original tenets of Bramah are most ancient; that they are truly original, and not copied from any system of theology, that has ever been promulged to, or obtruded upon the belief of mankind…

It has been without reserve asserted, that the Gentoos received their doctrines and worship, from the Persees or Egyptians; but without (as we conceive) any degree of probability, or grounds, for the foundation of this opinion: reason and facts, seeming to us, to be on the side of the very contrary opinion.

That there was a very early communication between the empires of Persia, Egypt and Indostan, is beyond controversy; the former lay contiguous to Indostan; and although Egypt lay more remote from it, there still was an easy passage open between them, by the navigation from the Red-Sea, to the Indus: therefore it will appear no strained conclusion, if we say; it is most likely there had been frequent intercourse between the learned Magi of both those nations, and the Bramins, long before the last mentioned sages were visited by Zoroaster and Pythagoras.

Brahmins famed in the earliest known times

It is necessary to remark that the Bramins did not, indeed could not, seek this intercourse, for the principles of their religion forbad their travelling, or mixing with other nations; but so famed were they in the earliest known times for the purity of their manners, and the sublimity of their wisdom and doctrines, that their converse was sought after, and solicited universally by the philosophers, and searchers after wisdom and truth. For this character of them, we have the concurring testimony of all antiquity.

Visited by Zoroaster and Pythagoras

At what period of time, Indostan was visited by Zoroaster and Pythagoras, is not clearly determined by the learned; we will suppose it, with the generality of writers, to have been about the time of Romulus. That these sages travelled, not to instruct, but, to be instructed; is a fact that may be determined with more precision; as well as, that they were not in Indostan together. As they both made a long residence with the Bramins North West of the Ganges (for the name of *Zardhurst*, and *Pythagore* retain a place in the Gentoo annals ‘as travellers in search of wisdom’) it is reasonable to conclude they might in some degree be instructed in the Sanscrit character, and consequently, in the doctrines and worship instituted by the *Chatah* and *Aughtorrah Bhades* (Atharva Veda).

It is worthy notice that the metempsychosis as well as the three grand principles taught in the greater Eleusinian mysteries; namely, the unity of the godhead, his general providence over all creation, and a future state of rewards and punishments; were fundamental doctrines of Bramah’s *Chatah Bhade Shastah* [*Satapatha Brahmana*], and were preached by the Bramins, from time immemorial to this day, throughout Indostan: not as mysteries, but as religious tenets, publicly known and received; by every Gentoo, of the meanest capacity; this is a truth, which, we conceive, was unknown to

the learned investigator of the Eleusinian mysteries; or it is probable he would, with more caution, have asserted, that the Eastern nations received their doctrines from the Egyptians.

Although the polytheism of the Gentoos had its origin from the first promulgation of the *Chatah Bhade Shastah,* and their mythology from the publication of the *Aughtorrah Bhade*; yet the above mentioned theological dogmas remained inviolable and unchanged: and as these, with the firm persuasion of the prae-existent state of the spirit, or soul, have ever been, and still are, the very basis of all the Gentoo worship; it appears to us most probable, (from the early communication before remarked, and the reasons before given) that the Egyptians borrowed these tenets from the Bramins.

That Pythagoras took the doctrine of the metempsychosis, from the Bramins, is not disputed: yet future times erroneously stiled it Pythagorean; an egregious mistake, which could proceed only from ignorance of its original.

Whatever may have been the period, that Indostan was visited by the two travelling sages abovementioned; it is acknowledged that Pythagoras undertook that journey, some years later than Zoroaster: when Pythagoras left India, he went into Persia, where he conversed with the Magi of that country, and was instructed in their mysteries; and is said (with probability of truth) to have held many conferences with Zoroaster, on the doctrines of the Bramins. They had both been initiated in all the mysteries, and learning, of the Egyptians; and Pythagoras, in his second visit to Egypt, before his return to Greece, probably repaid the debt of wisdom he had received from the Magi, of giving them new, and stronger lights, into the theology, cosmogony and mythology of the Bramins, from their *Chatah,* and *Aughtorrah Bhades...*

3. Belief in transmigration of the soul, Father Matteo Rip[409]

The Idolaters, according to their different sects, have Temples, Priests, Prayers, and Idols. Among the countless errors, in which an infinite number of these benighted Idolaters live, is that of the transmigration of souls: this explains their special affection for all sorts of animals and insects, which they do not kill, nor eat the flesh of, but feed most carefully to the extent of having hospitals for lice and fleas. People even pay a high price to let them with impunity suck their blood for some time. They are convinced, indeed,

that after death their souls have to pass into the body of some animals more or less unclean, in proportion to the greater or similar number of sins or good actions they have performed in life. They love and venerate, above all, rams (*montoni*) and cows, because they believe very foolishly that they supported the earth on their horns, and that a cow appeased the wrath of their Idol, Mahadeu, when he wished to destroy the Universe in punishment for the sins of men. Another fable of theirs is that after death they will have to pass a big river, and they will not be able to pass it unless they cling very strongly to the tail of some ram (*montone*) or cow. Accordingly, on rising from their bed in the morning just as we sign our forehead with holy water, so do they defile it with cowdung, and thus defiled they go about the whole day and transact their affairs. And just as we consider ourselves happy, if a priest of holy life assists us in our last moments, so do they consider it as the happiest omen, and a guarantee that they will be able to cross at once the fabulous stream, if in their agony they can have a cow near them and hold her by the tail. Should the animal void herself while they expire, they take it for the clearest sign of hoped-for bliss, assured that they will migrate into that very cow. On the death of the Idolater, this cow is kept and sumptuously fed, and the relatives of the deceased show her all the regard and give her all the tokens of esteem and affection which they would have given to the defunct himself, when he was alive. These superstitions in regard to these animals, in particular the cow, being so strong, when some of them are converted to our Holy Faith, the first trial the missionary makes of the sincerity of their conversion is to make them eat beef, to them a very hard and arduous trial, both on account of their natural repugnance to such food, and because, if those of their sect come to hear of it, they abominate them as impure, and refuse to eat with them, or drink or converse with them. It was what I experienced with one of that Sect, whom the Lord deigned to convert through me; but I shall speak elsewhere of him and his heathen companion.

4. Belief in transmigration not peculiar to Brahmins, Alexander Do[410]

The opinion of this philosopher, that the soul, after death, assumes a body of the purer elements, is not peculiar to the Brahmins. It descended from the Druids of Europe, to the Greeks, and was the same with the [Form] of Homer. His idea of the manner of the transmigration of the human soul into

various bodies is peculiar to himself. As he holds it as a maxim that a portion of the GREAT SOUL or God, animates every living thing; he thinks it no ways inconsistent, that the same portion that gave life to man, should afterwards pass into the body of any other animal. This transmigration does not, in his opinion, debase the quality of the soul: for when it extricates itself from the fetters of the flesh, it reassumes its original nature.

5. Theory of transmigration consists of the various gradations of reward and punishment, George Forste[411]

The Hindoos believe implicitly in predestination, and in the transmigration of the soul. The first, though it may operate in cramping the genius and obstructing its progressive powers, has a happy tendency in assuaging their misfortunes, and administering a comfort in all the wants of life. They say it is the hand of God, which for some inscrutable purpose, directs and impels the actions of his creatures. The doctrine of Metempsychosis restrains them from the use of animal food, an aliment not necessary in a hot climate, and often attended with per-nicious consequences. This restriction may also have contributed to infuse into the minds an abhorrence of sanguinary acts, and inculcate the virtues of humanity and general philanthropy.

…In the transmigration of the soul into different bodies, consists the various gradations of reward and punishment amongst the Hindoos. Conformably to their actions, they are transposed into such bodies, whether of the human or brute species, as their conduct, whilst they occupied their former tenements, may have merited. They do not admit of eternal punishment, shudder at the idea of a belief so disconsonant to the opinion which they have formed of the Supreme Being.

Evil dispositions, they say, are chastised by a confinement in the bodies of those animals, whom they most resemble in their nature; and are constrained to occupy them, till their vices are either eradicated, or sufficiently qualified to deserve the possession of superior forms. The good actions of man, the Hindoo law-giver has written, will be rewarded by his admission into those bodies which enjoy the utmost human happiness…. After a certain series of transmigration, rendered acceptable to the Deity by a pursuit of virtue, and when his soul shall be completely purified from the

taints of evil, the Hindoo is admitted to a participation of the radiant and never-ceasing glory of his first Cause….

6. Polytheism a symbolic worship, Alexander Do[412]

What has been already said has, it is hoped, thrown a new light on the opinions of the Hindoos, upon the subject of religion and philosophical inquiry. We find that the Brahmins, contrary to the ideas formed of them in the west, invariably believe in the unity, eternity, omniscience and omnipotence of God: that the polytheism of which they have been accused, is no more than a symbolical worship of the divine attributes, which they divide into three classes. Under the name of BRIMHA, they worship the wisdom and creative power of God; under the appellation of BISHEN, his providential and preserving quality; and under that of SHIBAH, that attribute which tends to reduce matter to its original principles.

This system of worship, say the Brahmins, arises from two opinions. The first is, that as God is immaterial, and consequently invisible, it is impossible to raise a proper idea of him, by any image in the human mind. The second is, that it is necessary to strike the gross ideas of man, with some emblems of God's attributes, otherwise, that all sense of religion will naturally vanish from the mind. They, for this purpose, have made symbolical representations of the three classes of the divine attributes; but they aver, that they do not believe them to be separate intelligences. BRIMH, or the supreme divinity, has a thousand names; but the Hindoos would think it the grossest impiety to represent him under any form. "The human mind, say they, may form some conception of his attributes separately, but who can grasp the whole, within the circle of finite ideas."

7. Brahmin views, William Robertso[413]

The distinction between matter and spirit appears to have been early known by the philosophers of India, and to the latter they ascribed many powers of which they deemed the former to be incapable; and when we recollect how inadequate our conceptions are of every object that does not fall under the cognizance of the senses, we may affirm (if allowance be made for a peculiar notion of the Hindoos, which shall be afterwards explained) that no description of the human soul is more suited to the dignity of its nature than that given by the author of the Mahabarat. "Some," says he, "regard the soul as a wonder, others hear of it with

astonishment, but no one knoweth it. The weapon divideth it not; the fire burneth it not; the water corrupteth is not; the wind drieth it not away; for it is indivisible, inconsumable, incorruptible; it is eternal, universal, permanent, immoveable; it is invisible, inconceivable, and unalterable."…

Ethics

This science [Ethics], which has for its object to ascertain what distinguishes virtue from vice, to investigate what motives should prompt men to act, and to prescribe rules for the conduct of life, as it is of all others the most interesting, seems to have deeply engaged the attention of the Brahmins. Their sentiments with respect to these points were various, and, like the philosophers of Greece, the Brahmins were divided into sects, distinguished by maxims and tenets often diametrically opposite. That sect with whose opinions we are, fortunately, best acquainted, had established a system of morals, founded on principles the most generous and dignified which unassisted reason is capable of discovering. Man, they taught, was formed not for speculation or indolence, but for action. He is born, not for himself alone, but for his fellow men. The happiness of the society of which he is a member, the good of mankind, are his ultimate and highest objects. In choosing what to prefer or to reject, the justness and propriety of his own choice are the only considerations to which he should attend. The events which may follow his actions are not in his own power, and whether they be prosperous or adverse, as long as he is satisfied with the purity of the motives which induced him to act, he can enjoy that approbation of his own mind, which constitutes genuine happiness, independent of the power of fortune or the opinions of other men. "Man (says the author of the Mahabarat) enjoyeth not freedom from action. Every man is involuntarily urged to act by those principles which are inherent in his nature. He who restraineth his active faculties, and sitteth down with his mind attentive to the objects of his senses, may be called one of an astrayed soul. The man is praised, who having subdued all his passions, performeth with his active faculties all the functions of life, unconcerned about the event. Let the motive be in the deed, and not in the event. Be not one whose motive for action is the hope of reward. Let not thy life be spent in inaction. Depend upon application, perform thy duty, abandon all thought of the consequence, and make the event equal, whether it terminate in good or in evil; for such an equality is called Yog [i.e. attention to what is spiritual]. Seek an asylum

then in wisdom alone; for the miserable and unhappy are so on account of the event of things. Men who are endued with true wisdom are unmindful of good or evil in this world. Study then to obtain this application of thy understanding, for such application in business is a precious art. Wise men who have abandoned all thought of the fruit which is produced from their actions, are freed from the chains of birth, and go to the regions of eternal happiness."

From these and other passages which I might have quoted, we learn that the distinguishing doctrines of the Stoical School were taught in India many ages before the birth of Zeno, and inculcated with a persuasive earnestness nearly resembling that of Epictetus; and it is not without astonishment that we find the tenets of this manly active philosophy, which seem to be formed only for men of the most vigorous spirit, prescribed as the rule of conduct to a race of people eminent (as is generally supposed) for the gentleness of their disposition than for the elevation of their minds.

8. Hindu belief in one God, George Forste[414]

The Hindoos believe in one God, without beginning and without end, on whom they bestow, descriptive of his powers, a variety of epithets. But the most common appellation, and which conveys the sublimest sense of his greatness, is, Sree Mun Narrain. The Hindoos, in their supplication to the Deity, address him as endowed with the three attributes of omnipotence, omnipresence, and omniscience, which in the Sanscrit, are expressed by the terms, Neerangin, Neerakar, and Neergoon. Though these terms may not, in literary strictness, comprise the precise meaning of the English text, they convey it virtually, and in the amplest sense. The Hindoos likewise believe that the Supreme Deity possesses a three-fold form, the parts of which are said to be separate….

In the beginning the Hindoos believe that the Deity created three men, to whom he gave the names of Brimha, Vystnow, and Shevah. To the first was committed the power of creating mankind; – into the second, of cherishing them; – and to the third, that of restraining, correcting, and destroying them. Brimha at one breath formed the human kind out of the four elements, amongst which he infused, if I understand the interpretation, and may be allowed the term, a vacuum…

Incarnations

According to the religious tradition of the Hindoos, Sree Mun Narrain, since the creation of the world, has at nine different periods assumed incarnated forms, either for the purpose of eradicating some terrestrial evil, or chastising the sins of mankind. The Hindoos worship a secondary species of deity, which they wildly multiply to the number of thirty-three crores, who, in their different functions, are designed to represent the numberless attributes of the Supreme Deity.

9. The Hindu trinity, English geographer, Alexander Dalrymple [1738-1808[415]

It may not be amiss to say a few words concerning the Mythology of the Hindoos: It is their Doctrine that Brahma (neuter), the Eternal Essence, for Its efficient purpose, is composed of a Triple-Personification; Brahma, The Creator! Veeshnoo, The Preserver! And Seeva, The Destroyer! or rather. The Changer of Things! For annihilation is no part of their Faith; on the contrary, they believe in a pre-existent state, and think that the effect of procreation, is not actually to produce, but to produce under a new form; and they believe that all forms shall continue changing, until by progressive purification, they are re-absorbed into the Eternal Essence.

10. Charge of idolatry incorrect, William Macintos[416]

Thus far only the Gentoos are idolaters, that in worshipping the great God of the universe, they place before their bodily eyes, for the information of their minds, such representations as are calculated to recall, in a vivid manner, to their imaginations, those attributes which they believe that Almighty being only to possess.

11. The German Romantic, Friedrich Schlegel, on Indian religio[417]

If one considers the superior conception which is at the basis of the truly universal Indian culture and which, itself divine, knows how to embrace in its universality everything that is divine without distinction, then, what we in Europe call religion or what we used to call such, no longer seems to deserve that name. And one would like to advise everyone who wants to see religion, he should, just as one goes to Italy to study art, go to India for that purpose where he may be certain to find at least fragments for which he will surely look in vain in Europe.

B. SACRED TEXTS

1. Father Pons, in a letter in 1740, on the value of the *Shastra*[418]

Their unique purpose, the aim of all the philosophical pursuits of the Brahmans, is to deliver the soul from the captivity and miseries of this life by means of a perfect bliss, which is essentially either the deliverance of the soul or its immediate effect.

2. The *Vedas*, Alexander Do[419]

It is but justice to the Brahmins to confess that the author of this dissertation is very sensible of his own inability to illustrate, with that fullness and perspicuity which it deserves, that symbolical religion, which they are at so much pain to conceal from foreigners. He however can aver that he has not misrepresented one single circumstance or tenet, though many may have escaped his observation.

The books which contain the religion and philosophy of the Hindoos, are distinguished by the name of Bedas. They are four in number, and like the sacred writings of other nations, are said to have been penned by the divinity. Beda in the Shanscrita, literally signifies Science: for these books not only treat of religious and moral duties, but of every branch of philosophical knowledge.

The Bedas are, by the Brahmins, held so sacred, that they permit no other sect to read them; and such is the influence of superstition and priest craft over the minds of the other Casts in India, that they would deem it an unpardonable sin to satisfy their curiosity in the respect, were it even within the compass of their power. The Brahmins themselves are bound by such strong ties of religion, to confine those writings to their own tribe, that were any of them known to read them to others, he would be immediately ex-communicated. This punishment is worse than even death itself among the Hindoos. The offender is not only thrown down from the noblest order to the most polluted Cast, but his posterity are rendered for ever incapable of being received into his former dignity...

The four Bedas contain 100,000 ashlogues [shlokas] or stanzas in verse, each of which consists of four lines. The first Beda is called RUG BEDA, which signifies the science of divination, concerning which it principally treats. It also contains astrology, astronomy, natural philosophy, and a very particular account of the creation of matter, and the formation of the world.

The second Beda is distinguished by the name of SHEHAM [Sama Veda]. That world signifies piety or devotion, and this book accordingly treats of

all religious and moral duties. It also contains many hymns in praise of the Supreme Being, as well as verses in honour of subaltern intelligences.

The third is the JUDGER BEDA [Yajur Veda], which, as the world implies, comprehends the whole science of religious rites and ceremonies; such as fasts, festivals, purifications, penances, pilgrimages, sacrifices, prayers, and offerings. They give the appellation of OBATAR BAH [Atharva] to the fourth Beda. OBATAR signifies in the Shanscrita, the being or the essence, and BAH good; so that the Obatar Bah is literally the knowledge of the good being, and accordingly this book comprehends the whole science of theology and metaphysical philosophy.

The language of the Obatar Bah Beda is now become obsolete; so that very few Brahmins pretend to read it with propriety. Whether this proceeds from its great antiquity, or from its being wrote in an uncommon dialect of the Shanscrita, is hard to determine. We are incline to believe that the first is the truth; for we can by no means agree with a late ingenious writer [Holwell], who affirms that the Obatar Bah was written in a period posterior to the rest of the Bedas.

3. Anquetil-Duperron took back to France a copy of the *Oupanek'hat* [*Upanishads*], which had been translated into Persian by the Mughal Prince Dara. Anquetil-Duperron translated it into French and Latin between 1786 and 1791. Arthur Schopenhauer was so impressed that he wrot[420]

In the whole world there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the *Upanishads*. It has been the solace of my life – it will be the solace of my death.

4. Nathaniel Halhed on the antiquity of Hindu texts in "The Translator's Preface," to *A Code of Gentoo Law*[421]

…from the premises already established, this conclusion at least may fairly be deduced, that the world does not now contain annals of more indisputable antiquity than those delivered down by the ancient Bramins.

Collateral proofs of this antiquity may be drawn from every page of the present Code of Laws, in its wonderful correspondence with many parts of the Institutes of Moses, one of the first of known legislators; from whom we cannot possibly find grounds to suppose the Hindoos received the smallest article of their religion or jurisprudence, though it is not utterly impossible,

that the doctrines of Hindostan might have been early transplanted into Egypt, and thus have become familiar to Moses.

The Gentoos have in all ages believed in the transmigration of souls, which they denominate Kayaprewaesh and Kayapelut: this latter literally answers to the word metempsychosis. An ancient Shaster, called the Geeta, written by Adhae Doom, has a beautiful stanza upon this system of the transmigration, which he compares to a change of dress.

5. The *Gita*, Warren Hastings in 178[422]

…I hesitate not to pronounce the Geeta a performance of great originality; of a sublimity of conception, reasoning, and diction, almost unequalled; and a single exception, among all the known religions of mankind, of a theology accurately corresponding with that of the Christian dispensation, and most powerfully illustrating its fundamental doctrines.

6. Charles Wilkins in "The Translator's Preface [1784]," from *The Bhagvat-Git*[423]

The following work, forming part of the *Mahabharat,* an ancient Hindoo poem, is a dialogue supposed to have passed between *Kreeshna,* an incarnation of the Deity, and his pupil and favorite *Arjoon,* one of the five sons of *Pandoo,* who is said to have reigned about five thousand years ago, just before the commencement of a famous battle fought on the plains of *Koorookshetra,* near *Dehly,* at the beginning of the *Kale-Yoog,* or fourth and present age of the world, for the empire of *Bharat-versh,* which, at that time, included all the countries that, in the present division of the globe, are called India, extending from the borders of Persia to the extremity of China; and from the snowy mountains to the southern promontory…

It seems as if the principal design of these dialogues was to unite all the prevailing modes of worship of those days; and, by setting up the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead, in opposition to idolatrous sacrifices, and the worship of images, to undermine the tenets inculcated of the *Veds;* for although the author dared not make a direct attack, either upon the prevailing prejudices of the people, or the divine authority of those ancient books; yet, by offering eternal happiness to such as worship *Brahm,* the Almighty, whilst he declares the reward of such as follow other Gods shall be but a temporary enjoyment of an inferior heaven, for a period measured by the extent of their virtues, his design was to bring about the downfall of

polytheism; or, at least, to induce men to believe *God* present in every image before which they bent, and the object of all their ceremonies and sacrifices.

The most learned *Brahmans* of the present times are Unitarians according to the doctrines of *Kreeshna;* but, at the same time that they believe but in one God, an universal spirit, they so far comply with the prejudices of the vulgar, as outwardly to perform all the ceremonies inculcated of the *Veds,* such as sacrifices, ablutions, &c. They do this, probably, more for the support of their own consequence, which could only arise from the great ignorance of the people, than in compliance with the dictates of *Kreeshna:* indeed, this ignorance, and these ceremonies, are as much the bread of the *Brahmans,* as the superstition of the vulgar is the support of the priesthood in many other countries.

7. The Vedanta, Alexander Do[424]

The Hindoos are divided into two great religious sects: the followers of the doctrine of the BEDANG [Vedanta]; and those who adhere to the principles of the NEADIRZIN [Nyaya]. As the first are esteemed the most orthodox, as well as the most ancient, we shall begin to explain their opinions, by extracts literally translated from the original SHASTER, which goes by the name of Bedang.

Bedang, the title of the Shaster, or commentary upon the Bedas, concerning which we are about to treat, is a word compounded of Beda, *science*, and Ang, *body*. The name of this Shaster therefore, may be literally translated, the Body of science. This book has, in Europe, been erroneously called Vedam; and it is an exposition of the doctrine of the Bedas, by that great philosopher and prophet Beass Muni, who, according to the Brahmins, flourished about four thousand years ago. The Bedang is said to have been revised some ages after Beass Muni, by one Sirrider Swami [Sridhar Swami], since which it has been reckoned sacred, and not subject to any further alterations. Almost all the Hindoos of the Decan, and those of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, are of the sect of the Bedang.

C. HINDU MYTHOLOGY

1. Sir William Jones on the Gods of Greece and Indi[425]

In drawing a parallel between the Gods of the Indian and European heathens, from whatever source they were derived, I shall remember, that

nothing is less favourable to inquiries after truth than a systematical spirit, and shall call to mind the saying of a Hindu writer, ‘that whoever obstinately adheres to any set of opinions, may bring himself to believe that the freshest sandalwood is a flame of fire’: this will effectually prevent me from insisting, that such a God of India was the Jupiter of Greece; such, the Apollo; such the Mercury: in fact, since all the causes of polytheism contributed largely to the assemblage of Grecian divinities, (though Bacon reduces them all to refined allegories, and Newton to a poetical disguise of true history), we find many Joves, many Apollos, many Mercuries, with distinct attributes and capacities; nor shall I presume to suggest more, than that, in one capacity or another, there exists a striking similitude between the chief objects of worship in ancient Greece or Italy and in the very interesting country, which we now inhabit.

2. A striking similarity with Greek mythology, Maria Graha[426]

In making this slight sketch of the Hindoo mythology, I have forborne to point out the striking similarity of many of the deities to those of Greece and Rome, as it is too obvious to escape your attention. A remarkable proof of their identity with the gods of Egypt occurred in 1801, when the sepoy regiments who had been sent into that country, fell down before the gods in the temple of Tentyra, and claimed them as those of their own belief. The coarseness and inelegance of the Hindoo polytheism, will certainly disgust many accustomed to the graceful mythology of ancient Europe; but it is not incurious, nor perhaps useless, to examine the various systems of religion which the feelings natural to the mind of man have produced – to observe how they have been modified by climate or other circumstances – and to trace, ‘under all their various disguises, the workings of the same common nature; and in the superstitions of *India*, no less than in the lofty visions of Plato, to recognize the existence of those moral ties which unite the heart of man to the Author of his being.’ For my own part, living among the people, and daily beholding the prostrate worshipper, the temple, the altar, and the offering, I take an interest in them which makes up for their want of poetical beauty. Nor can I look with indifference upon a system, however barbarous and superstitious, which has so strong a hold of the minds of its votaries, and which can bring them to despise death and torture in their most dreadful form.

3. Parts of their mythology should spread, Maria Graha[427]

I am not fond of the Hindu mythology, but I do not on the whole think worse of it than of that of the West, excepting indeed that its fictions have employed less elegant pens....

But the graceful Crishna with his attendant nymphs moving in mystic unison with the Seasons, and the youthful Camdeo, tipping his arrows with the budding floweret, are images scarcely inferior in beauty...

...there are parts of their mythology over which the veil of mystery is, and ought to be spread.

4. Similarities between Hindu mythology and the Bible, Anne Katherine Elwoo[428]

In spite of Southey's [Robert Southey, Romantic poet and exponent of the Orientalist revival in English literature] declaration of the anti-picturesque and unpoetical nature of the mythological personages of the Bramins, I must be presumptuous enough to say, that there appear to me to be more boldly sublime, and magnificently grand ideas frequently to be met with in their sacred writings, than are to be found in any other place but the Bible; indeed so many of the events of our other Scriptures seem darkly shadowed out, and symbolically couched under mystic forms, that it were next to impossible not to believe the Hindoos derived many of their ideas from thence, and, as a large colony of Jews has been from time immemorial settled at Cochin on the Malabar Coast, the Brahmins may possibly have received some of their leading doctrines from them.…Others who give yet more ancient source to the Braminical doctrines, affirm their great legislator, Menu, to have been no other than Noah himself, and they mention several very curious coincidences in support of their hypothesis, whilst some identify Abraham or Abram, with Brahma, and certainly there is a curious similarity in their names; Seraswati is considered to be his consort Sarah.…

There are several other curious coincidences between the extravagant fables of the Hindoos and the events recorded in the Bible, from which they appear to have been stolen, and corrupted from the original simplicity by the superstitious additions of the Brahmis. Sir William Jones observes that the three first avatars of Vishnu apparently relate to some stupendous convulsion of our globe from the fountains of the deep, and in the Bhagavat

it is related, that when all the world was destroyed in a vast deluge, a pious king, called Styavrata, the seventh Menu, was, whilst performing his devotions, forewarned by Vishnu of the approaching calamity, and by his directions he fabricated a vessel, in which, with his family, consisting of seven persons, he floated upon the waters! His son's names were Charma, Shama and Jyapeti, whose descendants inhabit the globe at this present time, and this Patriarch, Menu, the progenitor of the human race, and who first planted the vine, is represented as taking into the ark 'medical herbs and innumerable seeds,' for the express purpose of renewing decayed vegetation after the flood.

The origin of the sacred groves is traced to Abraham, 'who planted a *grove* in Beershebah, and there called upon the name of the Lord'; and the worship of stones, which may be seen all over India, and to which veneration is paid at this day, seems to have originated in the imitation of Jacob, who, after his famous vision, 'took the stone which he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it', and called the name of the place Bethel, or the House of God; but still more singular than any that I have mentioned is, that at the birth of Chrishna [Krishna], who is no older than the Saviour Vishnu in his eighth avatar, the tyrant Cansa, sovereign of Mathura, in consequence of a prediction which was subsequently verified, that the infant would dethrone and destroy him, ordered all the male children born at that period to be destroyed. Chrishna, however, escaped by being concealed and brought up among herdsmen.

D. ON CONVERSIONS

1. Hindus admit no converts, John Zephaniah Holwel[429]

By the fundamental doctrines and laws of the Gentoos, they cannot admit of proselytes or converts, to their faith or worship; nor receive them into the pale of their communion, without the loss of their cast, or tribe; a disgrace, which every Gentoo would rather suffer death than incur: and although this religious prohibition, in its consequences, reduced the people to a slavish dependence on their Bramins; yet it proved the cement of their union as a nation; which to this day remains unmixed with any other race of people. These are circumstances which, to the best of our knowledge, remembrance, and reading; peculiarly distinguish the Gentoos, from all the

nations of the known world, and plead strongly in favor of the great antiquity of this people, as well as the originality of their scriptures.

2. Hindus allow everyone to go to heaven in his way, Alexander Do[430]

Contrary to the practice of all other religious sects, they admit of no converts; but they allow that every one may go to heaven his own way, though they perhaps suppose, that theirs is the most expeditious method to obtain that important end. They chuse rather to make a mystery of their religion, than impose it upon the world, like the Mahommedans, with the sword, or by means of the stake, after the manner of some pious Christians.

3. Difficult to convert Hindus, Serampore missionaries writing to the Baptist Society in October 180[431]

Here the multitude believe that the Ganges can wash from iniquity: what need then of the blood of Christ? Here Brahmuns unblushingly declare that God is the author of sin, and that the world is merely his show: so that sin is no longer feared. Here it is commonly believed that this is not a state of probation, but of rewards and punishments: the doctrine of a future general judgment, therefore, appears wholly false. Here the multitude believe that hell is a place of temporary punishment merely: so that no one much fears, though he may think he is going there. Add to this, all pay a thousand-fold more reverence and devotion to the Brahmuns, than ever the people did to the priesthood in the darkest periods of popery; and all are bound in their present state by the chain of the caste, in breaking which a man must bear to be utterly renounced and abhorred, by his children, his friends, and his countrymen…

4. Thoughts on conversion of Hindus, Lord Valentia writing from Calcutta in 180[432]

Although the Hindoos have adopted from us, various improvements in their manufactures of salt-petre, opium, and indigo, and have made rapid advances in the knowledge of ship-building, practical mathematics, and navigation; yet none of these acquirements have interfered with their religious prejudices. The instant these are touched, they fly off from all approximation to their masters, and an end is put to farther advancement. Nothing is therefore more to be avoided than alarming their jealousy on this head, and exciting the suspicion that Government means, in any manner, to interfere in the business of proselyting. The Brahmins are a very powerful

body; they are both an hereditary nobility, and a reigning hierarchy, looked up to with the highest veneration by the inferior casts, and possessed of the most distinguishing privileges: they will consequently oppose with their whole influence any attempt to subvert that system, upon which all their superiority depends. They have already taken alarm at the proceedings of the Missionaries in Bengal, and other parts; and, if driven to extremities, will doubtless excite a formidable disaffection to our Government among the natives. On the contrary, the former wise policy of treating them with respect, and giving a full toleration to their superstitions, was often attended with the happy effect of making them the instrument of enforcing useful regulations in the country; for they have never scrupled, when required, giving a sanction to the orders of Government to suppress hurtful practices, as in the case of sacrifice of children at Sorgur, and in many other instances. We should also be aware that although the comparison between the Mussulmaun intolerance, and our contrary spirit, was so much in our favour, as to have had a powerful efficacy in attaching them to the British Government, knowing that they had only a choice of masters; yet were this difference of policy taken away, their habits and manners, which are more congenial to those of the Mussulmauns, would probably induce them to prefer their government to ours.

That the success of the Missionaries in China, Japan, and other places should have been brought forward by people unacquainted with India, as an argument of the probable conversion of the Hindoos, is not surprising; but that it should have been urged by "a late resident in Bengal," does indeed astonish me; for what analogy is there between these countries and India? There was no loss of cast, no civil disqualifications, no dread of future punishment, to prevent the Chinese, the Japanese, or the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands from becoming Christians; yet all these impediments are in the way of the Hindoo; and I confess I believe them unconquerable.

The conversions made by the Mahommedan sovereigns of India have also been quoted; but as these are admitted to have been merely the effect of the utmost violence and oppression, they can hardly be used as an argument of the practicability of conversion by any other means; and I trust they are not brought forward as an indirect recommendation of the coercive system of the Rev. Dr. Buchanan….

The advocates for conversion seem to dread the force of the argument that may be brought against them from the former failure of the Mussulmauns to convert their Hindoo subjects, and the more recent failure of the Catholic and other missionaries; they therefore wish to argue, that, "something inefficient or unsuitable has entered into all their measures;" but is it not more reasonable to suppose that there are insurmountable obstacles in the habits, laws, and religious prejudices of the inhabitants, that have prevented the pure doctrines of Christianity from having the same force over the minds of the Indians that they acquired over the Japanese, Chinese, and other nations? Has not the Massulmaun religion met with the same resistance from its first appearance, through the plentitude of its power, to its present decay? The Sultauns found they could destroy their subjects, they could raze their temples, but they not convert them; not from any antipathy to the religion of their masters, but from an attachment to their own. Yet we should remember, that the Sultauns had advantages that we have not; they had a real, a physical power in the country, which rendered them superior to any risk of rebellion.

Very little encouragement is affordable therefore by past experience to expect that the future exertions of Missionaries should prove successful in converting the Hindoos from a religion to which they are so bigotedly attached, and which is interwoven with their whole civil polity; while the danger of such attempts, if apparently favoured by the British Government, is manifest and urgent…

Upon the whole, I am fully persuaded that the first step to be taken is that of rendering our own religion respectable in the eyes of our Indian subjects by an establishment of greater splendour and dignity, and especially by a better choice and more vigilant inspection of the regular clergy; and that Government should studiously avoid interesting itself in the conversion of the natives, since it is impossible that they should not connect in their minds the zeal of proselyting, exerted by those in power, with a plan of coercion and intolerance. If placing in the hands of the Hindoos translations of Scriptures into the languages of the country, will not induce them to make unfavourable comparisons between our lives and our doctrines, and consequently expose us to contempt, no objection can be made to such a dissemination of the principles of true religion. To its silent operation the cause of Christianity should be left, and who will not rejoice in its success?

5. No possibility of conversion of Hindus to Christianity, letters by Abbe Dubois in 1815 and 181[433]

…it is my decided opinion, first, that under existing circumstances there is no human possibility of converting the Hindoos to any sect of Christianity, and, secondly, that the translation of the Holy Scriptures circulated among them, so far from conducing to this end, will, on the contrary, increase the prejudices of the natives against the Christian religion, and prove in many respects detrimental to it…

Frequent apostasy among converts to Christianity

The low state to which it is now reduced, and the contempt in which it is held, cannot be surpassed. There is not at present in the country (as mentioned before) more than a third of the Christians who were to be found in it eighty years ago, and this number diminishes every day by frequent apostacy. It will dwindle to nothing in a short period; and if things continue as they are now going on, within less than fifty years there will, I fear, remain no vestige of Christianity among the natives.

The Christian religion, which was formerly an object of indifference, or at most of contempt, is at present become, I will venture to say, almost an object of horror. It is certain that during the last sixty years no proselytes or but a very few have been made. Those Christians who are still to be met with in several parts of the country, and whose number (as I have just mentioned), diminishes every day, are the offspring of the converts made by the Jesuits before that period. The very small number of proselytes who are still gained over from time to time are found among the lowest tribes; so are individuals who, driven out from their castes, on account of their vices or scandalous transgressions of their usages, are shunned afterwards by every body as outlawed men, and have no other resource left than that of turning Christians, in order to form new connexions in society; and you will easily fancy that such an assemblage of the offals and dregs of society only tends to increase the contempt and aversion entertained by the Hindoo against Christianity…

The Hindoos are a people entirely different from all others. You may, if you choose, exercise over them the most despotic sway; you may oppress them by every kind of tyranny; you may overload them with taxes, and rob them of their property; you may carry away their wives and children, load

them with chains and send them into exile: – to all such excesses they will perhaps submit; but if you speak of changing any of their principal institutions, either religious or civil, you will find a quite ungovernable people, never to be overcome on this point; and it is my decided opinion, that the day when government shall presume to interfere in such matters, will be the last of its political existence.…

Few embrace Christianity from conviction

If any one among the pagans still shews a desire to turn Christian, it is ordinarily among out-casts, or quite helpless persons, left without resources or connections in society, that they are to be found. They, generally speaking, ask for baptism from interested motives. Few, if any of these new converts, would be found, who might be said to have embraced Christianity from conviction; and I have every reason to apprehend, that as long as the usages and customs of the Hindoos continue unimpaired, it is perfect nonsense to think of making among them true and sincere proselytes…

“insuperable obstacles” for Christianity

The experience I have gained through a familiar intercourse with the natives of all castes, for a period of twenty-five years entirely passed in their society, during which I lived like themselves, conforming to their customs and prejudices, in order to gain their confidence, and endeavouring by these means to insinuate myself among them as a religious teacher, has made me thoroughly acquainted with the insuperable obstacles that Christianity will ever have to encounter in the deep-rooted and quite invincible prejudices, and in the invariable usages, customs, and education of the Hindoos of all castes; and it is my decided opinion, that not only the interests of the Christian religion will never be improved among them, but also that it will by little and little lose the small ground it had gained in better times; and, in a short, dwindle away to nothing…

Caste main hurdle to conversion

…in no country in the world has the Christian religion had to encounter the stupendous obstacles that are to be met with in India. In no country was the struggle so desperate; in none had it to deal with a people so completely priest ridden; in none had it to oppose a system of cunning and priestcraft so deep laid, and so well calculated to baffle all the attempts of that divine religion to gain a solid footing; but, above all, in no country had it to encounter any difficulty resembling that baneful division of the people into

castes which (whatever may be its advantages in other respects) has always proved, and will ever prove, an insurmountable bar to its progress. In consequence of this fatal division, nowhere but in India is a father reduced to the cruel and unnatural necessity of separating himself forever from a beloved son who happens to embrace this religion; or a son to renounce forever a tender father for the same reason. Nowhere is a spouse enjoined to divorce, for the same cause, a cherished husband; or an unmarried young person, after having embraced Christianity, doomed to pass the rest of his life in a forced state of celibacy. In no other country is a person who becomes a Christian exposed, by doing so, to the loss of kindred, friends, goods, professionals, and all that he holds dear. In no country, in short, is a man, by becoming a covert to Christianity, cast out as a vagrant from society, proscribed and shunned by all: and yet all this happens in India, and a Hindoo who turns Christian must submit himself to all these, and many other no less severe trials…

Role of Brahmins

The crafty Brahmins, (in order that the system of imposture that establishes their unmolested superiority over the other tribes, and brings the latter under their uncontrolled bondage, might in no way be discovered or questioned,) had the foresight to draw up between the Hindoos and the other nations on earth an impassable, an impregnable line, that defies all attacks from foreigners. There is no opening to approach them, and they themselves are strictly, and under the severest penalties, precluded from access to any body for the purpose of improving themselves, and bettering their actual condition, than which, as they are firmly and universally persuaded, nothing on the earth is more perfect.

On the other hand, it will be acknowledged, I believe, by every unbiased observer, that as long as we are unable to make impression on the polished part of the nation, on the leaders of public opinion, on the body of Brahmins in short, there remain but very faint hopes of propagating Christianity among the Hindoos; and as long as the only result of our labours shall be, as is at present the case, to bring in to our respective communions here and there a few desperate vagrants, outcasts, pariahs, horse-keepers, beggars, and other persons of the lowest description, the impression made on the public mind cannot fail to be un-favourable and detrimental to the interests of Christianity among a people who, in all circumstances, are ruled by the

force of custom and example, and are in no case allowed to judge for themselves.

6. All attempts at conversion of Hindus have failed, Victor Jacquemon[434]

All direct attempts at religious conversion made by the English, especially in Bengal, have completely failed. The Indians, though sounded everywhere, have nowhere been willing to exchange Mohammed or Brahma for Jesus Christ or the Trinity, but for some years past the Government has wisely withdrawn its support from the missionaries (and courageously too, for it takes some courage for the East India Company to provoke the stupid or hypocritical wrath of Parliament) and opened free schools in Calcutta, Benares and Delhi, to which it attracts children of the middle class by every means of influence in its power, for the purpose of instructing them in the languages and sciences of Europe without ever telling them about our follies.

I visited these schools, especially in Calcutta, where they have a larger number of pupils, and I talked with a number of young men in their higher classes who had quite naturally been converted from Mohammed or Brahma to reason by their European education. Many of them complained, however that the possession of this treasure only made them more wretched, by cutting them off from the rest of their nation and giving them a conception of happiness and a desire for it under forms forbidden them by their caste; and none of them has yet had the courage openly to cross this infernal barrier. Yet if there is any hope of ever civilizing the East, it is by this means alone. The English Government would hasten its action enormously if it were to substitute the use of the English language in courts of justice and all public transactions for that of Persian, introduced by the Mogul conquerors, but the knowledge of which has remained quite foreign to the mass of the people and has only survived in certain hereditary professions. This change could easily be carried out within less than ten years, for the Indians learn English more quickly than they do Persian, and Persian is no use to those who know it except in the routine of their profession, whereas English would be a key to the whole of European knowledge.

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Chapter 12
Religion in Practice

A. The Hindu deities
B. Image worship
C. Some sacred cities
D. Rivers sacred
E. Religious leaders
F. Hindus in Sindh
G. Thoughts on religion in India

A. THE HINDU DEITIES

1. Numerous deities sign of a compendious theological creed, William Robertso[435]

Without descending farther into detail, or attempting to enumerate that infinite multitude of deities to which the fancy or the fears of men have allotted the direction of the several departments in nature, we may recognize a striking uniformity of features in the systems of superstition established throughout every part of the earth. The less men have advanced beyond the state of savage life, and the more slender their acquaintance with the operations of nature, the fewer were their deities in number, and the more compendious was their theological creed; but as their mind gradually opened, and their knowledge continued to extend, the objects of their veneration multiplied, and the articles of their faith became more numerous. This took place remarkably among the Greeks in Europe, and the Indians in Asia, the two people in those great divisions of the earth who were most early civilised, and to whom, for that reason, I shall confine all my observations. They believed, that over every movement in the natural world, and over every function in civil or domestic life, even the most common and trivial, a particular deity presided. The manner in which they arranged the stations of these superintending powers, and the offices which they allotted to each, were in many respects the same. What is supposed to be performed by the power of Jupiter, of Neptune, of Aeolus, of Mars, of Venus, according to the mythology of the West, is ascribed in the East to the agency of Agnee, the god of fire; Varoon, the god of oceans; Vayoo, the god of wind; Cama, the god of love; and a variety of other divinities.

Followed faith despite persecution

…though the faith of Hindoos has been often tried by severe persecutions, excited by the bigotry of their Mahomedan conquerors, no people ever adhered with greater fidelity to the tenets and rites of their ancestors.

2. Shiv and Vishnu, George Forste[436]

The Hindoos composing these casts and classes, are ultimately branched in two divisions; the one denominated Vystnow Bukht [Vishnu Bakht]; the other, Sheva Bukht [Shiv Bhakt]. The followers of the former deity are usually distinguished by a longitudinal mark on the forehead, whilst those of the latter draw a parallel line on that part. Vystnow is worshipped under the representation of a human figure, having a circle of heads, and four hands; emblems of an all-seeing and all-provident Being. The figure of a fabulous bird, on which he is supposed to ride, and denoting the velocity of his motion, is occasionally placed in front of this image. Sheva, or Eishwer, and, as he is often denominated by the Hindoos, the Mhah Deve, is usually represented by a compound figure, describing the male and female parts of generation, and designed as the symbol of pro-creation and fecundity: these faculties, or qualities, being classed amongst the choicest blessings of the Hindoos, and the deprivation of them deemed a severe reproach and misfortune. Facing this designation of Mhah Deve, is sometimes seen, in a suppliant posture, the statue of a cow; or bull; an animal said to have derived his sacred qualities, from having been chosen by this god, as the favourite medium of his conveyance. But the more enlightened pundits say that this creature hath been preserved from slaughter, by its great utility to man; it being his ablest assistant in the labours of the field, and the chief provider of his immediate sustenance…

Another figure represents Sheva, with four hands, holding different emblems of his power; and five heads, four of which are directed to the cardinal point, and the fifth is placed with the face upwards, in the supposed act of contemplating the godhead. This deity, who occupies numerous forms, is figured also with three eyes, one of which is placed in the forehead.

In gratitude for the service which Brimha has performed on earth, it would reasonably be supposed, that the thanksgiving of his people would in some degree be proportioned to his works. But the Hindoos have not dedicated

one temple to his honour; nor have they established a single festival, in remembrance of his deeds. It would redound but little to my credit, did I insert in this place the reasons alleged in their religious tracts, for the neglect of Brimha. It is a tale framed to amuse the credulous Hindoo, and procure a meal to an artful priest. The ostensible want of attention to the memory of Brimha, may on a more abstracted ground be ascribed to an opinion, that the powers of procreation having been primarily set in action, and operating by a law impulsive and undeviating, whose immediate benefits exist, and are conspicuously displayed in its effects, no ritual necessity called for the commemoration of its first cause, or the propitiation of its future influence.

3. Hindus alienated from God, Rev. John Wilso[437]

I have now seen a little of one of the most interesting portions of the great family of man; and I am filled with horror and amazement at its utter alienation from God. The Hindoos do not even in profession serve the Creator. They follow a course which is altogether opposed to reason and to natural conscience. They are the votaries of a religious system, of the moral obliquities of which it is impossible to form a right conception.

B. IMAGE WORSHIP

SOME MISSIONARY ACCOUNTS

1. Kali worship, Rev. William Carey in August 179[438]

The last of these days was Lord's-day; I spent it in reading to and prating with my family. Towards evening I went out, when the workmen who have built the works came to me, and said that, as I was to begin making indigo to-morrow, it was much their wish that I would make an offering to Kally, the goddess of destruction, that I might have success in the work. This Kally is the most devil-like figure that can be thought of: she stands upon a dead man; her girdle is strung with small figures of human skulls, like beads upon a bracelet; she has four arms, and her tongue hangs out of her mouth below her chin; and in short, a more horrible figure can scarcely be conceived of. I took the opportunity of remonstrating with them upon the wickedness and folly of idolatry, and set my face as much as possible against their making any offering at all, and told them that I would rather lose my life than sacrifice to their idol; that God was much displeased with them for their idolatry, and exhorted them to leave it and turn to the true

God. But I had the mortification of seeing, the next day, that they had been offering a kid; yet I doubt not but I shall soon see some of these people brought from darkness to the marvelous light of the gospel.

2. Rev. Claudius Buchanan on the Jagannath temple at Puri he visited in 180[439]

I have lived to see Juggernaut; the scene at Buddruck is but the vestibule to Juggernaut; no record of ancient or modern history can give, I think, an adequate idea of the valley of death; it may be truly compared with 'the valley of Hinnom.' The idol called Juggernaut, has been considered as the Moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named, for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement, are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the Moloch of Canaan…

The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems in massive and durable sculpture.…

I have returned home from witnessing a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock of this day, being the great day of the feast, the Moloch of Hindoostan was brought out of his temple amidst the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers; when the idol was placed on his throne, a shout was raised, by the multitude…

The throne of the idol was placed on a stupendous car or tower, about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels…

A high priest mounted the car in front of the idol, and pronounced his obscene stanzas in the ears of the people; who responded at intervals in the same strain. "These songs," he said, "are the delight of the God: his car can only move when he is pleased with the 'song.' The car moved on a little and then stopped. A boy of about twelve was then brought fourth to attempt something yet more lascivious, if per-adventure the God would move; the 'child perfected the praise' of his idol with such ardent expressions and gesture, that the god was pleased, and the multitude emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along. – After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition.

I felt a consciousness of doing wrong in witnessing it. I was also somewhat appalled at the magnitude and horror of the spectacle. I felt like a

guilty person, on whom all eyes were fixed, and I was about to withdraw; but a scene of a different kind was now to be presented. The characteristics of Moloch's worship are obscenity and blood. We have seen the former – now comes the blood!

After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forwards; the multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the God; he is said to *smile* when the libation of the blood is made; the people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed. He was left to view a considerable time, and was then carried by the *Hurries* to the Golgotha, where I have just been viewing his remains. How much I wished that the proprietors of India stock could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut, and seen this peculiar source of their revenue.…

It was the morning of the Sabbath; ruminating long on the wide and extended empire of Moloch in the heathen world, I cherished in my thoughts the design of some 'Christian Institution,' which being fostered by Britain, my Christian country, might gradually undermine this baleful idolatry, and put out the memory of it for ever.

3. Rev. Alexander Duff on the Srirangam temple he visited in 184[440]

There are not fewer than seven great courts or squares, each surmounted by a high and massive wall one within the other, with a considerable space between. Each great square has its own gigantic granite entrance, surmounted by vast columns or towers in the middle of each wall of the square. The towers are covered all over with the usual mythologic sculptures. Each of these open courts is surrounded by minor shrines, small mandapams or Brahmanical receptacles. Through six of them we were allowed to pass, but the seventh is like 'the holy of holies,' impassable by any but the sacred Brahmans, who revel within without fear of interruption from unholy gaze or unholy tread. Close to the seventh court is the great mandapam for pilgrim worshippers, a covered roof sustained by a thousand pillars wider apart and much loftier than those of Conjevaram. To the roof of this we were taken, whence we surveyed the whole, our attention being

specially directed to the gilded dome over the shrine of the principle idol. On descending it was getting dark, so we were preceded by torch-bearers. We then entered a spacious hall, in the centre of which were several large lamps and around them a few chairs. Then were brought out a large number of boxes with massive locks, and placed in a row before us. These contained a portion of the jewels and ornaments of the god of the shrine. One box was opened after another. Certainly the profusion of gold and jewels, wrought up into varied ornaments, was astonishing. There were many large vessels of solid gold, from one to several stones weight. The gold ornaments were bestud with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, pearls, etc. Such a spectacle I never saw.…I had always looked on the accounts of such things as hyperbolic exaggeration before.…But the most surprising part of the exhibition was the great golden idol or swamy. It was not a solid figure, but hollow; and so constructed as to be set up and taken down in parts again, like the steel armour which completely clad the knights of the middle ages. The whole was of massive gold.…The figure, therefore, joined and compacted into one, must form a huge statue of at least fifteen feet in height, all apparently of solid gold.…In fact the sight of it, when erected, and covered with its ornaments, must be probably the most amazing spectacle of the sort now in the world.…They were gifts of kings, princes, and nobles, when Hindooism was in its prime…

To witness the riches of this earth, which is the Lord's, so alienated from Him and devoted to a rival deity that holds millions in thralldom, was sad enough. But what shall I say as to what followed? Verily these shrines are the receptacles of the god of this world and his army of lusts!

4. The Visheshwar Temple, Mrs. Colin Mackenzie, who was interested in missionary work in Indi[441]

The name of this temple (which is the most venerated in Benares) is Bisseshwar or Visseshwar. Crossing the little court, which was very splashy from the quantity of libations poured out, we ascended a very narrow staircase, up which no stout person could go, to what might be called the leads of the temple. Here were three quadrilateral domes close together, which are being gilded from money left by Ranjit Sing. Immense sums were sent with a portion of his ashes to various temples, and amongst others to this one. The temple is very small in comparison to European places of

worship. On descending, we were led along a curious passage full of images and altars like the first (the whole having much the appearance of the entry to a museum of antiquities), - to a well in which, when the former temple was desecrated by the Muhammadans under Aurangzeb, the god took refuge. It is surrounded by a railing, and offerings of flowers, water, and rice are continually thrown down to propitiate the helpless divinity. The odour of sanctity of Hindu Mythology is not more agreeable to the olfactory nerves than that of the Romish begging fraternities – so we quickly left the spot. The Brahmans seem in no way different in dress from their countrymen, except that all of those in the temple had their heads and beards partially shaved. Most of them wore red mantles. The remains of the former temple were very fine. On its ruins Aurangzeb built a mosque, which we proceeded to visit, and coming from the idol temple, I felt a relief, and even an emotion of sympathy with the simple building we entered, where, at least, there was nothing outward and visible to dishonour the Most High. The only thing which it contained was a raised place for the mullah to preach from.

5. Shrine of Parvati, Mrs. Colin Mackenzi[442]

Saturday, January 11th – Mr. Mitchell and I drove, and C. and young Mr. Mitchell rode, to see the temple of Parbati, which may be considered as the Court Chapel of the Peshwa, whose palace adjoined it, but was burnt soon after we took Puna in 1817. It is situated on a steep hill, which we ascended by a flight of very broad steps and from below it reminded me much of some of the Italian monasteries. The view of the surrounding country and hills was very beautiful. From the parapet we saw the field of Kirki, where the Peshwa lost his last battle. He witnessed the defeat of his troops from the place where we stood. A leader who *looks on* generally does see such sights. I took a sketch of two of the temples, for besides the chief shrine of Parbati, the wife of Shiva, there is another to Shiva, or as he is here called, Shiu himself, and a third to the god of War.

They are all pyramidical, and much carved. These heathen Shrines are actually supported by *Government Funds*! If it be alleged that lands were set apart for this purpose, let them either be applied to a better, or let English Church lands be restored to the Papal See. A Government has no right to confiscate such legacies, but they are surely justified in applying

them for the public benefit, and withholding them from idolatry. The hereditary dresser of Parbati, a blind Brahman, has some impressions of the truth of Christianity. He once told Mrs. Mitchell, "I am the servant of the Government not of Parbati." C. spoke to him earnestly of the necessity of making Christ our friend now, and of the happiness of belonging to Him. The whole place is surrounded by extensive groves of Mango trees, planted by the Peshwa as an atonement for his sins!

In front of Parbati's Shrine we found several men touching and making salaam to the image of a Bull in black stone, called Shiu's wahan or seat, and then giving a stroke with the bell which hung from the canopy over it. They would not let us enter the temple, but brought lights that we might see into it. Before the doors were opened, those who had worshipped the Bull fell on their faces, or salaamed at the entrance, and then putting their faces close to the gate shouted to Parbati within. When they opened the door we saw a brazen image with emerald eyes, dressed in white clothes with a turban on its head. It made one rejoice at the promise 'The idols he shall utterly abolish.' A good many Brahmans came about us, and when Mr. Mitchell and C. spoke to them, they said they did not worship the images, they only used them "to put them in mind," exactly the Popish and old heathen evasion…

Khandoba

There is another very favourite idol in this part of the country called Kandoba. He is a sort of nightmare. Children are constantly consecrated to him.

OTHER ACCOUNTS

6. Temple of Kamakhya at Guwahati, Jean-Baptiste Chevalier, French agent in India who visited Assam in 175[443]

Goaty [Guwahati] is one of the largest cities of the kingdom. A viceroy governs the province; he came on two occasions to pay his respects to his sovereign. The city is located at the foot of a hill on the bank of the Barampoutou. On the top of this hill is the much-revered pagoda. I asked the permission of the king to attend the sacrifice and he agreed. What a surprise it was to see an immense park surrounded with fences containing a couple (male and female) each of all species of quadrupeds and birds known in the entire kingdom. All the governors of the provinces and the

chiefs of the villages have to provide their share and send it to the pagoda every three years. When the time arrives for the sacrifices, this entire fauna is immolated at the altar of the goddess…

I learned the origins, motives and circumstances of this ceremony by questioning some of the temple priests, the learned folks and the king himself. They told me that the practise was established a long time back upon the order of the goddess herself. The goddess demanded from the king of Assem, the founder of the monarchy, that such sacrifices be done for her glory, simultaneously warning him that as long as he and his successors faithfully executed this order, the kingdom would enjoy all kinds of happiness and prosperity. But that, on the contrary, failure to abide by this would result in all kinds of diseases to befall the kingdom whose inhabitants will suffer unimaginable scourges, besides plague and hunger. The bizarre connection between the tradition of the sacrifice of the Assemese and the one of Abraham makes one think about a possible connection between the two peoples…

Just as they were about to start, I entered inside the temple where the victims are brought one after the other during nine days and beheaded in front of the idol. It represents a woman of a gigantic stature, made of solid gold, as I have been assured. She wears a crown on her head, holds a book in one hand and a sabre in the other. Around here are quantities of other figures representing angels or subordinate divinities. Looking at her feet, we can see that she is stepping on many creatures, which I have been told represent demons. A multitude of yellow copper torches were lit around the altar made of ivory and encrusted with golden strips. There, varieties of aromatic wood were burning, spreading a very pleasant fragrance.

The king was sitting on a magnificent throne and presiding over the ceremony. He held in his hand, a book containing all the customs and practices. When everything was ready, I saw two gigantic elephants being escorted to the feet of the altar. The king immediately got down from his throne and, after bowing to the goddess, prayed to her to bless his kingdom and his people. He asked her to receive with kindness, and as a mark of gratitude, his offerings. The prayer over, the two elephants were brought back to the front yard of the temple, an immense area of one league in square surrounded by walls. It was there that they succumbed under the sword of the executioner after being tied up by the four feet and the trunk

with enormous iron chains between four columns where they were chained so tightly that they could not move.

Then came the rhinoceros, tigers, buffaloes and quantities of other animals of all kinds and all were subjected to the same ritual. When the sacrifice of the quadruped, lasting for several days, is over, comes the one of the volatiles and finally the one of the fishes. The large numbers of people that fill up all the yards of the temple and surrounding areas seize the meat. They eat one part and keep the other after drying them up in the sun. Each one takes some portion to his house; superstition and credulity attribute to it some wonderful effects for the soul as well as for the body.

This celebration brings in large amounts of money and food to the temple priests. Even the poorest inhabitant of the kingdom has prepared himself so that he could make his offerings. Those from the villages, who cannot attend the sacrifice, sent their donations through others and they could be assured of the carrier's honesty. The temple is cared for by more than two thousand priests dedicated to its worship, besides a great number of young girls, the most beautiful of the kingdom, devoted to dance in front of the altar during the days of the celebrations…

The temple is a vase [sic] of a surprisingly enormous size and I do not know of any such structure in the entire of Europe that can be compared to it. It is perhaps also the richest of the world, judging by the quantity of gold that has been accumulated there throughout the centuries. The source of such riches lies in the vow that a devoted king made to the goddess at a time when the kingdom was being afflicted by a certain calamity. This vow was to present her with as many golden animals as the ones that were immolated during the great sacrifice and with the same shapes and resemblances. In case his life was not long enough or if his wealth did to permit him to fulfill his promise, he should direct his descendants to do the same, on pain of malediction. The tradition adds that immediately after this vow was made, the scourge that afflicted the people, stopped. What is certain is that all princes that succeeded since then, made it a law and a duty to carry out this act of piety. It is also since then that one part of the state expenses was dedicated to it. Therefore it is difficult to count the amount of golden animals placed around the temple. I have seen elephants, rhinoceros of medium and even small sizes, and quantities of life sized replicas of other species. The king added two golden stags, as big as the ones we have

in our forests in Europe, to this treasure. Although all these statures are hollow and the gold is of a very pale colour, the entire collection as a whole represents a treasure of great value. We cross very large enclosures before entering the main temple enclosure. The priests, the priestesses and the servitors live there. In front of the first gate there is a large terrace made of stone; large steps in the centre lead to a magnificent square pond that has a surface measuring more than a quarter of a league from each side, which is also cut in stone. There, the priests and the priestesses offer their ablutions. All around this pond there are some magnificent paths, giving an impregnable shade and cutting off the rays of the sunshine…

7. Nathdwara, Udaipur, T.D. Broughto[444]

The capital of Oodipoor is a hundred and twenty miles from hence, situated in the midst of vast ranges of mountains, and about twenty miles on this side of it is the celebrated temple of Nat,hdooara, or "the Dwelling of God." It is held in such veneration that the town in which it stands has always been respected by the Mahratta and other armies that have chanced to pass near it. The revenues of many villages are appropriated to its use, as well by the Rajas of Juodpoor and Jypoor as by the Rana himself. The former Prince keeps five hundred men constantly ready for the service of the temple, and has a *dak* or post, laid from his own capital, a distance of two hundred miles, for the sole purpose of conveying fresh flowers, which are offered every morning at sunrise upon the shrine of the idol.

8. Pushkar, T.D. Broughto[445]

On the 1st instant we went to Pokur, or, as it is more classically called, Pooshkur; a place as highly venerated by the Hindoos as Ajmeer is by the Moosulmans…The town, which is not large, is situated on the shore of a most romantic *Pokur*, or lake, from which it takes its name. Its sanctity is derived from a *Jug*, or sacred entertainment which *Brimha* there made, in the *Sut-joog* (or golden age), for all the *Deotas*. His wife *Savitree*, instigated by *Narud*, one of the sons of *Brimha*, refused to assist at this *Jug*, and retired to the top of a high hill, about a mile from the lake, where she has now a temple, which is visited by all the pilgrims who have strength and perseverance enough to climb so high, a labour which, from the description made of it to me, is fully equivalent to the reward of bowing at the shrine of the goddess. It is at Pokur alone that an image of *Brimha*, at least one of any

celebrity, is to be seen: his temple is close to the margin of the lake, small, plain, and evidently very ancient. The image, which is about the size of a man, has four faces, and is in a sitting posture, cross-legged, but neither it not the apartment in which it is placed is distinguished by any kind of ornament.

Temple at Pushkar destroyed by Aurangzeb

The largest temple at Pokur is one dedicated to *Barajee*, the third *Uotar*, or incarnation of *Vishnoo*. The building, as it now stands, presents only the small remains of the ancient temple, which was overthrown by the bigoted zeal of the Emperor Aurungzeb, and is said to have been one hundred and fifty feet in height and covered with the finest specimens of Hindoo sculpture. The old walls, to the heights of about twenty feet, were left entire, and have been covered in, to form the present temple, by Raja Jue Singh, Siwue of Jypoor.

Other temples at Pushkar

The next, in point of sanctity and consequence, to this temple is one sacred to *Vishnoo*, under the name of *Budrinath*, but in which there is nothing remarkable to be seen. These four temples are of very ancient structure, and are held in particular veneration; but besides them, there are innumerable others, of more modern date, erected to every god of the Hindoo calendar.

Among these is one dedicated to Muhadeo, which is by far the most remarkable, both for the size and elegance of its structure, and the nature of its ornaments, of all the temples that Pooshkur boasts of. It was built by Anajee Seendhiya, the grandfather of the present Muha Raj. The image, and the altar on which it is placed, are of fine white marble, highly polished, and executed in a style superior to anything of the kind I have seen in India. The idol is *Punj-mookhee*, or five faced, each face crowned with the *Jutta*, or matted hair of the *Uteets*, and exhibiting that harsh and obscene expression which is the characteristic of the Indian, as well as the Roman, Priapus. The image in question together with its *Urg,ha* or altar, is precisely what one would expect to see in a temple of ancient Rome dedicated to that deity. A large building erected by Madoojee Seendhiya next attracted our notice. It contains images of *Bawanee, Muha Deo*, and some others of the Hindoo deities, all of white marble, but executed in a manner very inferior to the one I have just described. The interior apartment is surrounded by a range

of piazzas, also of marble, designed for the accommodation of the numerous *Bueragees*, or mendicants, who make pilgrimages to Pooshkur; and for whose support the revenues of ten small villages in the district were allotted by the illustrious founder. Into all these temples we were freely admitted, except that of *Barajee*, where the *Purohit*, or priest, who attended us intimated it would be proper to go barefooted: as we were in boots we contended ourselves with observing everything from the door-way…

Purohits are Brahmuns who attend at all celebrated *Teeruts*, or places of religious resort, to point out the most sacred spots, and to read the necessary prayers, &c. to the pilgrims, whose names, families and places of abode they enter carefully into a register, and receive some trifle as a compensation for their trouble. The pilgrims besides offer money, according to their means, at each of the temples they visit, and the Ghats where they bathe. With those who can afford such an expense, it is common to make the *Purohit* a present of a cow, with her horns tipped with silver, her hoofs plated with the same metal, and covered by a silken *J,hool,* or coverlet…

Besides the temples which I have described, the banks of the lake are covered with a number of smaller ones, pavilions, chuoltrees, &c. built by the neighbouring Rajas, at various periods. Many of those buildings are at present nearly, and some of them altogether, immersed in the water, the springs of the lake having risen within the last six weeks to a height beyond any that is on record.

9. Temples at Garhwal, William Moorcrof[446]

The morning of the 28th saw us set off in a mizzling rain. We passed on our left a group of Hindu temples, decorated with sculpture. Before each of them that was of any size was a figure of Nandi, the bull of Siva, his face towards the door of the temple, and the figure of herdsman laying hold of his tail. The road ran to the east, over a rough causeway, through a thick wood of pine trees covering the side of a steep hill. The summit of the ascent, about half a mile from the village, was called Garhwa Cheli. The path then descended rapidly, between a small temple on the left, and an altar or mound of masonry, with two feet sculptured on it. These altars are very common, and, perhaps, indicate the former prevalence in these parts of the religion of Buddha, which more than any other Indian creed, employs this emblem. Going down the declivity one of the people plucked a leaf from a

shrub growing out of the wall, the lower surface of which was covered with the cottony down that serves the mountaineers as tinder, catching fire readily from the sparks of a lint and steel, and burning slowly and without flame. The Nahan people call it kaphi, the Gorkhas, kapas or cotton…

10. Amarnath, William Moorcrof[447]

This is the cave of Amarnath, a place of reputed sanctity and pilgrimage. The road to this cave proceeds from Bhuvan, along the valley of the Lidder to Ganes Bal, so called, it is said, from a rude stone figure, which is supposed to represent the Hindu divinity, Ganesa. It then continues to Pahalgam in Dakshinpara, and thence to the Pesh-bal pass; the latter part of the route is uninhabited. Beyond the pass is the lake of Sesh-nag, nine miles in circumference, and giving rise to a number of rivulets which form the Panch-tarang, or five-stream river; another pass in the mountains, the Neza-bal, lies beyond this, from which rises the Bhagavati river, flowing into the Panch-tarang. Near this is situated the cave of Amarnath, of which the entrance is said to be one hundred yards broad, and thirty high; the depth of the cave is five hundred yards. There are no inscriptions in it, nor any sculpture; but in the most remote part of the cave, there is said to be the figure of a Gosein, seated on a pedestal, which figure increases and decreases in size with the increasing and waning moon, and at the conjunction entirely vanishes. It is customary, therefore, to visit the cave only about the full moon. The course of the Panch-tarang is not exactly known, but it is believed to pass into Ladakh, near Kartse. Persons in the cave of Amarnath assert that they can hear the barking of the dogs in Tibet.

11. Amarnath Cave, G.T. Vign[448]

The ceremony at the cave of Umur Nath takes place on the 15th of the Hindu month Sawun (28th of July). Previously to that day not only the Hindus of Kashmir, but those from Hindustan, of every rank and caste, may be seen collecting together, and travelling up the valley of the Lidur towards this celebrated cave – which, from his description, must have been the place that Bernier intended to visit, but was prevented….

After performing their ablutions and prostrations at Gunysh Bul, the pilgrims proceed to Palgam, and thence follow up the defile on the right; the snowy peaks on the further side of the lake of the Shisha Nag appearing in the distance. The only dwelling to be found on the way beyond Palgam is

about three miles thence, up the defile. I slept here. Afterwards the path, though worn by the pilgrimages of ages, is rocky and fatiguing. The people first stop and perform their ablutions at a part of the stream about a mile above Palgam.

At Nil Gunga, or the blue water, they again halt to wash and made their vows and their offerings to the stream, and again in the Umur Veyut, about sixty yards, as I was informed, below the cave itself. A second and steep ascent begins from Chundan Wareh; after which the pilgrims find themselves in a long open valley formed between the mountain peaks, rising to a thousand feet above it on each side; the valley itself being elevated above the limit of forest, and divided lengthwise by the deep and rocky cliff through which flows that branch of the river that runs from the Shisha Nag.…

Shisha Nag

I found it to be a small lake, about one-third of a mile in diameter, lying chiefly in a punchbowl formed by the nearly perpendicular precipices of a limestone ridge, whose strata up to the summits were as much twisted and distorted as those of the hills about Shahbad, rising from the plain of Kashmir, and with which they were most probably once upon a level, having been formed, to all appearance, during the same periods of time.

Sona Nag

The Sona Nag, or the Golden Lake, is a small one, lying but a short distance over the hills, on the side of the stream opposite to that where we bivouacked. The incipient Lidur flows from the Shisha Nag; and although I was prevented from seeing Umur Nath, I felt that my fatigue was in some measure repaid by having thus reached that source of the Jylum, which must be considered as inferior only in size and volume to that in the Kosah Nag, on the opposite Panjal.

The Cave

The last encamping place of the pilgrims is an elevated plain, distant one day’s march from the Shisha Nag; after which they cross another ridge, and descend to Umur Nath. A vast multitude of men, women, and children advance towards the cave, at an hour appointed by the attendant, the Brahmins first divesting themselves of all clothing, excepting some pieces of birch-bark which do duty for fig-leaves. The cave is of gypsum (I am in possession of specimens brought thence), and shaped like a divided cone,

facing to the south, and being (so I was informed) about 30 yards in height, and 15 or 20 in depth. I rather believe that there are stalactites in it, and that large icicles are formed from them, so as to connect the bottom of the cave with the roof. When the pilgrims arrive there they commence shouting, clapping their hands, and calling upon the Deity (Siva). Asra durshun payareh – "Show yourself to us," is the universal and simultaneous exclamation and prayer of prostrate thousands.

12. Lord Auckland visits the Golden Temple, Fanny Ede[449]

Our object was the great Sikh temple, where the book he [Ranjit Singh] consults as an oracle is kept. We had all to take off our shoes before we entered even the outer court. Emily and I astutely had our slippers over white satin shoes, and they were quite satisfied when our slippers were taken off. It was getting dusk and the whole city was illuminated. The temple itself was sheeted with gold, the whole outside of it, good solid gold, and a very large building. Runjeet was afraid I should not make that out as I was standing near the door, and took hold of my hand and made me feel it. The inside of the temple is more splendid still – a large gold canopy stiff with embroidery in pearls.

There is the oracle with about twenty covers over it, and priests with long white beards sitting behind a little low altar on which it is kept. Chouries are wound over it. A very small round cushion was put on the ground, upon the edge of which Runjeet instantly squatted. He pulled down George by him, also Emily and me. It was very close sitting and rather crampy. He evidently thought the women wanted something to amuse their little trivial minds, and made signs for us to go up to the altar and look at the book. A fringe of very long pearls and emeralds about half a yard deep and a yard long is the first covering. Then the priests take off many more and there was the book open and they all bowed to it. I rather feel as if I was in the temple of Baal. I hear Runjeet told George that in consequence of coming to see that sacred place he should consider their friendship more firmly cemented, and George made a most splashy answer, about their united armies conquering the world. You will be much taken aback, I guess, when they march hand in hand and take Motcombe. Then Runjeet told us a long story how his oracle first told him to make friends with the English. I wish somebody could have sketched us all three, with the mixture of natives and

English officers round us, half kneeling, half squatting. Afterwards we went to the top of a building near, to see the illuminations, and the gold temples looked splendid with the reflection of the fire.

13. Kalighat, Fanny Parke[450]

January 15th 1837…The temple is at Kali Ghat, about two miles from Calcutta. The idol is a great black stone cut into the figure of an enormous woman, with a large head and staring eyes; her tongue hangs out of her mouth, a great broad tongue down to her breast. The figure is disgusting. I gave the attendant priests a rupee for having shown me their idol, which they offered with all reverence to Kali Mai.

C. SOME SACRED CITIES

1. Banaras, Captain Alexander Hamilto[451]

Benares lies about a hundred miles farther up the river, celebrated for its sanctity by all persons over India, where paganism prevails. Here are seminaries and universities for the education of youth, and to initiate them into the mysteries of their religion…It is still in so much veneration that I have known young and old Banyans go from Surat thither over land, out of devotion, which is computed to be a distance of four hundred miles: The priests fill brass and copper pots, made in the shape of short-necked bottles, with Ganges water, which they consecrate and seal up, and send those bottles, which contain about four English gallons, all over India, to their benefactors, who make them good returns, for whoever is washed with that water just before they expire, are washed as clean from their sins as a new-born babe.

2. Kashi, William Hodge[452]

This city anciently bore the name of Kashi, but at what period it received its present name the page of history is silent. It is built on the north side of the river, which be here very broad, and the banks of which are very high: from the water, its appearance is extremely beautiful; the great variety of the buildings strikes the eye, and the whole view is much improved by innumerable flights of stone steps, which are either entrances into the several temples, or to the houses. Several Hindoo temples greatly embellish the banks of the river, and are all ascended to by Gauts, or flights of steps, such as I have already noticed. Many other public and private buildings possess also considerable magnificence. Several of these I have painted,

and some of a large scale, such as I conceived the subjects demanded. Many buildings on the banks of the river, which engage the attention, and invite to further observation, prove, on a more minute investigation, to be only embankments, to prevent the overflowing of the water from carrying away the banks at the season of the periodical rains, and for some time after, when the river is high, and the current strong. The most considerable of these embankments is called Gelsi Gaut; the splendor and elegance of which, as a building, I was induced to examine, but found, upon ascending the large flight of steps from the river, nothing behind this beautiful cascade but the natural bank, and on the top a planted garden. In the center of the building, over the river, is a square turret, raised and covered, for the purpose of enjoying the freshness of the evening air; and, at the extreme angles, two octagon pavilions crowned with domes, which have the same destination. Most of these buildings have been erected by the charitable contributions of the wealthy, for the benefit of the public.

Mosque

Nearly in the center of the city is a considerable Mahomedan mosque, with two minarets: the height from the water to the top of the minarets is 232 feet. This building was raised by that most intolerant and ambitious of human beings, the Emperor Aurungzebe, who destroyed a magnificent temple of the Hindoos on this spot, and built the present mosque, said to be of the same extent and height as the building he destroyed…

Surrounding the city are many ruins of buildings, the effects of Mahomedan intolerance. One is a large circular edifice, having evidently been a Hindoo temple, or part of one; there are still vestiges of some of the ornaments; and on one part I found the Grecian scroll.

3. Banaras, George Forste[453]

The city of Benaras, for its wealth, costly buildings, and the number of its inhabitants, is classed in the first of those now remaining in the possession of the Hindoos. To describe with a due degree of precision the various temples dedicated at Benaras, to the most innumerable deities, and to explain the origin of their foundation with the necessary arrangement, would require a knowledge far superior to mine in the mysterious subject of Hindoo Mythology. It is at this day enveloped in such deep obscurity, that

even those pundits the most skillfully versed in the Sanscrit, are not able to render it moderately comprehensible to the generality of people.

But as some relation of a city so famous in Hindoostan, and now so well known in Europe for supplying one of the grand sources of the religious worship of the Hindoos, and being the chief repository of the science yet existing among them, may not be unacceptable to you, together with a cursory investigation of the Mythology of Brimha; the task shall be attempted with attention to the object, and, I trust, with a strict adherence to truth.

Aurangzeb's mosque

At the distance of eight miles from the city of Benares, as it is approached on the river, from the eastward, the eye is attracted by the view of two lofty minarets, which were erected by Aurungzebe, on the foundation of an ancient Hindoo temple, dedicated to the Mhah Deve. The construction on this sacred ruin of so towering a Mahometan pile, which, from its elevated height, seems to look down with triumph and exultation on the fallen state of a city so profoundly revered by the Hindoos, would appear to have been prompted to the mind of Aurungzebe by a bigoted and intemperate desire of insulting their religion. If such was his wish, it hath been completely fulfilled. For the Hindoos consider this monument, as the graceful record of a foreign yoke, proclaiming to every stranger, that their favorite city has been debased, and the worship of their gods defiled. From the top of the minarets is seen the entire prospect of Benares, which occupies a space of about two miles and an half along the northern bank of the Ganges, and generally a mile in-land from the river.…The irregular and compressed manner which has been invariably adopted in forming the streets of Benares, has destroyed the effects which symmetry and arrangement would have otherwise bestowed on a city, entitled, from its valuable buildings, to a preference of any capital which I have seen in India.

4. Aurangzeb's mosque – dishonour of Hindu religious feelings, Thomas Twinin[454]

It is a small mosque wholly devoid of magnificence, erected, according to Mussulman practice, upon the ruins of a Hindoo temple. The limited site on which it was built may not have admitted of the usual display of beauty or splendour, or the imperial founder may have considered it more as a

monument of triumph than of grandeur – have desired that it should express contempt than command admiration. Benares was indeed taken and plundered, and given up to every excess, by Mahomed Gauri in the year 1194; but the mosque in question was constructed by Aurungzebe, who has left behind him many similar proofs of his persecution of the Hindoos. A humane king would have lamented the past injuries of his subjects, a great one would have repaired them, but Aurungzebe, in a more enlightened age, and without the palliation of his predecessor, a barbarian and a conqueror, deliberately *augmented* the desolation of the city, the object of veneration of a whole people, and treated with derision and dishonour the religious feelings of its most peaceful inhabitants. It struck me as one of the most remarkable instances of the passive character of the Hindoos that they should have suffered the lofty minarets of this mosque to tower over their temples so long, and to be the first objects that meet the eye of the pilgrim on his approach to the far-sought sanctuary of his religion.

5. A gathering of Sikhs at Haridwar, Anne Dean[455]

The following morning some of our party, myself among the number, made an excursion to the celebrated bathing-place of Hurdoar, where we fell in with a party of Sieks of high rank: they consisted of the Ranee Mutaab Kour, wife of Rajah Runjeet Sing; Rajah Sahib Sing, of Patialah, and his wife; Rajahs Bodge Sing and Burgwaan Sing. These people paid us every mark of respect and politeness: they were attended by a numerous retinue.

6. Jwala-mukhi, William Moorcrof[456]

Jwala-mukhi is about five kos to the north-west of Nadaun, and is situated upon an elevated nook immediately under the mountains of Changa. It is a place of great sanctity in the estimation of the Hindus, and pilgrims come hither from all parts of India. Its holiness is owing to the inflammable gas which issues from various apertures in a temple dedicated to Devi, the wife of Mahadeo, who, as identical with the mysterious fire, is also called Jwala-mukhi, the goddess from whose mouth flame is exhaled. The vents through which the ignited gas, that is always burning in the temple of Devi, issues, are several in a shallow trough excavated on the floor, one in the north-western angle, one in the wall on the northern face, and two others on the outside of the wall: there are also some in a well within a small detached

building. Observing the water in this well apparently free from vapour, I applied a lighted wick to it, and the surface was immediately ignited, though but for a short period. The same test showed the exhalation of gas from several of the apertures which were seemingly quiescent. There was no smoke, and but little smell. The interior of the temple was, indeed, blackened by smoke, but this had been generated by the offerings of Devi's worshippers, who place butter, sugar, and incense near the flame from the apertures as burnt-offerings to the goddess. The attendant brahmans were very civil, and allowed me to make what experiments I pleased. When a flame proceeded from any aperture longer and brighter than usual, an exclamation of *Ai Jwala* arose from the adoring multitude. The temple was about twenty feet square, not in any way remarkable for its architecture, except that the columns were without capitals, and were more massive than any I remember to have seen in Hindustan…The interior of the temple has been lately painted and embellished at the expense of the Raja of Hindur.

7. Gorakhnath, Honoria Lawrenc[457]

About a mile from the station there is a holy place called Goruck-naught. A succession of mango *topes* gives two or three miles of shade, and in the heart of this there are many tanks and temples. They are square, white buildings, with dome shaped roofs, and arched entrances; the ground about them is kept exceedingly neat and clean and contains some splendid single trees with seats built round them. There are also pretty gardens, with balsams, tuberoses and other flowers for the worshippers to make garlands of.

Near the temple is a burying ground, for, though burning is the usual mode of disposing of a body among the Hindoos, yet some of the more sacred dead are buried. There were tombs of mason work raised over the *mohants* or priests and the some on a smaller scale over the *cheelahs*, or novices. The place swarms with *fakirs*, a most disgusting race, generally stout able-bodied men, daubed with ashes and filth, and more nearly naked than even the other Hindoos. They are impudent to the greatest degree, and with all their dirt and nudity, have a pampered appearance. Nothing human can be more horrible than they look, and we know that they practice every abomination.

One morning before sunrise we were driving through Gorucknaught, and hearing a great noise of drums, bells and horns we turned up to one cluster of temples. The largest temple was lighted within, and showed a shrine upon which I did not observe any figure, but heaps of flowers, feathers, scarlet cloth, tinsel, shells and all sorts of trumpery. Outside a troop of *fakirs* blew horns, beat drums and struck upon large bells that hung in the verandah. The worship, as far as we saw, was this: a priest with his face all muffled up except the eyes, stood before the shrine holding an earthen lamp, or rather cup of oil with many lighted wicks round its edge. This he waved slowly round his head then turned to the right, then to the left and bowed to the shrine. We turned away sick at heart. Oh when will the "saving health be known among all nation"?

8. Sarnath, Captain Leopold von Orlic[458]

Very early in the morning of my last day's sojourn here, I rode with General Simpson to the village of Sarnath. It is six miles north-east of Benares, and three, of the cantonments, and evidently lies on a classic soil, for, that a large and mighty city must have stood here, is amply testified by the numerous ruins, and beautifully-formed bricks, with which all the ground, and especially the banks of a lake, which extends from east to west, are covered. The only fragment which has been preserved, is a vaulted tower about sixty feet high; it is built of granite and blocks of red sandstone, which are let into one another, and fastened without any cement, and in the upper portion some bricks have been introduced. The diameter of its base is about 100 feet, and the whole of the exterior, forms a round domed cone, similar to the Manikeeala in the Punjab. This remarkable tower is a compact mass of stone, without any open space in the interior, and merely covers a deep well, into which the corpse of a king was probably let down. A copper tablet found upon its highest summit bears an inscription, which, as far as I know, has not yet been deciphered: it is now in the museum of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta.

At an elevation of about twenty feet from the ground are several niches, surrounded by elegant arabesques, in which statutes of men, women, and children, the size of life, formerly stood: some of these have been removed to Calcutta, to save them from the destructive spirit of the natives; seven statutes of red sandstone, which were sadly mutilated were, however, lying

about. They are the figures of a people, with flat noses, thick lips, and unusually large eyes. The hair lies perfectly smooth to the head, and falls in innumerable curls over the neck and shoulders. Some of them were quite naked, others wrapped in light garments, which are very curiously wrought, and fit tight to the body, or fall in picturesque folds. One of these figures wore a cord round the waist, exactly similar to that which distinguishes the Brahmins.

9. Allahabad, Honoria Lawrenc[459]

The city of Allahabad stands on the point of land at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna. The junction of any streams forms a sacred place to Hindoos. And at the present season there is a vast concourse of pilgrims to Allahabad. It is a curious but sad spectacle, and truly the zeal of these idolaters is a reproach to us. A tax of a rupee is levied by Government on every pilgrim and a *lakh* of rupees is collected here yearly by this infamous levy. Surely a time will come when it will be believed that a Christian nation traded in idolatry…

10. Allahabad, Captain Leopold von Orlic[460]

Allahabad is one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage, because the Hindoos consider it most meritorious to rush into the purifying waves of the sister streams, and to carry some of the waters to their most distant homes. As soon as the pilgrim arrives, he sits down on the bank of the river, and has his head shaved in such a manner, that every hair may fall into the water, because the holy books promise for every hair so sacrificed, a residence of a million of years in heaven! After he is shaven he bathes, and on the same day, or at least, on the following day, he performs the funeral rites for his deceased ancestors. Many of these fanatics here put an end to their existence: they go in a boat to the spot where the two sacred streams meet, and, after having concluded certain prescribed ceremonies, and tied three large water jugs round their bodies, they sink into the stream. Others have thrown themselves with such impetuosity into the sacred depths, that they were not seen to rise again.

In the month of February, especially, thousands of these devotees, rich and poor, come here together: they regard the sacred stream with the same sensations, as the thirsty wanderer in the desert beholds the well of the oases. Their souls seem to be ravished, their exhausted frames are

invigorated by a new strength, and, with redoubled steps they praise the name of their god, with increasing fervour. A rajah, attended by a large train, was still here on our arrival, and had pitched his tents under mango trees.

The fort, which was built by the Emperor Akbar of blocks of red stone, is situated on the tongue of land at the junction of the river…In the middle of the fort stands the ancient granite-column, with inscriptions in Pali and Sanscrit…

An ancient Hindoo temple lies upon the beach below the level of the sacred river: its subterranean chambers are paved with flags, and rest upon columns; the Lingam Patalpuri is preserved here, and lighted by lamps.

D. RIVERS SACRED

GANGES

1(a) Father Matteo Ripa on bathing in the Gange[461]

The same evening, I returned to Sciantanagor. As I was walking there one morning on the bank of the river, I noticed a large number of men, natives, who were bathing in it quite naked, and but a few paces away, within sight of the men, were a number of women, also quite naked, and occupied in the same function, yet, the men did not look towards the women, nor did the women look at the men: on both sides they were busy washing themselves, without the slightest immodesty; but, when I praised it to the aforesaid Capuchin Father Felice, he explained the mystery to me and told me, what I still heard from others, that the Idolaters of the Great Mogol believe the water of the Ganges to be so holy that it has the virtue of purifying the soul from every stain of sin, while the body is being cleansed in it. And so there are many families which earn their livelihood simply by carrying inland for sale vases filled with this water.

(b) Oath on Ganges, Father Wende[462]

Those who are informed as concerns the veneration in which the Ganges is held by the Indian gentiles will have no difficulty in understanding this type of oath which they are accustomed to make. It is rather like the swearing of the ancients by the Styx (though in another sense). To swear by the Ganges is, according to them, to commit oneself in a manner which one cannot fail to fulfill without committing the most severe betrayal and sacrilege, followed by an infallible punishment.

(c) Bathing in the Ganges, De Grandpr[463]

The Indians bathe at least once a day as the precept commands them. I have passed whole days in looking at them; men, women, and children bathe together without the smallest indecency. They leave their shoes on the bank, and sprinkle themselves as they go into the river: when they are up to the middle in water, they take off their apron (*pagne*) and wash it, perform the ablutions directed by their religion, put on their apron again, and come out. Often some Bramins come to bathe, bringing with them a small brass vessel of the shape of a censer, in which are some grains about the size a pea: these they throw one at a time into the river, uttering, in a low tone of voice, a prayer or two. They then sprinkle themselves slightly on the back, touch their temples with the first joint of their thumb, wash their apron, and retire. It is to be remarked, that the ceremony of washing the apron is observed by every individual; a proof that the precept was given for the purpose of cleanliness…

Worship of Ganga

Besides the ceremony of bathing, the Indians pay a regular worship to the Ganges. They make offerings to it of oil, cocoa, and flowers, which they expose on its banks, to be washed away by the stream. When they have a friend at sea, and would offer vows for his return, they light in the evening some small lamps, filled with oil and cocoa, and placing them in earthen dishes, which they adorn with garlands, they commit them in the same manner to the stream: the river is sometimes covered with these lights. If the dish sinks speedily, it is a bad omen for the object of their vows; but they abandon themselves to the most pleasing hopes, if they can observe their lamp shining at a distance, and if it goes so far as to be at length out of sight without any accident happening to extinguish it, it is a sure token, that their friend will return in safety.

(d) Holy Ganges, Thomas Twinin[464]

Six coss farther we reached Sooty, a small village on the right bank, and from which this part of the Kasimbazaar river takes its name, being called the Sooty Nullah, or small stream of Sooty.…Soon after entering this strait my attention was excited by a considerable noise among my people on the roof of my boat, over my head. I easily guessed the cause of this, before the arrival of one of my servants to tell me, that we were approaching the

“Great River.” I quitted my room, and went upon deck. Here I found my boatmen and servants all collected, and looking with great eagerness ahead of the budgerow towards the north-east, the direction, nearly, in which we were sailing. The rest of the boats, which were pressed together in a channel not wider than the Thames at Hampton, exhibited the same display of earnest curiosity and feeling.…After proceeding half a mile farther the object of all this enthusiasm became visible over a point of land we were to pass. In an instant a clamorous expression of joy pervaded the whole fleet; every one raised his hand repeatedly to his head, and some bent and touched the deck, in sign of humility and respect. The magnificent appearance of the great river, now fully open before us, and the strong effusion of pious feeling of so many persons, not certainly towards the stream itself, but towards the Power which made it flow, towards that Being who can hold the waters of the earth in the hollow of his hand, formed altogether one of the most impressive scenes I had ever witnessed. I was deeply struck with the wonderful grandeur of this vast river…The Ganges here was so wide at this season that objects upon the opposite shore, and even the line of the shore itself, were not distinctly visible. I paid particular attention to this circumstance, as the best by which I could form a comparative judgment of the stream. On either side, to the north-west and south-east, the expanse of water was uninterrupted as far as the eye could reach. This noble river had already flowed 1000 miles through the plains of India, and was yet 400 miles from the sea. Its depth was sometimes more than thirty feet, and its course was at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour. In its progress it had been joined by eight rivers as large as the Thames.

(e) The piety of the boatmen on the Ganges, who prayed every morning at the commencement of the day’s journey, Lady Maria Nugen[465]

There is something very striking, and even affecting, in the piety (superstition if so you please to call it,) of these poor Hindoos, and, whenever I see them in the water, with their eyes lifted up to heaven, and their hands clasped, I cannot avoid giving them credit for real feelings of religion; and I am certain, that, whatever their mistakes or superstitions may be, such prayers, offered in purity of heart, are acceptable to the Almighty.

(f) Captain Thomas Skinner of H.M. 31st [Huntingdonshire] Regiment, who undertook an excursion to the sources of the Jumna and the Ganga, narrated the excitement with which his Hindu followers greeted the sight of the Ganga after an arduous journey in the mountain[466]

If the sound of Jumoona excited my followers to a high pitch, at merely the commencement of their pilgrimage, how much more so would the thrice-welcome shout of *Gunga Jee!* when they had at length gained it after a painful journey of more than thirty days. *Gunga Jee!* was the universal cry for some minutes; and *Gunga Jee!* was echoed by the woods and hills around, till it reached the ears of the slowest of my stragglers, when, calling upon its name long before they saw it, they endeavoured to rush forward, and enjoy the sight they had been so long toiling to obtain. The Hindoos salaam'd and muttered its name over and over again; and even the unbending Mahometan seemed in some way softened by the scene. I sat on one side, to allow full scope to their feelings, affected by the beauty of the picture as much as they were by the veneration of the river.

2. Narmada

Sacred Narmada, James Forbe[467]

From my little encampment on the banks of the Nerbudda, although accustomed to such spectacles at Baroche and Surat, I have been frequently astonished at the number of both sexes in the river during great part of the day. From Zinore to Chandode the stream is reckoned peculiarly holy; and there not only religious purity, but healing efficacy, is annexed to the ablution. Pilgrims from distant provinces resort thither for the cure of different complaints: they do not, I believe, entirely rely on the virtue of the water for convalescence, but apply also to the medical skill of the Brahmins, who are the principal physicians in India.

3. Indus

Veneration of Indus by Hindus in Sindh, Richard Burto[468]

It is difficult even for an European, to view that noble stream without admiration, not unmixed with awe: the Oriental goes a step beyond, and from admiration directly proceeds to adoration. The Pujara (votaries of the river) are remarkable for the rigidness of their fasts, which generally last forty days together. During that period they avoid eating, drinking, smoking

and other enjoyments, at all times from midnight till sunset. Every evening before breaking the fast, they recite the Sindhi verses called "Panjara Darya Shaha ja." When the forty days are concluded they go to the Indus, or if the river be far off, to some well; repeat certain prayers and hymns; sip water three times from the palm of the hand, and after eating a bit of the kind of cake called Patasho, return home.

The following is a specimen of a Sindh Munajat or hymn often recited in honour of the Indus-

O thou beneficent stream!
O Khizr, thou kind of kings!
O thou that flowest in thy power and might!
Send thou joy to my heart!…

E. RELIGIOUS LEADERS

Swami Narain [Gujarat], Bishop Hebe[469]

Some good had been done, Mr. Williamson said, among many of these wild people, by the preaching and popularity of the Hindoo reformer, Swaamee Narain who had been mentioned to me at Baroda. His morality was said to be far better than any which could be learned from the Shaster. He preached a great degree of purity, forbidding his disciples so much as to look on any woman whom they passed. He condemned theft and bloodshed; and those villages and districts, which had received him, from being among the worst, were now among the best and most orderly in the provinces. Nor was this all, insomuch as he was said to have destroyed the yoke of caste, – to have preached one God, and, in short, to have made so considerable approaches to the truth, that I could not but hope he might be an appointed instrument to prepare the way for the Gospel…

Visit from Swami Narain

About eleven o'clock I had the expected visit from Swaamee Narain, to my interview with whom I had looked forward with an anxiety and eagerness which, if he had known it, would, perhaps, have flattered him. He came in a somewhat different style from all which I expected, having with him near 200 horsemen, mostly well-armed with matchlocks and swords, and several of them with coats of mail and spears. Besides them he had a large rabble on foot, with bows and arrows, and when I considered that I had myself more than fifty horse, and fifty musquets and bayonets, I could

not help smiling, though my sensations were in some degree painful and humiliating, at the idea of two religious teachers meeting at the head of little armies, and filling the city, which was the scene of their interview, with the rattling of quivers, the clash of shields, and the tramp of the war-horse. Had our troops been opposed to each other, mine, though less numerous, would have been, doubtless far more effective from the superiority of arms and discipline. But, in moral grandeur, what a difference was there between his troop and mine. Mine neither knew me, nor cared for me; they escorted me faithfully and would have defended me bravely, because they were ordered by their superiors to do so, and as they would have done for any other stranger of sufficient worldly rank to make such an attendance usual. The guards of Swaamee Narain were his own disciples and enthusiastic admirers, men who had voluntarily repaired to hear his lessons, who now took a pride in doing him honour, and who would cheerfully fight to the last drop of blood rather than suffer a fringe of his garment to be handled roughly. In the parish of Hodnet there were once, perhaps, a few honest countrymen who felt something like this for me; but how long a time must elapse before any Christian Teacher in India can hope to be thus loved and honoured! Yet surely there is some encouragement to patient labour which a Christian minister many derive from the success of such men as these in India, – inasmuch as where others can succeed in obtaining a favourable hearing for doctrines, in many respect, at variance with the general and received system of Hindooism, – the time may surely be expected, through God's blessing, when *our* endeavours also, may receive their fruit, and our hitherto almost barren Church may "keep house and be a joyful mother of children."

…the holy man…was a middle-sized, thin, plain-looking person, about my own age, with a mild and diffident expression of countenance, but nothing about him indicative of any extraordinary talent…

…I said, "have you any objection to communicate some part of your doctrine now?" It was evidently what he came to do, and his disciples very visibly exulted in the opportunity of his, perhaps, converting me. He began, indeed, well, professing to believe in one only God, the Maker of all things in Heaven and earth, who filled all space, upheld and governed all things, and, more particularly, dwelt in the hearts of those who diligently sought him; but he alarmed me by calling the God whom he worshipped Krishna,

and by saying that he came down to earth in ancient times, had been put to death by wicked men through Magic, and that since his time many false revelations had been pretended, and many false divinities set up. This declaration, I say, alarmed me, because, notwithstanding the traits of resemblance which it bore to the history of our Lord, traits which are in fact to be found in the midst of all the uncleanness and folly in the popular legends respecting Krishna, I did not like the introduction of a name so connected with many obscene and monstrous follies. I observed, therefore, that I always had supposed that Hindoos called the God and Father of all, not Krishna but Brihm, and I wished, therefore, to know whether his God was Brihm, or somebody distinct from him? The name of Brihm appeared to cause great sensation among his disciples, of whom some whispered with each other, and one or two nodded and smiled as if to say "that is the very name." The Pundit also smiled and bowed, and with the air of a man who is giving instruction to a willing and promising pupil, said, "a true word it is that there is only one God who is above all and in all things, and by whom all things are. Many names there may be, and have been, given to him who *is* and is *the same*, but whom we also as well as the other Hindoos call Brihm. But there is a spirit in whom God is more especially, and who cometh from God, and is with God, and is likewise God, who hath made known to men the will of the God and Father of all whom, we call Krishna and worship as God's image, and believe to be the same as the sun 'Surya.'"

…I then asked if he read the Persian character, and on his answering in the negative, I expressed my concern that I had no copies of our Sacred Books with me in the Nagree, but said that if he would accept a volume or two, by way of keeping me in his remembrance, I would send them to him either from Kairah or Bombay.…

I told him as well as I could, (for to say the truth my fluency had begun to fail) what Christians and Mussulmans thought as to the worship of images; but did not decline receiving some paltry little prints of his divinity in various attitudes, which I said I should value a keepsakes. I asked about castes, to which he answered, that he did not regard the subject as of much importance, but that he wished not to give offence; that people might eat separately or together in this world, but that above "oopur," pointing to heaven, those distinctions would cease, where we should be all "ek ekhee

jat," (one like another). A little further conversation of no great consequence followed…On the whole it was plain that his advances towards truth had not yet been so great as I had been told, but it was also apparent that he had obtained a great power over a wild people, which he used at present to a good purpose…

F. HINDUS IN SINDH

1. Conversion of Hindus to Islam in Sindh, Richard Burto[470]

Conversion of the Hindoos to Islam has sensibly diminished, as might be expected, since it ceased to be compulsory. Formerly it must have proceeded so rapidly as almost to threaten the very existence of Hinduism; at Mathara, Hala and other places, there are still whole streets full of Nau-Muslim [New Moslems], as the converted pagans are termed by the Faithful. The ceremony of conversion is as follows: The Hindoo is bathed from head to foot, dressed in pure garments, generally of a black colour, and taken to the Mosque to listen to a Maulud, of which he does not understand a word. He is then mounted upon a horse, or placed in a palanquin and carried round the town, accompanied by a crowd of people firing guns, performing on musical instruments, and displaying other signs of joy. When he dismounts, pieces of money are thrown upon his head, and are afterwards given to him as a present. He is then taken to the house of the Kazi, who chooses him a name. Finally, he mentions some caste into which he wishes to be received, and is circumcised with all due solemnity. This last measure is omitted in the initiation of females; in all other points the ceremony is the same. It is presumed and believed that the proselytes are afterwards instructed in the rules of the strange religion; generally speaking, however, they are left in almost utter ignorance of them. They frequently retain their aversion of beef and other equally unmistakable proofs of a heathen origin. The Moslems, here as elsewhere, honour new converts in theory and despise them in practice; for the advantage of their religion, however, they are careful not to make any display of contempt and seldom neglect to provide them with a wife and some kind of employment.

The exigencies of their peculiar position have compelled the Sindh Hindoos to relax one of their strictest rules and re-admit members of their own body whom force or persuasion separated from them. This, however, is confined to those places where the Hindoos are not sufficiently numerous to

be able to reject such persons. As has been before mentioned, in some towns they are much more strict than in others. For instance, at Kurrachee, where the Moslems are in the minority, one of the riches merchants was not permitted to return to his caste. He was a Tohryal; (circumcised), and had tasted impure meats; this was deemed a sufficient objection against him, and although he has for years conformed to the practice of his former faith, and has been most liberal in fees, donations and alms, he is still compelled to eat and drink alone. At Shikarpur, and other places, this would not have been the case.

During the native rule any attempt at apostatising from the Moslem faith would infallibly have incurred condign punishment. Under our government the candidate applies for a written permission, directed to the Kardar, or revenue officer, and a circular to the Mahajans (merchants), advising them that they may re-admit the applicant. The apostate Shaykh then applies to the Brahmans, and spends some time and a considerable sum of money in cajolery and bribery. At last the priest yields and asks the candidate three times in a set phrase whether he be willing and ready to return to the faith of his forefathers. This being duly answered in the affirmative, the candidate is desired to name his terms, which are raised by infinite haggling and chaffering to the utmost of his means, and he solemnly promises to obey the Brahmans in every thing. His head is then shaved and he is directed to feed cows in the jungle for about a week, during which time he wears a skull cap and cloth round the waist. A staff is placed in his hand, but no slippers are allowed. After this he returns home, his head is again shaved, and the place where the Choti ought to be is left untouched by the razor.

After the candidate's house has been purified by cowdung, Brahmans repair to it for the purpose of praying and performing some minor ceremonies. Again the candidate is asked if he be willing to return to Hinduism, and receives from the priests certain rules of conduct, which he is ordered strictly to follow. Presents of money, clothes, grain, clarified butter and other edibles are given to those who officiate; the latter then name some particular place of pilgrimage which the candidate must visit. This is imperative, but the distance of the holy spot, the time to be spent there, and the alms to be distributed, are proportioned to the pilgrim's means. When he returns, he must feast a number of Brahmans, and

recommence a course of offerings; he is also expected to give small presents of sweetmeats to all his brotherhood. Thus concludes the ceremony; the candidate being now supposed to be restored to his former state of purity.

2. Hindu religion in Sindh, Richard Burto[471]

The Hindoo religion is not to be found in a state of purity in Sindh. To this general statement the only exceptions are a few Brahmans, who study their Scriptures in Sanscrit, and possibly have visited India, the fountain-head of their superstitions. As has been before said, Hinduism here is mixed up with the heterogeneous elements of Islam, and the faith of Nanak Shah. A Hindoo will often become the Murid (follower) of a Mussulman, and in some cases the contrary takes place. When we consider that the religion of Brahma was at one time established throughout the province, that as late as the seventeenth century, the Hindoos were reckoned to be ten times as numerous as their conquerors, and, finally, that all the great Pirs revered by the Moslems have classical Hindoo names, we must conclude that the spots accounted holy by the pagans were seized upon by the followers of Mohammed. Some of them bear indubitable signs of their Polytheistic origin, in Yonis (natural or artificial holes in solid rock), Lingams carved in stone and placed upon the margins of tanks or pools, together with many other equally unmistakable evidences. From the Sikhs, the Sindh Hindoo has learned to simplify his faith: to believe in one God, whom he calls Khuda, Thakur and Bhagwan, and to assent to the doctrine of a future state of rewards in Sarg (Paradise), and punishments in Narg (Hell). The male and female Avatar, such as Vishnu and Shiva, Lakshmi and Devi, are considered by them as intercessors with the Deity, and hold the same position as the Paighambar or prophets of the Moslems. The Pirs and holy men are revered as sub-intercessors, whose superogatory piety enables them to aid their fellow creatures in a spiritual way. These saints never die, but even their tombs can listen to and forward the prayers of their votaries….

3. Prayer book of Hindus in Sindh, Richard Burto[472]

Most Hindoos of any education in Sindh have a Pothi, or prayer-book for private devotion. The character used is Shikashtah of the worst description, written either by the devotee for his own benefit, or handed down from father to son. Such volumes are treated with the greatest respect, and

covered with one or more clothes, lest profane hands should touch the binding: they are seldom shown to strangers. The following is a list of the usual contents of such books:

A short poem in Persian called the Sri Kishan Namo, because after every fourth line come the words "Sri Kishan Gao, Sri Kishan Gao."

The Sri Ganes Namo, an address (poetical as usual) to Ganesha, praying for prosperity and the acquisition of wealth.

Sri Gopal Hari, a prayer to that well known Avatar.

Short extracts, in verse and prose, from the Bhagawat: these are generally in the Persian and sometimes in the Panjabi language.

The Sukhmani of Nanak Shah

A number of Madah, Panjara and Munajat to the different Pirs, in Persian, Panjabi and Sindhi. Most Hindoos know several of these by heart and are in the habit of reciting them daily. They are believed to be peculiarly efficacious in a temporal, as well as a spiritual sense, if repeated at a time of need.

A few prayers and hymns addressed to the Creator in the Shastri (Sanscrit), Persian, Panjabi and Sindhi tongues. Those composed in the dead language are rare, and seldom, if ever, understood by the reciters. Compositions in the three latter dialects very much resemble those of the Moslems in style and ideas. As a general rule the Creator is not nearly so often addressed as his creatures.

Detached verses in praise of Krishna and the other Hindoo demigods, generally in Panjabi or Jatki, so composed that they may be sung to the different Rag and Ragini – musical modes. A few of these are in the form of a dialogue, as between Krishna and a worshipper; a mother and her son: suggesting the idea of rude beginnings of a drama.

The Pothi concludes with a variety of astrological tables, simple computations for determining lucky and unlucky days, a Fal-Namo or two, prescriptions in medicine, and other such semi-religious compositions.

G. THOUGHTS ON RELIGION IN INDIA, CAPTAIN LEOPOLD VON ORLIC[473]

In no country in the world does the religion of the inhabitants appear so prominent as in India, where every town has its different temples, from the meanest building which encloses the rudest idol, to the most gorgeous

deities enshrined in pagodas with lofty towers, spacious court-yards, splendid colonnades, and walled tanks. While priests and devotees crown the idols, and bring offerings of fruit and flowers, the people perform their devotions at sunrise, standing in the water, bathing, or throwing water over their heads. During the daytime the men are attracted by singing to the sacred place, as well as graceful groups of veiled women, who bring their offerings to the divinity.

A strict Brahmin is occupied four hours every day in the performance of all his superstitious ceremonies; but if he is engaged in worldly pursuits, he may fulfill his religious duties in half an hour; and a man of a lower caste is content with frequently repeating the name of his god while he is bathing. On holydays, the people go in procession with palm branches, flowers, pictures of idols, cars, flags, and lanterns, made of silk, or of coloured and gilt paper, on long poles. The gaily dressed multitude in their picturesque costume, and the tastefully decorated symbols of their worship, impart an extremely animated, cheerful, and splendid appearance to such processions. Pilgrims, fakirs, and religious mendicants, on the way to their sacred places, meet the traveller at every turn, some in the dress of their order, and some carrying the symbols of the god whom they are going to worship, and with whose name they salute every body they meet.

But with all this external religious pomp and splendour, with the strict observance of usages and ceremonies, since the time of Menu, Hindooism has deviated and fallen away from its original purity. Several of the deities have been neglected, others have been substituted, the dead are worshipped, sects have been formed, monotheism is fallen, and the belief in a god who pardons sin, without the necessity of repentance, as well as the neglect of the Vedas, has become general.

The Vedas assign four great periods (Yugas) to the development of the world; and to the Almighty the three great qualities, first of creation (Brahma); secondly, of preservation (Vishnoo); and, thirdly, of destruction (Shiva). They say that the angels assembled before the throne of the Almighty, and humbly asked him what he himself was. He replied, “Were there another besides me, I would describe myself through him. I have existed from eternity, and shall remain to eternity. I am the first great cause of every thing that exists in the east and the west, in the north and the south, above and below: I am every thing, older than every thing, King of kings: I

am the truth: I am the spirit of the Creation, the Creator himself. I am knowledge, and holiness, and light. I am *all mighty*."

Though this fundamental principle no longer prevails, though the objects of devotion are no longer the same, yet this religion still exercises as powerful an influence over the people as in the most remote ages; and, though the deism of the Vedas as the true faith, including in itself all other forms, has been displaced by a system of polytheism and idolatry, has been nearly forgotten, and is recollected only by a few priests and philosophers, yet the belief in a Being far exalted above all, has not been obliterated. The visible and symbolical part of religion gained the superiority over the pure and sublime, by the obstinate and blind adherence of the priests to antiquated forms, and by their encouraging the adoration of new deities and symbols. In the Shasters of this new creed, the eighteen Pooranas, which are not by Veisia, the compiler of the Vedas, but by different authors about the ninth century after Christ, and partly complied from more ancient traditions, we find accounts of the creation, philosophical speculations, instruction in religious ceremonies, genealogies, historical fragments, and innumerable legends, of the deeds of the gods, heroes, and sages…

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Chapter 13
Social Structure

A. Some general observations
B. Brahmins
C. Kshatriyas
D. Vaishyas
E. Shudras
F. Outcastes

A. SOME GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

1. Distinction of ranks a sign of an advanced society, William Robertso[474]

From the most ancient accounts of India we learn that the distinction of ranks and separation of professions were completely established there. This is one of the most undoubted proofs of a society considerably advanced in its progress. Arts in the early stages of social life are so few, and so simple, that each man is sufficiently master of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited desires. A savage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more skilful than his own. But when time has augmented the wants of men, the productions of art become so complicated in their structure, or so curious in their fabric, that a particular course of education is requisite towards forming the artist to ingenuity in contrivance and expertness in execution. In proportion as refinement spreads, the distinction of professions increases, and they branch out into more numerous and minute subdivisions. Prior to the records of authentic history, and even before the most remote area to which their own traditions pretend to reach, this separation of professions had not only taken place among the natives of India, but the perpetuity of it was secured by an institution, which must be considered as the fundamental article in the system of their policy. The whole body of the people was divided into four orders or casts…

2. Object to provide for the happiness of all, William Robertso[475]

The regulations of Indian policy, with respect to the different orders of men, must necessarily, at some times, check genius in its career, and confine to the functions of an inferior cast talents fitted to shine in an higher

sphere. But the arrangements of civil government are made, not for what is extraordinary, but for what is common; not for the few, but for the many. The object of the first Indian legislators was to employ the most effectual means of providing for the subsistence, the security, and happiness of all the members of the community over which they presided. With this view they set apart certain races of men for each of the various professions and arts necessary in a well-ordered society, and appointed the exercise of them to be transmitted from father to son in succession. This system, though extremely repugnant to the ideas which we, by being placed in a very different state of society, have formed, will be found, upon attentive inspection, better adapted to attain the end in view, than a careless observer, at first sight, is apt to imagine. The human mind bends to the law of necessity, and is accustomed not only to accommodate itself to the restraints which the condition of its nature, or the institutions of its country, impose, but to acquiesce in them. From his entrance into life, an Indian knows the station allotted to him, and the functions to which he is destined by his birth. The objects which relate to these are the first that present themselves to his view. They occupy his thoughts, or employ his hands; and, from his earliest years, he is trained to the habit of doing with ease and pleasure that which he must continue through life to do.

To this may be ascribed that high degree of perfection

To this may be ascribed that high degree of perfection conspicuous in many of the Indian manufacturers; and though veneration for the practices of their ancestors may check the spirit of invention, yet, by adhering to these, they acquire such an expertness and delicacy of hand, that Europeans, with all the advantages of superior science, and the aid of more complete instruments, have never been able to equal the exquisite execution of their workmanship. While this high improvement of their more curious manufacturers excited the admiration, and attracted the commerce of other nations, the separation of professions in India, and the early distribution of the people into classes, attached to particular kinds of labour, secured such abundance of the more common and useful commodities, as not only supplied their own wants, but ministered to those of the countries around them.

3. Division into castes responsible for permanence of institutions, William Robertso[476]

To this early division of the people into casts, we must likewise ascribe a striking peculiarity in the state of India; the permanence of its institutions, and the immutability in the manners of its inhabitants. What now is in India always was there, and is likely still to continue: neither the ferocious violence and liberal fanaticism of its Mahomedan conquerors, not the power of its European masters, have effected any considerable alteration. The same distinctions of condition take place, the same arrangements in civil and domestic society remain, the same maxims of religion are held in veneration, and the same sciences and arts are cultivated. Hence, in all ages, the trade with India has been the same; gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither in order to purchase the same commodities with which it now supplies all nations; and from the age of Pliny to the present times, it has been always considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns. According to the accounts which I have given to the cargoes anciently imported from India, they appear to have consisted of nearly the same articles with those of the investments in our own times; and whatever difference we may observe in them seems to have arisen, not so much from any diversity in the nature of the commodities which the Indians prepared for sale, as from a variety in the tastes, or in the wants of the nations which demanded them.

4. Caste main impediment to conversion of Hindus, Giuseppe Maria, the Capuchin friar of the Franciscan order, in a letter, from Bettiah in north-western Bihar in 1758, to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide in Rom[477]

Appearances in this Kingdom [of Bettiah] are at present favourable, and many would embrace our Holy Religion were it not for Cast (*la Casta*), that is, were they not afraid of being expelled from the Clan (*la Stirpe*). Your Eminence must know already that among the Hindus (*Gentili*) of the Kingdom of the Mogol, and of the neighbouring Kingdoms, there is an irrefragable Law, forbidding each of them to eat and marry outside their own Clan. Besides, every Clan has its subdivisions, as for instance the Brahmins: some are of the Misir Clan; some of the Dube Clan; some of the

Patak Clan; some of the Cioube Clan…Each subaltern Clan forms one or more Congregations, in which together they judge all the affairs of their Clan, and from their judgment there is no appeal, so that, if for some defect they expel a member from their Congragation, it is not in the power of the King or of anyone else to re-establish him, and one thus excommunicated cannot be admitted to another Clan or Congregation, but is considered by all as infamous, and finds no one to marry him or to give his children in marriage…On this account, many who have known the truth of our Religion, have asked us to dispense them in these things [i.e., allow them to continue many caste customs and ceremonies], which they cannot omit without being expelled from the Clan. But, as we answered them that it is not in our power to permit what God has forbidden, the greater number have drawn back…

5. Mountstuart Elphinstone in a written reply to the House of Commons in August 5, 1832 on mobility in India despite the caste syste[478]

Notwithstanding the institution of castes, there is no country where men rise with more ease from the lowest rank to the highest. The first nabob (now king) of Oude, was a petty merchant; the first peishwa, a village accountant; the ancestors of Holcar were goatherds; and those of Scindia, slaves. All these, and many other instances, took place within the last century. Promotions from among the common people to all the ranks of civil and military employment, short of sovereignty, are of daily occurrence under native states, and this keeps up the spirit of the people, and in that respect partially supplies the place of popular institutions. The free intercourse of the different ranks also keeps up a sort of circulation and diffusion of such knowledge and such sentiments as exist in the society. Under us, on the contrary, the community is divided into two perfectly distinct and dissimilar bodies, of which the one is torpid and inactive, while all the sense and power seems concentrated in the other…

6. Castes in Calcutta, James Mitchel[479]

They are divided into different Casts or Tribes, each having peculiar customs, and no domestic intercourse with each other from the Bramin Cast, the highest to the Paria Caste the lowest, which consist of such as have been expelled from the other Casts for misbehaviour; they are held in

the highest contempt, do all the drudgery and being freed from all restraint indulge in every intemperance: So tenacious are the Casts of their Observances that I have known them detained on board by gales of wind for two or three days without tasting meat or drink, as it was contrary to their rules to eat any food but such as was dressed by their own Cast or drink in their own Vessells; if by accident or design any of their Vessels had been polluted by the touch of those of different persuasion, it was either broken, or if metal remelted and fashioned anew before again used. Except the Bramins, who seemed lofty and distant, and the Paria's abject and vile, the intermediate Casts, if not desturbed in their religious worship and peculiar customs, appeared to be mild and docile; much oppressed by their Raja's, Nabobs &ca. who are Mahametans and often fleece and torment them if suspected to have wealth, which makes them carefully conceal any sums they may have saved below ground and it is supposed to be to an amazing amount in the kingdom of Bengal.

B. BRAHMINS

1. Trustees of knowledge, the French Jesuit, Father Pons, in a letter dated 23 November, 174[480]

In all times the Brahmins were the sole trustees of the sciences in India...the sciences and the fine arts which had developed with such glory and success by the Greeks and Romans, also flowered in India (thanks to) the Brahmins, and, above all, to those among them who renounced the world and became sanyasis...

Never have analysis and synthesis been more felicitously used than in their grammatical work on the Sanskrit language...

The Brahmins developed all the branches of mathematics; algebra was not unknown to them; but astronomy, whose goal was astrology, was the principal subject of their study... as with the Greeks, many schools of philosophy flourished...

2. Of unquestioned nobility, Father Saignes in a letter to a lady in Toulous[481]

The Brahmas are... the most ancient and the most unquestioned nobility in the world, for it is unheard of that any member of this first caste has ever married beneath his station. They are the trustees of the Law, the Gurus or Priests of the Gods.

3. Most noble, Alexander Do[482]

The Hindoos have, from all antiquity, been divided into four great tribes, each of which comprehends a variety of inferior casts. These tribes do not intermarry, eat, drink, or in any manner associate with one another, except when they worship at the temple of Jagga-nat in Orissa, where it is held a crime to make any distinction. The first and most noble tribe are the Brahmins, who alone can officiate in the priesthood, like the Levites among the Jews. They are not however excluded from government, trade, or agriculture, though they are strictly prohibited from all menial offices by their laws. They derive their name from Brihma, who they allegorically say, produced the Brahmins from his head, when created the world.

4. Of the Brahmins, Robert Orm[483]

Every son of a Brachman inherits the priesthood of his father: from hence their numbers are more than requisite to attend the service of their gods; and many of them are seen versant in the common occupations of life, with no other distinctions than that of particular reverence paid to their persons by all who accost them, being every where considered as the highest cast of Gentoos.

The influence of priestcraft over superstition is nowhere so visible as in India. All the commerces of life have a strict analogy with the ceremonies of religion; and the Brachman has inculcated such a variety of strange persuasions, that the Gentoo finds himself every hour under the necessity of consulting his spiritual guide. The building of a pagoda, and maintaining within it a set of priests, is believed the best action which human virtue is capable of. Every offence is capable of being expiated by largesses to the Brachmans, prescribed by themselves according to their own measures of service and sensuality.

Nevertheless it may be asserted, that if ever superstition produced an universal good, it is in Indostan, where we see it the foundation of an universal benevolence.

The supreme good of the Brachmans seems to center in the idea of plenty enjoyed in peace. They quit not the silence of their groves to join the tumults of the State, nor point the brand flaming from the altar against the battlements of the citadel. Their ideas of power are confined to their own

little community: here they live in a state of subordination which knows no resistance, and slumber in a voluptuousness which knows no interruption.

But if the precepts and exhortations by which they obtain this affluent subsistence, recommended no other object but their own important persons to the consideration of charity, they would have all the world, excepting their bigots, for enemies; and these too might become undeceived, by the flagrancy of such interested commands.

Aware of this, the Brachmans have made their gods require; beside the necessity of endowing their temples, the practice of all other kinds of charities, by which the necessities of human nature may be relieved. A third part of the wealth of every Gentoo is expended upon such occasions. We see nowhere so numerous and such vast fabricks built for the service of religion: refectories built on the high road for the relief and lodging of passengers: spacious ponds dug for the ease of the labourer, and the convenience of the inhabitants: daily distribution of victuals given to the poor: – such effects concur to give us an idea of the charity of the Gentoos, not exceeded by that of the practice of Christians.

The Brachmans themselves profess great hospitality, and by this address preserve that extreme veneration, which otherwise would be lost through the effects of envy, in a detestation of their impositions.

5. The ancient tradition of Brahman purity, William Macintos[484]

It appears, from the concurring testimony of ancient writers, that the Brahmins of India, about two thousand years ago, lived innocent, pure, and austere lives, abstaining from wine and animal food; and, as much as possible, from all sensual enjoyment. They…endeavoured to shelter their feeble virtue by retirement in caves and woods, where they subsisted on the productions of the earth.

6. Great sway over community, George Forste[485]

The Bramin was invested with the uncontrolled guardianship of religion; he became the perpetual medium, through which the inferior classes addressed their god: he was also, the sole depositary and instructor of science, and to his care and ability was intrusted the education of youth. The importance of these offices must have given to the Bramin great sway in a community where a knowledge of religious worship, from its complex variety, becomes a task of arduous labour; and where, at the same time, a

performance of the rites of his religion, is deemed an obligation indispensably incumbent on the Hindoo, in his acquisition of future happiness. These employments were judged of sufficient magnitude to occupy the whole attention of the Bramin, and he was strictly interdicted from all temporal affairs. The authority of exercising the functions of royalty seems to have devolved without reserve on the Chittery or Rajah, and his possessions were held hereditary in the line of legitimate male primogeniture. The youngest branch of this race was employed in the army, and entrusted with the charge of the forts and strongholds of the country. The occupation of a merchant, with the transactions of traffic, was committed to the Bhyse; or Banian, and it was declared unlawful for the other tribes to engage in commerce. The husbandman, the artisan, the private soldier, and the labourer, compose the Looder, or the fourth cast of Hindoo; and each of these respective professions was exclusively pursued. Thus, distinctly arranged, and on the severest penalties prohibited from extraneous mixture, or the admission of proselytes, the Hindoo government acquired an uniformity and vigour, the natural result of its principles…

7. Born to command, De Grandpr[486]

Ever remember, they say to their children from their infancy, that you are born to command other men. This lesson is repeated every day, and contributes perhaps as much as anything else to generate in them the idea they entertain of their superiority over every other cast.

Be this at it may, the Bramins are in possession of eminent employments, great wealth, and unbounded esteem. They were probably indebted for this ascendancy at first to their physical powers and their arms, and they preserved it by their virtues and understanding. The consideration they still enjoy rests on a similar foundation, the knowledge they possess. It is certainly from the opinion which is formed of their virtue and sagacity, that they are placed in the first rank; but this is a matter of opinion only, and the first revolution in principals may do away the supremacy. They have already lost their physical superiority: their cast, like all the human race, is fallen off from the vigour which the first men must have possessed; the consideration resulting from arms has gone from them to the Moors, by whom they have been conquered. If any thing can maintain them in their present elevated rank, it is their secret as to their primitive language, their

mysteries, the books of their religion, the knowledge derived from them, and more than all, perhaps, the privilege of being immediately charged with the ceremonies of worship, the altars, and the gods.

8. Brahmins in Bengal, De Grandpr[487]

The trade of Bengal is in the hands of the *sircars*, who are there what the *dobiches* are on the coast. These sircars are Bramins, who lose no part of their dignity or importance by becoming merchants. They are known by a string of cotton, of seven threads, which they wear next their skin, in the manner of a scarf, from right to left, and are assisted by clerks, who have the privilege of composing a separate cast, and look upon themselves as a division of that of the Bramins, subordinate indeed to the truth itself, but superior to all other casts.

Bengal is at present the true country of the Bramins. Their names terminate almost always in *ram*; a distinction of honour answering nearly to the French *de*, the German *von*, or the *don* of the Spaniards, with this difference, that it follows the name instead of preceding it. The name of my sircar was Chissou; but, adding the final syllable of etiquette, he was called Chissouram. He was intelligent, honest, and, what is a very rare quality in a sircar, but little greedy after gain.

The ease with which these people learn any thing is wonderful: they all both speak and write the French, English, Portuguese, Moorish, Malabar, and their own sacred language; which last no one understands that does not belong to their cast. Some modern authors, and particularly the English, have made us acquainted with passages of their sacred books, their *Veidam* and their *Ezourveidam*; and in the national library at Paris is a translation of the *Cormovedam*. I respect the profound knowledge of these authors; I pretend not to call their honour in question; but would rather believe, since they affirm it, that the translations they give us are authentic, or at least that they think so themselves. I shall only remark, how much it is to be wished, that this sacred language of the Bramins were publicly known, that we may all be enabled to profit by the light which must result from an acquaintance with the annals of so ancient and so learned a people. I am far from wishing to throw doubts upon such supposed books of theirs as have been made known to us: my opinion, besides, would have but little weight against authorities so great; yet it appears to me, that whoever has been personally

acquainted with the Bramins, and has studied their character and prejudices, must be struck with the unusual marks of confidence which the communication of such passages implies, and the inferences to which such confidence would lead…

The Bramins still pursue their studies at Benares, a town which maintains its celebrity on account of the learned who live there. The nabob of this country has entirely lost his power, and is now merely the humble servant of the English company. But even were Benares to be laid low by some conquering arm, the Bramins, amidst the din of war, which they have abjured, would not abandon their studies. During all the revolutions which the Mogul Empire experienced, all the convulsions by which Bengal was distracted when invaded by Mahometanism, these people, unchanged in their pursuits, their virtues, the mildness of their manners, and the persuasion of the superiority of their morals and their descent, never failed to obtain the admiration even of their victorious enemies, who, submitting to the universal veneration which they saw paid to them, have acknowledged their own inferiority. Thus in a manner superior to the accidents of the world and the revolutions of states, they have maintained a supremacy over the minds of every nation. Without the empire gained by arms, they possess that of opinion; and, isolated in the middle of the world, they have triumphed over time itself. And yet, with so high a degree of glory, the result of so much patience and virtue, we must suppose they would sacrifice this to satisfy the importunate curiosity of a few travellers, totally unknown to them, who had come from the remotest regions of the earth to inquire into their mysteries; that in direct violation of the essential precepts of their religion, they would discard, in favour of these foreigners, a silence rendered sacred by a series of ages, and reveal secrets which were the foundation of a superiority preserved and transmitted by their ancestors from the earliest periods of the world. What an instance of the instability of human affairs!

9. Brahmins and political power, William Robertso[488]

The monarchs of India…behold among their subjects an order of men far superior to themselves in dignity, and so conscious of their own pre-eminence, both in rank and in sanctity, that they would deem it degradation and pollution if they were to eat of the same food with their sovereign.

Their persons are sacred, and even for the most heinous crimes they cannot be capitally punished; their blood must never be shed. To men in this exalted station monarchs must look up with respect, and reverence them as the ministers of religion and the teachers of wisdom. On important occasions, it is the duty of sovereigns to consult them, and to be directed by their advice. Their admonitions, and even their censures, must be received with submissive respect. This right of the Brahmins to offer their opinion with respect to the administration of public affairs was not unknown to the ancients; and in some accounts preserved in India of the events which happened in their own country, princes are mentioned, who, having violated the privileges of the casts, and disregarded the remonstrances of the Brahmins, were deposed by their authority, and put to death.

While the sacred rights of the Brahmins opposed a barrier against the encroachments of regal power on the one hand, it was circumscribed on the other by the ideas which those who occupied the highest stations in society entertained of their own dignity and privileges. As none but the members of the cast next in rank to that which religion has rendered sacred, could be employed in any function of the state, the sovereigns of the extensive kingdoms anciently established in India, found it necessary to intrust them with the superintendence of the cities and provinces too remote to be under their own immediate inspection. In these stations they often acquired such wealth and influence, that offices conferred during pleasure, continued hereditarily in their families, and they came gradually to form an intermediate order between the sovereign and his subjects; and, by the vigilant jealousy with which they maintained their own dignity and privileges, they constrained their rulers to respect them, and to govern with moderation and equity.

10. Religious practices, William Robertso[489]

The rites and ceremonies of their worship are pompous and splendid, and the performance of them not only mingles in all the more momentous transactions of common life, but constitutes an essential part of them. The Brahmins, who, as ministers of religion, preside in all its functions, are elevated above every other order of men, by an origin deemed not only more noble, but acknowledged to be sacred. They have established among themselves a regular hierarchy and gradation of ranks, which, by securing

subordination in their own order, adds weight to their authority, and gives them a more absolute dominion over the minds of the people. This dominion they support by the command of the immense revenues with which the liberality of princes, and the zeal of pilgrims and devotees, have enriched their Pagodas…

The Brahmins being considered by the Mahomedan conquerors of India as the guardians of the national religion, have been so studiously depressed by their fanatical zeal, that the modern members of that order are as far inferior to their ancestors in science as in power. It is from the writings of their ancient Pundits that they derive the most liberal sentiments which they entertain at present, and the wisdom for which they are now celebrated has been transmitted to them from ages very remote.

11. Brahmins of antiquity and of present times, Quintin Craufur[490]

If we compare the Brahmans of the present day with the Brachmanes of antiquity, we shall, in almost every feature of their character, perceive the strongest resemblance. The difference that may exist between them may partly have insensibly taken place in the lapse of time; but must chiefly be ascribed to the revolutions that have happened in their government.

The ancient Brahmans, living in an age when the Hindoo empire flourished, cultivated science with an encouragement of which their oppressed posterity are deprived. Beside the study of the sacred, moral, and metaphysical writings of their nation, a principal part of their scientific pursuits seems to have been directed to astronomy, natural philosophy, and some branches of mathematics.…

They were held in so high repute for their maxims of morality, and for their knowledge in science and philosophy, that, besides Pythagoras, many went from Greece and other more eastern countries, purposely to be instructed by them.…

But though the Brahmans now may be inferior to their ancestors, as philosophers and men of science, their cast is still the only repository of the literature that yet remains: to them alone is entrusted the education of youth; they are the sole interpreters of the law, and the only expounders of their religion.

12. Great deference shown to Brahmins, Rev. William Care[491]

The multitudes pay a thousandfold more deference to the Brahmins than the people did to the priests in the Papacy's darkest days. And all are bound to their present state by caste, in breaking whose chains a man must endure to be renounced and abhorred by his wife, children, and friends. Every tie that twines the heart of a husband, father, and neighbour must be torn and broken ere a man can give himself to Christ.

13. Influence of Brahmins, Rev. Joshua to his father in August 180[492]

The influence of the brahmans also is almost inconceivable to them who do not live within the light of it. They are Sacred, nay in some instances they are almost regarded as Deities. I have often seen people falling at their feet in the most profound reverence. If there are any who do not wish thus [to] respect them out of love, yet they stand in the greatest awe of them, not for their number, for perhaps they are not above a 20th part of the nation, nor indeed are they vested with any real power, but merely on account of their sanctity tho' perhaps there is not a sect of worse men in the Earth.

14. Stages in the life of a Brahmin, Captain Leopold von Orlic[493]

The Brahmin is the first of all created beings. The world, and all that is in it, belongs to him; by him all other mortals enjoy their life, because his curse can destroy kings; therefore, a Brahmin is to be treated with more respect than a king. His life and property are secured by the strictest laws in this world, and threats of the most dreadful punishments in the next. His youth must be passed in self-denial and chastisements, and devoted exclusively to the study of the Vedas: obedient, and serving his teacher, he is to beg his subsistence from door to door. In the second period of his life, we find him surrounded by his family and his children, performing the usual duties of a Brahmin, in reading and teaching the Vedas, sacrificing and praying, giving and receiving alms. He is not, however, permitted to accept any services; he is to renounce all the pleasures of life, such as music, singing, dancing, play, &c. and to shun worldly honours and enjoyments like poison. Even his external appearance and his dress are strictly prescribed. He is commanded to appear frank and modest, pure and chaste, without passion; his hair and beard cut, and his person cleanly, with a staff and the Vedas in his hand, and bright gold rings in his ears. If he has read the sacred books, brought up his son, and performed the holy sacrifices, he is allowed to confide every thing to his son, and to live in his

house, as arbitrator. His third period of life is the most laborious. Clothed with the skin of a black antelope, or with leaves, with his hair hanging down, and his nails suffered to grow very long, he is to sleep out of doors, on the bare ground, without fire, to live only on fruits and roots, but to perform all religious duties with the greatest scrupulosity. Lastly, he concludes his life in self-contemplation, and, in meditations on his God, he is to breathe out his spirit, as the bird flies into the open air from the branch upon the tree…

15. Bhumihar Brahmins in Banaras, Captain Leopold von Orlic[494]

The Hindoo population is divided into four great classes; the Brahmins, the Kshatree or Rajahpoots, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras. There is also a fifth class, called Shankar Baran, to which the present Rajah of Benares belongs, who asserts that they are of the Bhumeehar Brahmins, i.e. of the Brahmins who cultivate the soil. They consider themselves the purest and most distinguished descendants of the highest Brahmins, but they, in fact, owe their origin to a Brahmin father and a Rajahpoot mother, and therefore cannot enter into a matrimonial alliance with the higher castes, of a wholly pure descent…

16. First execution of a Brahmin by the British, Rev. James Lon[495]

To the North of Hastings' bridge lies *Kuli* (*Coolie*) bazaar, once occupied like many other places, by a handsome Musalman burial-ground, but which was pulled down to erect the present buildings. On a platform erected to the south-west of it, Nandakumar, once Dewan to the Nawab of Murshidabad, was executed, August 5th , 1775 – the first Brahman hanged by the English in India: his death excited as great a revulsion of feeling among natives as did the execution of Louis XVI among the French royalists. The foremost among the Mahapatak, crimes of the highest degree, or mortal sins of the Hindus, is killing a Brahman…Immediately after the execution, the Hindus rushed to the river to wash away the offence committed in seeing it, by bathing in Ganges water. During three days they ate nothing; and, subsequently, the excitement was very great; menaces were held out to the judges that if they proceeded to court, their lives would be sacrificed as victims to popular fury; but regardless of menaces, they marched in procession to the Supreme Court, attended by all the paraphernalia of justice, and the threats of the Hindus were as effective as those of the

Calcutta Babus, on the passing of the Lex Loci Act. There is a native still living in Calcutta, whose father told him, that on that day the Hindus went to the other side of the river to eat, considering Calcutta to have been polluted by the execution of a Brahman.

17. Saraswat Brahmins in Sindh, Richard Burto[496]

The Sarsat or Sarsudh (properly Sariswatiya, as derived from the vicinity of the Saraswati River), belongs to the Panja-Gaur race. Of this tribe there are about forty pure families in Sindh; they abstain from all irregular practices, and call the rest of the caste Sindhur, because they allege the others were originally Numryo Belochies made Brahmans by Rama Chandra, who when in want of a priest, applied a tilak of vermillion to the Mlenchha's forehead. The Sarsat are supposed to have emigrated to Sindh about two centuries ago. They worship Mahes (Mahadeva or Shiva) and Bhawani his Sakti. The latter deity is known to them by many names and under a plurality of forms, as Devi, Durga, Kali, Parwati and Singhawani (the "rider of the lion"). She presides over most of the Hindoo sacred spots as Hinglaj, the Mekli Hills near Tatta, Dhara Tirth near Sehwan, &c., &c. The Sarsat abstains from certain impure meats, as beef and fowls: he eats fish, wild birds, onions and the flesh of the deer, kid and sheep, because ordered to do so by the Mountain Goddess in a time of famine. The meat is always bought, as the higher castes of Hindoos here as elsewhere will not kill animals themselves. Most of the Sarsat tribe drink wine and marry widows, though only those of the same caste. They shave the beard and wear the dress of a common Sahukar, namely, a white turban, Angarkha (long cotton coat), Dhoti (cloth round the waist instead of trowsers), Bochan (kerchief or shawl thrown over the shoulders), and cloth slippers: in the hand a Mala or rosary of sandal wood, with twenty-seven beads is usually carried. Sometimes a Sarsat will assume the dress of an Anil (revenue officer) whereas the Pokarna rarely, if ever, do. There are considerable numbers of the Sarsat class, settled at Hyderabad and Sehwan. They seldom learn Persian, or enter into the service of Government: their principal occupations being the study of Sanscrit and the Gurumukhi writings. The Sarsat, having but a modicum of astrological learning, make up for their deficiency in that kind of imposture by rather a rude invention. Their peculiar mode of prediction is called "Nashkan Karanu:" it is done by

fixing the mind upon any question proposed, at the same time inhalation is stopped, and the nostrils tightly pressed with the fingers. After due meditation, the issue of an event is pronounced upon *ex cathedra* and a fee duly claimed.

C. KSHATRIYAS

1. Follow several professions, Alexander Do[497]

The second in order is the Sitti tribe, who are sometimes distinguished by the name of Kittri or Koytri. They, according to their original institution, ought to be all military men; but they frequently follow other professions. Brihma is said to have produced the Kittri from his heart, as an emblem of that courage which warriors should possess.

2. Rajputs of the mountains, G.T. Vign[498]

The Rajputs of the mountain states are known and distinguished by an appellation which has reference to their state, or the name of the founder of their family. Those of Mundi are called Mundial; the Chumyal of Chumba take their name from a distinguished Rajput; the Jumial are the Rajputs of Jumu; the Rajputs of the Bilaspur family are called Kyluri; those of Tira are denominated the Kutaj; and the Kulu or the family of Sultanpur, are called Kulu Rajputs, from the name of the country. The Mundi Rajahs always bear the surname of Seyn; those of Tira bear the name of Chund, or the Moon; and the Chumba and Jumu Rajahs are always Singhs, or Lions.

D. VAISHYAS

1. Exceedingly crafty, Mrs. Nathaniel Kindersle[499]

The tribe of Hindoos the English have most connexion with, and are obliged to put most confidence in, are in the third great division, called *Banians*, who are a kind of merchants, or rather brokers in every kind of merchandize. Every European both civil and military, who has either trade, or troops under him to pay, is obliged to have one of them in his service, who is a sort of steward: one of them is likewise necessary at the head of every family, to hire and pay the servants, and purchase whatever is wanting, for nothing can be bought or sold without them.

They are exceedingly indolent; crafty, and artful to an astonishing degree; and shew in all their dealings the most despicable low cunning, which makes them not to be depended upon for any thing: they have not only a secret premium out of whatever they pay to servants, trades people, &c. but

keep them out of their money long after the master supposes they have been paid.

They are the most tedious people in the world, for besides the holidays, which they will on no account break through, they have a method of putting every thing off till to-morrow: when it is found out, as it often is, that they have told an untruth, they have no shame of it, but immediately tell another and another; nothing can hurry them, nothing can discompose or put them out of countenance, nothing can make them angry; provided their gains are sure, the master may fret to find his business go on slowly, may abuse them for want of honesty, may argue with them for their ingratitude, may convict them of falsehood and double-dealing, it signifies nothing; the same mild and placid countenance remains, without the least symptom of fear, anger, or shame.

Those who are concerned with us usually speak pretty tolerable English; they are many of them worth large sums of money, and frequently lend a great deal to their masters, mostly at the interest of nine or ten per cent.

By being in the service of an English gentlemen, particularly if he has any considerable rank or employment in the company's service, they have great advantages, not only from all his concerns, out of which they have a profit, but it enables them to carry on their own with the greater security; besides their wages, which, according to their master's situation and their own importance, is from a hundred to ten rupees a month, they are many of them of consequence amongst their own people, keep a *palenqueen*, horse, and a number of servants.

Those who act in that capacity to a Governor or Commander in Chief, pretend to a superior rank, and take the title of *Duan*, instead of *Banian*.

2. Mostly merchants, Alexander Do[500]

The name of Beise or Bise is given to the third tribe. They are for the most part, merchants, bankers, and bunias or shop-keepers. These are figuratively said to have sprung from the belly of Brimha; the word Beish signifying a provider or nourisher.

3. Banias, Rev. James Lon[501]

Banyan is a person either acting for himself or as the substitute of some great black merchants by whom the English gentlemen in general transact all their business. He is interpreter, head book-keeper, head secretary, head

broker, the supplier of cash, and cash-keeper, and in general also secret-keeper. He puts in the under-clerks, the porter or door-keeper, stewards, bearers of the silver, slaves, running footmen, torch and branch light-carriers, palanqueen-bearers, and all the long tribe of under servants, for whose honesty he is deemed answerable, and he conducts all the trade of his master, to whom, unless pretty well acquainted with the country languages, it is difficult for any of the natives to obtain access…. There is a powerful string of connections among these Banyans who serve all the English in the settlements of Bengal, as well in all public offices as in their private offices.

4. Hindu bankers and money dealers at Shikarpur, Charles Masso[502]

The city, renowned for its wealth, is particularly celebrated for its Hindu bankers and money dealers, whose connections are ramified throughout the countries of Central Asia, and of Western India. It is especially the home of these people, where their families are fixed, and where are detained those of gomastahs, or agents, located in foreign countries.

…As the existence of some great center of monetary transactions, in this part of the world, was always indispensable for the facilities of the commerce carried on in it, it is not unlikely, looking at the facts within our knowledge connected with the condition of the adjacent country during the last two centuries, that Multan preceded Shikarpur as the great money mart, and that from it the Hindus removed, converting the insignificant village of the chace into a city of the first rate and consequence.

E. SHUDRAS

1. Agriculturists, William Robertso[503]

Nor were the benefits of these restraints upon the power of the sovereign confined wholly to the two superior orders in the state; they extended, in some degree, to the third class, employed in agriculture. The labours of that numerous and useful body of men are so essential to the preservation and happiness of society, that the greatest attention was paid to render their condition secure and comfortable. According to the ideas which prevailed among the natives of India (as we are informed by the first Europeans who visited their country), the sovereign is considered as the sole universal proprietor of all the land in his dominions, and from him is derived every species of tenure by which his subjects can told it. These lands were let out

to the farmers who cultivated them at a stipulated rent, amounting usually to a fourth part of their annual produce paid in kind. In a country where the price of work is extremely low, and where the labour of cultivation is very inconsiderable, the earth yielding its productions almost spontaneously, where subsistence is amazingly cheap, where few clothes are needed, and houses are built and furnished at little expense, this rate cannot be deemed exorbitant or oppressive. As long as the husbandman continued to pay the established rent, he retained possession of the farm, which descended, like property, from father to son.

Under a form of government which paid such attention to all the different orders of which the society is composed, particularly the cultivators of the earth, it is not wonderful that the ancients should describe the Indians as a most happy race of men; and that the most intelligent modern observers should celebrate the equity, the humanity, and mildness of Indian policy.

F. OUTCASTES

1. *Hircarers;* Mrs. Nathaniel Kindersle[504]

There are other *casts* who are remarkably swift of foot, particularly *Hircarers;* these people are often made use of as spies, both on public and private occasions; frequently they are kept as a sort of running-footmen, and compose a part of the parade of servants who precede a *palenqueen*; they are likewise sent with letters or messages to very different parts of the country and their expedition is extraordinary.

When one gives a *Hircarer* a letter to carry to any distance, he takes off his turband, and carefully conceals the letter in the folds of it; he provides himself with a brass pot, for the convenience of drawing water from the wells or rivers he is to pass; and a little parched rice, either in a bag or the folds of his garment, which is generally a piece of coarse linen, from his waist to his knees: thus equipped, with a sort of club in his hand, he will make a journey of three or four hundred miles.

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Chapter 14
Women

A. The women of Hindustan
B. Marriage
C. Royal Ladies
D. Women rulers
E. Sati
F. Courtesans

A. THE WOMEN OF HINDUSTAN

1. The fairer sex, Robert Orm[505]

Nature seems to have showered beauty on their fairer sex throughout Indostan, with a more lavish hand than in most other countries. They are all, without exception, fit to be married before thirteen, and wrinkled before thirty – flowers of too short a duration not to be delicate; and too delicate to last long. Segregated from the company of the other sex, and strangers to the ideas of attracting attention, they are only the handsomer for this ignorance; as we see in them; beauty in the noble simplicity of nature. Hints have already been given of their physiognomy: their skins are of a polish and softness beyond that of all their rivals on the globe: a statuary would not succeed better in Greece itself, in his pursuit of the Grecian form; and although in the men he would find nothing to furnish the ideas of the Farnesian Hercules, he would find in the women the finest hints of the Medicean Venus.

2. A female of Hindostan hath few equals, George Forste[506]

In the exercise of the tongue, a female of Hindostan hath few equals; and if she hath ever followed a camp, I would pronounce her invincible on any ground in Europe. An English woman, educated at our most noted seminaries, and skilled in all the various compass of debate, will, perhaps, on some interesting occasion, maintain the contest for an hour, which then terminates in blows and victory. But an Indian dame, improved by a few campaigns, has been known to wage a colloquial war, without introducing one manual effort, for the space of three successive days; sleeping and eating at reasonable intervals. There is a fertility of imagination, a power of expression, inherent in the mind, and vocal ability, of an Asiatic,

particularly a female one, which cannot be engendered in the cold head of an European: and there is an extent of language also peculiar to the East, which the limits of Western speech do not contain.

3. More privileged than any in Asia, Abbe J. A. Duboi[507]

…it may be said, with truth, that…the Hindoo females…lie under much less restraint, enjoy more real freedom, and are in possession of more enviable privileges than the persons of their sex in any other Asiatic country. In fact, to them belong the entire management of their household, the care of their children, the superintendence of the menial servants, the distribution of alms and charities. To their charge are generally intrusted the money, jewels, and other valuables. To them belongs the care of procuring provisions, and providing for all expenses. It is they also who are charged, almost to the exclusion of their husbands, with the most important affair of procuring wives for their sons, and husbands for their daughters, and, in doing this, they evince a niceness, an attention, and foresight which are not certainly surpassed in any country; while in the management of their domestic business, they in general show a shrewdness, a saving-ness, and an intelligence which would do honour to the best housewives in Europe.

In the mean while, the austerity and roughness with which they are outwardly treated in public, by their husbands, is rather a matter of form, and entirely ceases when the husband and his wife are in private. It is then that the Hindoo females assume all that empire which is everywhere exercised in civilised countries, by the persons of their sex over the male part of creation; find means to bring them under their subjection, and rule over them, in several instances, with a despotic sway. In short, although outwardly exposed in public to the forbidding and repulsive frowns of an austere husband, they can be considered in no other light than as perfectly the mistresses within the house.

The influence of the Hindoo females on the welfare of families is so well known, that the successes or misfortunes of the Hindoos are almost entirely attributed to their good or bad management. When a person prospers in the world, it is customary to say that he has the happiness to possess an intelligent wife, to whom he is indebted for his welfare; and when any one runs to ruin, it is the custom to say that he has for his partner a bad wife, to whom his misfortunes must chiefly be attributed. In short, a good-natured

and intelligent wife is considered by all castes of natives, as the most valuable of all the blessings which could be bestowed on a family and a bad one as the most dreaded of all curses; so great is their influence on the fate of the Hindoo households.

The authority of married women within their houses is chiefly exerted in preserving good order and peace among the persons who compose their families; and a great many among them discharge this important duty with a prudence and a discretion which have scarcely a parallel in Europe. I have known families composed of between thirty and forty persons, or more, consisting of grown sons and daughters, all married and all having children, living together under the superintendence of an old matron – their mother or mother-in-law. The latter, by good management, and by accommodating herself to the temper of her daughters-in-law; by using, according to circumstances, firmness or forbearance, succeeded in preserving peace and harmony during many years amongst so many females, who had all jarring interests, and still more jarring tempers. I ask you whether it would be possible to attain the same end, in the same circumstances, in our countries; where it is scarcely possibly to make two women living under the same roof to agree together.

It is true that the same spirit of concord between an old Hindoo matron and her daughters on one side, and her daughters-in-law on the other, does not prevail in an equal degree in all households; but instances of such union and harmony are by no means uncommon, and they last to the death of their parents; when, ordinarily, the brothers divide the heritage, separate with their several families, and each one shifts for himself.

…it is a weakness common to all nations, and from which the Hindoos are not exempt, to hail with more exultation the birth of a male than that of a female, and Hindoo parents are in a greater degree under the influence of these feelings, because they derive more support from a son than from a daughter; but it is untrue that a female is despised and spurned by her parents as soon as born. Parents, chiefly mothers, foster their children, both males and females, with an equal tenderness. So far from females being despised while living under the paternal roof, their parents and brothers are often seen submitting themselves to severe privations for the purpose of procuring trinkets and jewels for their daughters or sisters, in order that they

may be able to appear in public with decency and advantage, while the males are seen in rags or half naked, and live forgotten at home.

The principal care of parents is to procure suitable establishments for their daughters, over whom mothers continue to exercise a kind of paramount authority, even after their marriage, being particularly attentive to check that despotic sway which so many mothers-in-law are but too well disposed to exercise over their daughters-in-law…

4. Influence of Hindu women seen in history, Anna Harriette Leonowen[508]

There is a marked difference between the moral and social character of the Hindoo and the Mohammedan women of India. The Hindoo woman does not occupy that position in society which she is so eminently fitted to grace, and which is accorded to women in Europe and America; but she is by no means so degraded as is so frequently represented by travellers, who are apt to mistake the common street-woman with whom they are brought into contact for the wife and mother of an ordinary Hindoo home. It is difficult for a stranger to find out what an Indian woman is at home, though he may have encountered many a bedizened female in the streets which he takes for her.

The influence of the Hindoo woman is seen and felt all through the history of India, and is very marked in the annals of British rule. Though the political changes, the invasion, and despotism of Mohammedan rule may have forced upon them the seclusion now so general, it is evident that they once occupied a very different position in society, from the testimony of their earliest writers and the dramatic representations of domestic life and manners still extant.

One of the most startling facts is, that among the Asiatic rules of India who have heroically resisted foreign invasion the women of Hindostan have distinguished themselves almost as much as the men. Lakshmi Baiee, the queen of Jahnsee, held the entire British army in check for the space of twenty-four hours by her wonderful generalship, and she would probably have come off victorious if she had not been shot down by the enemy. After the battle Sir Hugh Rose, the English commander, declared that the best *man* on the enemy's side was the brave queen Lakshmi Baiee. Another courageous and noble woman, Aus Khoor, was placed by the British

government on the throne of Pattiala, an utterly disorganized and revolted state in the Panjaub. In less than one year she had by her wise and effective administration changed the whole condition of the country, subjugated the rebellious cities and villages, increased the revenues, and established order, security and peace everywhere. Alleah Baiee, the Mahratta queen of Malwah, devoted herself for the space of twenty years with unremitting assiduity to the happiness and welfare of her people, so that Hindoos, Buddhists, Jains, Parsees, and Mohammedans united in blessing her beneficent rule; and of so rare a modesty was this woman that she ordered a book which extolled her virtues to be destroyed, saying, 'Could I have been so infamous as to neglect the welfare and happiness of my subjects?'

B. MARRIAGE

1. Married early, Alexander Do[509]

Between the age of seven and ten, the children are, by their parents, given away in marriage. The young pair are brought together, in order to contract an intimacy with one another. But when they approach the years of puberty, they carefully separate them, till the female produces signs of womanhood. She then is taken from her parents to cohabit with her husband: nor is she ever after permitted to visit them. It is not lawful among the Hindoos to marry nearer than the eighth degree to kindred. Polygamy is permitted, but seldom practiced; for they very rationally think, that one wife is sufficient for one man.

2. Marriage indispensable duty of parents, George Forste[510]

Amongst the Hindoos, marriage, when it can be performed with any degree of conveniency, is deemed an indispensable duty, and it is believed, that propagating the species in that state, entitles parents to singular marks of the Divine favour…By the ancient laws of the country, the wife depends for the enjoyment of every pleasure, as well as for most of the ordinary accommodations of life, on the immediate existence of her husband; and it becomes her invariable interest to preserve his health, as much of her happiness is centered in his living to an old age. On the demise of the husband, the wife virtually devolves into a *caput mortuum;* she is not permitted to marry again, she is de-prived of all consequence in the family, and divested of the marks of ornament and distinction. There are certain religious ceremonies not law-ful for her to perform, and in some instance,

she is held unclean; but on all occasions, after the husband's death, the widow is classed in the house as a slave or a menial servant. – But this usage has not so generally prevailed in later times.

3. Honour of the family, Captain Leopold von Orlic[511]

In Maharatta, woman is considered the honour of the family: she is the life and soul of her husband, his second self, his best friend, and the source of all his happiness. Woman, with her amiable converse, is the companion of man's solitude, and his comfort, in the journey through the desert of life. According to the laws of Menu, women are to be esteemed and honoured by their fathers, brothers, and husbands, that they may themselves be happy, for the gods rejoice when honour is paid to women.

Girls are generally married in the eighth and boys in the tenth year of their age: the father choosing for his children; but if he has neglected this duty for three years after his daughter has attained that age, she is at liberty to choose for herself. Among the higher castes, the marriage is celebrated with many ceremonies; but in the lower castes, the hands of the bride and the bridegroom are merely united by a blade of sacred grass. When the daughter of a warrior marries a Brahmin, she holds an arrow in her hand; the daughter of a Visya (the caste of merchants) holds a whip; and the daughter of a Shoodra (caste of shopkeepers) lays hold of the border of a mantle. As soon as the bride has advanced seven steps to meet the bridegroom, and they have both repeated a certain appointed text or sentence, the union is indissoluble at the seventh step. If the young husband dies before he has lived with his wife, she remains a widow for her whole life; at least the Hindoos of a higher caste hesitate to marry a woman who became a widow in her childhood.

The daughters of two rich merchants at Calcutta had lately been placed in this melancholy situation, and I was assured that the fathers had assigned them a large dowry to obtain husbands for them.

The bridegroom proceeds with great pomp to the house of the bride, where he is received with much festivity, accompanied by music and dancing; the apartments are brilliantly lighted up, and adorned with flowers, and a cow is brought in apparently for sacrifice, but the bridegroom begs her life, and at his request she is set at liberty. When the father of the bridegroom is a person of distinction, he generally takes the bride to his

own house, and has her educated under his own protection, especially if her parents are not in good circumstances. A separate building is erected for the brides of princes, and their parents who come from another country. As soon as the ceremonies and the festivities are over, the youthful husband returns home, or the father of the bride takes her away with him: and when she is of age to marry, she is fetched by her husband with much ceremony.

Persons of distinction, on these occasions lead the procession mounted on richly adorned elephants: the servants follow, in their best attire, surrounded by musicians, some carrying branches of palm, flowers, painted paper lanterns, &c.; and the bridegroom, handsomely dressed, accompanied by his relations, riding on an elephant, a horse, or in a Takt-i-rawan, closes the pageant. Ornaments of all kinds, often to the value of several thousand rupees, are the first and principal gifts which he offers to his bride; for the Hindoo is commanded by his religion constantly to provide his wife with trinkets and handsome clothes, that she may remember his affection and find amusement in her solitude.

Marriage indissoluble

As the marriage is to be indissoluble, and he is not permitted, except under certain circumstances, to take a second wife, it seems worthy of notice, that he may legally separate from his wife if they have no children within eight years, or no daughters in eleven years. On the other hand, the wife is obliged to wait for her husband eight years, if he has left her for religious purposes; six years, if desire of wisdom or of glory have called him into the world; and three years, if he pursuit of pleasure is the cause of his absence.

C. ROYAL LADIES

1. The Maratha Camp, Fanny Parke[512]

APRIL 6TH 1835 – I arrived at Fatehgar…Having seen Musulman ladies followers of the Prophet, how great was my delight at finding native ladies were, at Fatehgar, worshippers of Ganesh and Krishna-ji!

Her Highness the Baiza Bai, the widow of the late Maharaj Daolut Rao Scindia, was in camp at this place under the care of Captain Ross. Daolut Rao, the adopted son and grandnephew of Mahadajee Scindia, contested with the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, the memorable field of Assaye. On the death of Scindia, by his appointment the Baiza Bai, having become Queen of Gwalior, ruled the kingdom for nine years. Having

no male issue, her Highness adopted a youth, called Jankee Rao, a distant relative of Scindia's, who was to be placed on the *masnad* at her decease.

A Rajpoot is of age at eighteen years: but when Jankee Rao, was only fourteen years old, the subjects of the Bai revolted and placed the boy at the head of the rebellion. Had her Highness remained at Gwalior she would have been murdered; she was forced to fly to Fatehgar, where she put herself under the protection of the Government. Her daughter, the Chimna Raja Sahib, a lady celebrated for her beauty and the wife of Appa Sahib, a Mahratta nobleman, died of fever brought on by exposure and anxiety at the time she fled from Gwalior, during the rebellion. It is remarkable that the ladies in this family take the title of Raja, to which Sahib is generally affixed. Appa Sahib joined the Baiza Bai, fled with her, and is now in her camp at Fatehgar. The rebellion of her subjects, and her Highness being forced to fly the kingdom, were nothing to the Bai in comparison to the grief occasioned her by the loss of her beloved daughter, the Chimna Raja.

Her granddaughter, the Gaja Raja Sahib, is also living with her; she has been married two years but is alone, her husband having deserted her to join the stronger party.

The Bai, although nominally free, is in fact a prisoner; she is extremely anxious to return to Gwalior, but is prevented by the refusal of the Government to allow her to do so; this renders her very unhappy.

April 8th – The Brija Bai, one of her ladies, called to invite the lady with whom I am staying to visit the Maharaj in camp; and gave me an invitation to accompany her…

We found her Highness seated on her *gaddi* of embroidered cloth, with her granddaughter the Gaja Raja Sahib at her side; the ladies, her attendants, were standing around her; and the sword of Scindia was on the *gaddi,* at her feet. She rose to receive and embrace us, and desired us to be seated near her. The Baiza Bai is rather an old woman, with grey hair, and *en bon point;* she must have been pretty in her youth; her smile is remarkably sweet, and her manners particularly pleasing; her hands and feet are very small and beautifully formed. Her sweet voice reminded me of the proverb, 'A pleasant voice brings a snake out of a hole.' She was dressed in the plainest red silk, wore no ornaments with the exception of a pair of small plain bars of gold as bracelets. Being a widow, she is obliged to put jewellery aside

and to submit to numerous privations and hardships. Her countenance is very mild and open; there is a freedom and independence in her air that I greatly admire – so unlike that of the sleeping, languid, opium-eating Musulmans. Her granddaughter; the Gaja Raja Sahib; is very young; her eyes the largest I ever saw; her face is rather flat and not pretty; her figure is beautiful; she is the least little wee creature you ever beheld.…

The Gaja Raja was dressed in purple Benares silk, with a deep gold border woven into it; when she walked she looked very graceful and the dress very elegant; on her forehead was a mark like a spearhead, in red paint; her hair was plaited and bound into a knot at the back of her head, and low down; her eyes were edged with *surma,* and her hands and feet dyed with *hinna.* On her feet and ankles were curious silver ornaments; toe-rings of peculiar form; which she sometimes wore of gold, sometimes of red coral. In her nostril was a very large and brilliant *n'hut,* of diamonds, pearls, and precious stones, of the particular shape worn by the Mahrattas; in her ears were fine brilliants. From her throat to her waist she was covered with strings of magnificent pearls and jewels; her hands and arms were ornamented with the same. She spoke but little – scarcely five words passed her lips; she appeared timid, but was pleased with the bouquet of beautiful flowers, just fresh from the garden, that the lady who presented me laid at her feet on her entrance. These Mahrattas are a fine bold race; amongst her ladies-in-waiting I remarked several fine figures, but their faces were generally too flat. Some of them stood in waiting with rich cashmere shawls thrown over their shoulders; one lady, before the Maharaj, leaned on her sword, and if the Bai quitted the apartment, the attendant and sword always followed her. The Bai was speaking of horses, and the lady who introduced me said I was as fond of horses as a Mahratta. Her Highness said she should like to see an English lady on horseback; she could not comprehend how they could sit all crooked, all on one side, in the side-saddle. I said I should be too happy to ride into camp any hour her Highness would appoint, and show her the style of horsemanship practised by ladies in England. The Maharaj expressed a wish that I should be at the Mahratta camp at four o'clock, in two days time. *Atr,* in a silver filigree vessel, was then presented to the Gaja Raja; she took a portion up in a little spoon and put it on our hands. One of the attendants presented us with *pan,* whilst another sprinkled

us most copiously with rose water: the more you inundate your visitor with rose-water, the greater the compliment.

This being the signal for departure, we rose, made our *bahut bahut adab* salam, and departed, highly gratified with our visit to her Highness the ex-Queen of Gwalior.

2. Ranjit Singh's Amazons, W.G. Osborn[513]

In the evening, a detachment of the Amazons arrived with music and fireworks. The establishment of this corps was one of Runjeet Sing's capricious whims…There were originally about one hundred and fifty of these fair warriors, who were selected from the prettiest girls from Cachemire, Persia, and the Punjab. They were magnificently dressed, armed with bows and arrows, and used frequently to appear on horseback, mounted *en cavalier*, for the amusement of the Maharajah. They are allowed a small sum daily for subsistence, and there are few of them who have not succeeded in obtaining grants of small villages from Runjeet Sing, the rents of which they receive – and many contrive to realize a considerable sum of money. The Lotus told me she was the owner of seven good villages, received at different times from Runjeet as marks of his favour. During our visit to Lahore, a considerable degree of excitement prevailed amongst this fairer portion of the Sihk army, owing to a report having arisen that the Maharajah intended to follow the example of the Company, and resume all grants for which no formal title deeds could be produced; the report, however, proved to be premature; and I believe Runjeet would sooner face Dost Mahommed and his Afghans, than a single individual of his Amazonian body-guard.

Some of the detachment who attend this evening, though not more than twelve years of age, were very handsome, and their dancing is the first I have seen in this country that has a shade of anything approaching to graceful in it, – one dance by the young Cachemirian girls, with single-sticks in their hands, particularly so; the clatter of the sticks, as they met in the mimic combat, keeping time to slow and graceful movement of their feet, had the effect of castanets, and was altogether both pretty and singular.

3. Meetings with the wives of Ranjit Singh, Fanny Ede[514]

We have been today to the Palace to see a select number of Mrs. Runjeets. The entrance to the Palace is very fine. George went over there before us,

and in a small inner court in a small room we found him and Runjeet at a private durbar, Runjeet very feeble and looking very ill. There is a piece of water with fountains and a little palace in the middle of it for Runjeet's ducks, which now and then come at a waddle over the Cachemire carpets.

We went in there for five minutes. Then we were led off by Kurruck Singh, the eldest son, and Heera Singh, the favourite, to the ladies' apartment. They went in a wretched little room with a high wall before it. Two of the ayahs met us at the door and smeared us with attar, to the utter destruction of my bonnet and gown. They were all young, one of them really beautiful and very fair, the others very humdrum, the principal one a monster of fat. They had enormous nose-rings, their foreheads almost hid with jewels, silver gauze veils, tinselly tunics and very tight trousers.

Kurruck Singh informed us three times that *his* mother was dead, and Heera Singh said there were many more wives in the other rooms – these were all lawfully married. They asked a great many childish questions, and laughed violently when they took courage to look at us. We could not make out what their amusements are. I fancy they sleep away a great deal of their time. It does strike me, every time I see them, that their lives must be quite unbearable.

4. Mrs. Sher Singh, Fanny Ede[515]

After church today we went to pay a visit to Mrs. Sher Singh, much the most interesting native visit we have paid in that line. She has come from some distance to meet us. She could not come to our tents, they are too open, but Sher Singh had one pitched near us. We were received with great state, a salute fired, all his household troops drawn up in their splendid dresses and Cachemire carpets covering the entire enclosure. The tent was very large, made of scarlet shawls. We left Major Wade and the aide-de-camps in the outer room. Sher Singh and little Pertuab took us into the inner one, which was very like an English drawing room – eight large glass windows, table covered with all kinds of bijouterie, for he gives large commissions to the French officers. The table covers of different coloured velvets embroidered with gold. Upon a large table an immense silver dinner service was put out, another was covered with perfumes and musical boxes of every size and shape.

His two ranees came in followed by Pertuab's old nurse. His mother is really beautiful; very little, very fair, with enormous black eyes and a pretty, clever expression. The other one's nose-ring was so enormous and had such large fringes of jewels hanging from it, it covered her mouth and half her face. They both talked merrily, and except that they stood up whenever Sher Singh moved, did not sound in awe of him; and both seemed equally fond of Pertuab, who shewed off all the English he had picked up. They made a very pretty picture of an eastern family. Sher Singh had made himself more magnificent even than usual, and his dress is always studied and graceful. He always wears what is called here the Choga – a shawl pelisse very loose and thick, embroidered with gold and silver.

The women were quite unlike any others we have seen, so coaxing in manner to us. I am always curious to know what they do to amuse themselves, but it is impossible to find out. They gave us I do not know how many trays of shawls and jewels, and we must borrow some of them to wear tonight when Sher Singh comes to dinner.

5. Royal ladies at Jaunpur, Honoria Lawrenc[516]

I wished to visit the ladies, and after some delay I was admitted to see the Rajah's wife, his two daughters, and the wife of his youngest son. One was a very beautiful girl of thirteen. She was tall and slender, with delicate features and large soft black eyes. She wore a petticoat of dark blue gauze, flowered with silver, and a rose coloured mantle round her head and shoulders. She was disfigured by the horrid nose-ring; and her feet and ankles, hands and arms were perfectly loaded with jewels. On each finger a ring, and from each ring a string of jewels passing down the back of the hand and joining a band of jewels round the wrist, the same sort of ornaments on the feet. A treble string of jewels round the head, with pendants that hung over the forehead. All the ladies were dressed in the same way, differing only in colours. The old lady wore on her thumb a ring, in which was set instead of a stone a looking glass about the size of a half-crown and into this she very often peeped.

I was amused to see that as the completion of their finery each had a printed cotton pocket-handkerchief such as would cost about sixpence at home, and these they waved about as if wishing they should attract special attention.

The lad who spoke English accompanied me as my guide and interpreter. I entered a large room where the Ranee was seated on a couch. The girls stood round her, and there were several attendants, men and women, standing by. The old lady rose when I came in, bowed and touched her forehead with her hand. I courtsied and she took my hand and seated me beside her. They all examined my dress, seemed much amused at it, asked if I always wore gloves, if all English ladies wore combs in their hair. How old I was, how long since I left England, whether I had ever been married before, what my husband's occupation was? I asked to see their jewels, and they led me to another room, where servants brought several boxes to the lady. She seemed much delighted to show her finery and truly it was amusing to see strings of pearls and gold chains tied up in little pieces of dirty rag, and huddled together in a box secured by a clumsy padlock. The Rajah himself joined us here, and told me one necklace had cost 50,000 rupees. A pair of bracelets 500, and so on. The pearls were the largest I ever saw, and the gold chains the most massive. The other jewels were chiefly rubies, very large garnets, emeralds, and diamonds. The latter were I fancy of an inferior quality, at any rate, being not cut regularly but merely rounded, they had little brilliancy.

I must have seen twenty or thirty necklaces, as many head-bands, bracelets etc, and I could not help sighing when I thought what villages must have been plundered to supply all this finery. At last I rose to go and after many salaams and courtsies got away.

It struck me that this noble family had a remarkably plebeian look, and we afterwards found that they were mere parvenus. The present Rajah's father having done service to Government by bringing in a prisoner on whom a price had been set, was rewarded by the title.

6. The Ranis of Satara, Amelia Cary Falklan[517]

Besides the two adopted boys, the raja left three widows, to whom I have already alluded, as making a yearly pilgrimage to Pertabguhr, when with hundreds in their train, they encamped on the hills, where they remained some time, and never failed to visit the governor, if he happened to be there. On the first of these occasions, as our cottage was on rising ground, we could see the approach of the ranees [of the Raja of Satara, whose territories had been declared lapsed by the British], and their numerous retinue at a

distance, as they wound their way up the hill. It looked like a procession on the stage. There were flags flying, banners streaming, prancing horses, stately elephants, tall camels with their heads towering over everything; soldiers on foot; tom-toms and discordant horns, becoming louder every minute. Then as the ranees came near, we saw *maids of honour* running by the side of the closed palanquins in which the princesses were, and as one arrived at the entrance of the bungalow, crowds of attendants rushed on, and pressed round the palanquin screaming out their mistresses' titles. In the background were the elephants waving their trunks over the crowd, horses rearing and neighing, and a band of native musicians straining their lungs in blowing wind instruments, and nearly breaking their arms in beating the drums. Arrived at the door, the poor ladies were still kept shut up, till a wall of red cloth could be held up on each side of the entrance to prevent their being exposed to the vulgar gaze of mankind. When all was ready, they crept out of the palanquins, and were received by the governor. They were concealed in splendid sarees, which covered them from head to foot – not even the tip of a finger was visible. They were conducted, one by one, into an inner room, and to sofas, by the governor…

A few days after, I visited these royal dames, and had an opportunity of seeing them unveiled.

Their camp covered a considerable space of ground near a tank, to which the elephants went to bathe every evening. From a distance the scene was imposing; on nearer inspection it was little else but a gigantic gipsy camp – not, however, the less picturesque for that.

There were tents of all shades of red, and brown, and blue, and *dirty* white. Hundreds of the followers of the ranees were busy with elephants or camels; all the animals were picketed about. Many people were cooking – all occupations being carried on in the open air.

The tents of the three ladies were inclosed within walls of canvas, painted red at the top…

As I was unaccompanied by any gentlemen, the ranees met me inside unveiled. They had on velvet jackets, the usual saree, worn by all Hindoo women (which is of such a length as to serve for petticoat and head-veil in one), and wore quantities of jewels, besides toe-rings! Over the back of the sofas were thrown handsome sarees, embroidered in gold, near at hand, and ready to be put on instantly, should any strange man enter suddenly.

The time I could see the ladies, although the tent was dark…

In the tent were also about twenty men, relations of the ranees, and before whom they could unveil. The father of the elder widow sat in a chair; her mother stood. I inquired the cause. It was because her husband was there, and wives in India do not sit in the presence of their husbands. However, a chair was given her behind the maids of honour, so that her husband could not see her when she sat down. Presently, a very aged and ugly woman crept out of a corner; she also was a relative of her highness, and looked as if she had just risen from the lower world, where 'Yama,' judge of departed souls, resides.

The interpreter was a Portuguese woman, who translated the no doubt high-flown eastern speeches of the ranees, into very plain, simple English. The woman said to me, 'Her highness say, she hopes master and misses will take care of her, and give her bread to eat, for else "she will have none."'

This meant neither more nor less than that her highness was not contented with the pension given her by the E.I. Company, but which was, in fact, I understand from those competent to judge, an ample one. When the conversation flagged, the ranee's jewels were brought on silver trays for me to look at. Then her copy-book was shown, for she had just begun to read and write; and one little child recited a Sanscrit prayer, and having finished it, began over again, and was with difficulty silenced.

During all the time I was in the tent, a natch girl was going through different movements with her feet and hands, for dancing it cannot be called in any sense of the word…

The visit was now drawing to a close; sweetmeats were laid at my feet in silver dishes, jessamine chains put around my neck, and after the usual offerings of betel-nut and paun, the sprinkling of the pocket-handkerchief with rose-water took place. I then took leave of the three widows, and was not sorry all was over.

D. WOMEN RULERS

1. The Rani of the Kalour territory, George Forste[518]

On the 20th , at Bellaspour – twelve cosses, the residence of the Ranee or female ruler of the Kalour territory. This town stands on the south-east side of the Setloud or Sutludge, the most easterly of the five rivers, from which

the name of Punjab is given to the tract of country extending from Sirhend to the Indus...

On my arrival at Bellaspour, I found the Ranee engaged in a war with the chief of Kangrah, on the limits of whose country her army was then encamped. It may not edify or perhaps entertain you to know the cause of this fell dispute, which however had taken such possession of the minds of the mountaineers, and to them was so important an event, that they seemed to think the hills and forests of Bellaspour the seat of universal war. The siege of Troy, and the conflicts on the Scamander, would have appeared as mere skirmishes to these sylvan heroes; and they probably would have allowed no other degree of comparison, than that women were the cause of them both. But as I myself became involuntarily interested in their story, and having little other matter to communicate, I am induced to intrude a sketch of it on your patience.

To deduce this eventful matter *ab ovo*, I must call your attention to the days of Acbar, who is said to have been the first Mahometan prince who reduced the northern mountains of Hindostan to the obedience of the empire. Towards the northern limit of Kalour, is a strong hold on an eminence, called the Kote Kangrah, the reduction of which detained Acbar, who commanded the expedition in person, a whole year, according to the tradition of this quarter. To reward one of his officers who had signalized himself in this service, he bestowed on him the captured fort, with a considerable space of adjacent territory. The descendants of this chief, who are of the Sheah's sect of Mahometans, continued in the possession until the present period, when the Rajah of Kangrah, on some pretence, laid the districts waste, and besieged the fort. Unable himself to repel the enemy, the Maho-metan solicited the aid of the Bellaspour Ranee, who, with the spirit of a heroine, afforded speedy and vigorous succour to her neighbour, whose cause she has already revenged by plundering and destroying almost every village of Kangrah; the chief of which now vainly asserts, that the Ranee, seeing his country destitute of defence, seized, under the colour of assisting her ally, the occasion of augmenting her own power.

Nourpour 1783

On the 25th, in the Bellaspour army – ten cosses. It will not demand the pen of Homer to describe the different powers which formed this camp; their strength, the names and characters of their leaders, or the situation of

the ground which they occupied: suffice it to say, that about 300 horses, and 8000 foot-men armed with match-locks, swords, spears, and clubs, were huddled together on two sides of a hill, in a deep state of confusion and filth. Having resided for the space of four months in this spot under small sheds made of the boughts of trees, you will naturally suppose, that the effects resulting from the situation could neither have been pleasant or salutary. In all, were four very ordinary tents, one of which was occupied by the generalissimo, a brother, and I believe an elder one, of the late chief of Bellaspour; for the order of succession in the line of primogeniture, is not at this day strictly adhered to in India, either amongst the Hindoos, or Mahometans. This personage, from age, being incapable of performing any active duty, had appointed a younger brother to the executive command. The Ranee, with her son, a youth of about ten years of age, and a favourite Sunnassee, had retired during the war to an adjacent fort, where she directed the general operation of the war.

Having entered thus far into the history of Bellaspour, I will proceed to explain some parts of the story of this lady, which, as they tend to place female conduct in a distinguished point of view, I embrace the occasion with pleasure…

I am to inform you that the Bellaspour Ranee, on the death of the late chief, which happened about three or four years ago, declared herself the guardian of her son, and regent of the country. She was opposed in this purpose by her husband's brother, the person who now commands the army; and she had also to combat the many difficulties incident in this country to her sex, the most embarrassing of which was a preclusion from public appearance; yet, baffling every attempt made to subvert her authority, she firmly established herself in the government. The event of the Ranee's success, brought on the confinement of her competitor; but after a short time, during which he experienced a lenient treatment, he was released. This dame of spirit, who hath evinced strong traits of a disposition fitted for conducting either military or civil schemes, and who hath hitherto been fortunate in them, is at this day enthralled by the force of love. Whether this passion is to be classed amongst the alloys of our virtues, according to the doctrine of the most rigid moralists or whether it heightens the lustre of those already possessed, and even creates good qualities in us, as the elegant Yorick has advanced, are questions submitted, with a due deference

to the intricacy of the subject, to those who are skilled in the extensive passion of love. The object of this lady's favour I saw, and the choice she has made is a proof of good taste. He is a young handsome Hindoo of a religious tribe, who, contrary to the usage of his sect, which is founded on rules almost as severe as those of the Carthusians, dresses gayly, and in the Mahometan fashion. From a certain levity, though politeness of manners, set off by the delicate fancy of his apparel, you at the first glance pronounce him a favourite of the women. Such are the changes which love can produce, even amongst a people who observe their religious ordinances with a scrupulousness irreconcilable to common sense, and which in some instances border on gross absurdity. Thus much for the Ranee of Bellaspour, to whom be all success!

E. SATI

1. Sati at Kasimbazaar, John Z. Holwel[519]

It will not we hope be unacceptable, if we present our readers with an instance of the latter, which happened some years past at the East India Company's factory at Cossimbuzaar in the time of Sir Francis Russell's chiefship, the author, and several other gentlemen of the factory were present, some of whom are now living: from a narrative, which the author then transmitted to England he is now enabled to give the particulars of this most remarkable proof of female fortitude, and constancy.

"At five of the clock on the morning of the 4th of February, 1742-3, died Rhaam Chund Pundit of the Mahahrattor [presumably Maratha] tribe, aged twenty-eight years; his widow (for he had but one wife) aged between seventeen and eighteen, as soon as he expired, disdaining to wait the term allowed her for reflection, immediately declared to the Bramins and witnesses present her resolution to burn; as the family was of no small consideration, all the merchants of Cossimbuzaar, and her relations, left no arguments unessayed to dissuade her from it – Lady Russell, with the tenderest humanity, sent her several messages to the same purpose; the infant state of her children (two girls and a boy, the eldest not four years of age) and the terrors and pain of the death she sought, were painted to her in the strongest and most lively colouring – she was deaf to all, she gratefully thanked Lady Russell, and sent her word she had now nothing to live for, but recommended her children to her protection. When the torments of

burning were urged *in terrorem* to her, she with a resolved and calm countenance, put her finger into the fire, and held it there a considerable time; she then with one hand put fire in the palm of the other, sprinkled incense on it, and fumigated the Bramins. The consideration of her children left destitute of a parent was again urged to her. She replied, he that made them, would take care of them. She was at last given to understand, she should not be permitted to burn; this for a short space seemed to give her deep affliction, but soon recollecting herself, she told them, death was in her power, and that if she was not allowed to burn, according to the principles of her cast, she would starve herself. Her friends, finding her thus peremptory and resolved, were obliged at last to assent.

The body of the deceased was carried down to the water side, early the following morning, the widow followed about ten o'clock, accompanied by three very principal Bramins, her children, parents, and relations, and a numerous concourse of people. The order of leave for her burning did not arrive from Hosseyn Khan, Fouzdaar of Morshadabad, until after one, and it was then brought by one of the Soubah's own officers, who had orders to see that she burnt voluntarily. The time they waited for the order was employed in praying with the Bramins, and washing in the Ganges; as soon as it arrived, she retired and stayed for the space of half an hour in the midst of her female relations, amongst whom was her mother; she then divested herself of her bracelets, and other ornaments, and tyed them in a cloth, which hung like an apron before her, and was conducted by her female relations to one corner of the pile; on the pile was an arched arbor formed of dry sticks, boughs and leaves, open only at one end to admit her entrance; in this the body of the deceased was deposited, his head at the end opposite to the opening. At the corner of the pile, to which she had been conducted, the Bramin had made a small fire, round which she and the three Bramins sat for some minutes, one of them gave into her hand a leaf of the bale tree (the wood commonly consecrated to form part of the funeral pile) with sundry things on it, which she threw into the fire; one of the others gave her a second leaf, which she held over the flame, whilst he dropped three times some ghee on it, which melted, and fell into the fire (these two operations, were preparatory symbols of her approaching dissolution by fire) and whilst they were performing this, the third Bramin read to her some portions of the *Aughtorrah Bhade,* and asked her some questions, to which she answered

with a steady, and serene countenance; but the noise was so great, we could not understand what she said, although we were within a yard of her. These over, she was led with great solemnity three times round the pile, the Bramins reading before her; when she came the third time to the small fire, she stopped, took her rings off her toes and fingers, and put them to her other ornaments; here she took a solemn majestic leave of her children, parents, and relations; after which, one of the Bramins dip'd a large wick of cotton in some ghee, and gave it ready lighted into her hand, and led her to the open side of the arbor; there, all the Bramins fell at her feet; after she had blessed them, they retired weeping; by two steps, she ascending the pile and entered the arbor; on her entrance, she made a profound reverence at the feet of the deceased, and advanced and seated herself by his head; she looked, in silent meditation on his face, for the space of a minute, then set fire to the arbor, in three places; observing that she had set fire to leeward, and that the flames blew from her, instantly seeing her error she rose, and set fire to windward, and resumed her station; ensign Daniel with his cane, separated the grass and leaves on the windward side, by which means we had a distinct view of her as she sat. With what dignity, and undaunted a countenance, she set fire to the pile the last time, and assumed her seat, can only be conceived, for words cannot convey a just idea of her. The pile being of combustible matter, the supporters of the roof were presently consumed, and it tumbled upon her."

2. Sati at Banaras, William Hodge[520]

WHILE I was pursuing my professional labours in Benares, I received information of a ceremony which was to take place on the banks of the river, and which greatly excited my curiosity. I had often read and repeatedly heard of that most horrid custom amongst, perhaps, the most mild and gentle of the human race, the Hindoos; the sacrifice of the wife on the death of the husband, and that by a means from which nature seems to shrink with the utmost abhorrence, by burning. Many instances of this practice have been given by travellers; those whom I have met with only mention it as taking place among the highest classes of society, whose vanity united with superstitious prejudices might have dictated the circumstance; and I confess I could not entertain any other ideas, when I observed the theatrical parade that seemed to attend it…

The person whom I saw was of the Bhyse (merchant) tribe or cast; a class of people we should naturally suppose exempt from the high and impetuous pride of rank, and in whom the natural desire to preserve life should in general predominate, undiverted from its proper course by a prospect of posthumous fame. I may add, that these motives are greatly strengthened by the exemption of this class from that infamy with which the refusal is inevitably branded in their superiors. Upon my repairing to the spot, on the banks of the river, where the ceremony was to take place, I found the body of the man on a bier, and covered with linen, already brought down and laid at the edge of the river. At this time, about ten in the morning, only a few people were assembled, who appeared destitute of feeling at the catastrophe that was to take place; I may even say that they displayed the most perfect apathy and indifference. After waiting a considerable time the wife appeared, attended by the Bramins, and music, with some few relations. The procession was slow and solemn; the victim moved with a steady and firm step; and, apparently with a perfect composure of countenance, approached close to the body of her husband, where for some time they halted. She then addressed those who were near her with composure, and without the least trepidation of voice or change of countenance. She held in her left hand a cocoa nut, in which was a red colour mixed up, and dipping in it the fore-finger of her right hand, she marked those near her, to whom she wished to shew the last act of attention. As at this time I stood close to her, she observed me attentively, and with the colour marked me on the forehead. She might be about twenty-four or five years of age, a time of life when the bloom of beauty has generally fled the cheek in India; but still she preserved a sufficient share to prove that she must have been handsome: her figure was small, but elegantly turned; and the form of her hands and arms was particularly beautiful. Her dress was a loose robe of white flowing drapery, that extended from her head to the feet. The place of sacrifice was higher up on the bank of the river, a hundred yards or more from the spot where we now stood. The pile was composed of dried branches, leaves, and rushes, with a door on one side, and arched and covered on the top: by the side of the door stood a man with a lighted brand. From the time the woman appeared to the taking up of the body to convey it into the pile, might occupy a space of half an hour, which was employed in prayer with the Bramins, in attentions to those who stood near her, and conversation with

her relations. When the body was taken up she followed close to it, attended by the chief Bramin; and when it was deposited in the pile, she bowed to all round her, and entered without speaking. The moment she entered, the door was closed; the fire was put to the combustibles, which instantly flamed, and immense quantities of dried wood and other matters were thrown upon it. This last part of the ceremony was accompanied with the shouts of the multitude, who now became numerous, and the whole seemed a mass of confused rejoicing. For my part I felt myself actuated by very different sentiments: the event that I had been witness to was such, that the minutest circumstance attending it could not be erased from my memory; and when the melancholy which had overwhelmed me was somewhat abated, I made a drawing of the subject.

3. Extract of a letter from the Hon. W. Osborne on the funeral of Maharaja Ranjit Sing[521]

Shimla, July 12th, 1839.

Runjeet Sing in dead, poor fellow! And died as like the old Lion as he had lived. He preserved his senses to the last, and was (which is unusual with native princes) obeyed to the last by all his chiefs, though he tried them high, as you will think, when I tell you that two hours before he died he sent for all his jewels, and gave the famous diamond, called the " Mountain of Light," said to be the largest in the world, to a Hindoo temple, his celebrated string of pearls to another, and his favourite fine horses, with all their jeweled trappings, worth £ 300,000, to a third.

His four wives, all very handsome, burnt themselves with his body, as did five of his Cachmerian slave girls, one of whom, who was called the Lotus, or Lily, I often saw last year in my first visit to Lahore. Everything was done to prevent it, but in vain. They were guaranteed in their rank and in all their possessions, but they insisted upon it; and the account from the European officers who were present describes it as the most horrible sight. The four wives seated themselves on the pile with Runjeet Sing's head upon their laps; and his principal wife desired Kurruck Sing, Runjeet's son and heir, and Dheean Sing, the late prime minister, to come to her upon the pile, and made the former take the Maharajah's dead hand in his own, and swear to protect and favour Dheean Sing as Runjeet Sing had done; and she made

the latter swear to bear the same true allegiance to the son which he had faithfully borne to his father.

She then set fire to the pile with her own hands, and they are dead – nine living beings having perished together without a shriek or a groan. Dheean Sing threw himself twice on the pile, and said he could not survive his master, but was dragged away by main force. You have no idea what a sensation the poor old man's death has caused. All our treasure and supplies to the army of the Indus must go through the Punjab, and there are so many powerful and almost independent chiefs in the country, that the risk will be great without Runjeet Sing's mastermind to rule them. Kurruck Sing is well intentioned and well inclined towards us, but wants the courage and energy of his father. I send you a letter from the poor old man, nearly the last he ever wrote, which as an original of the Lion of Lahore (a great man here) may be considered a curiosity.

W.O.

F. COURTESANS

1. In Bengal, John Splinter Stavorinu[522]

The women, although of a brown completion, have engaging countenances, and are well proportioned. They intrigue with spirit, and are uncommonly wanton. They use every artifice to entrap the hearts of their male acquaintance, and especially strangers. Prostitution is not thought a disgrace: there are everywhere licensed places, where a great number of loose women are kept; it is a livelihood that is allowed by law, upon payment to the *faujdar,* or sheriff, of the place, of a certain duty imposed upon the persons of the females who adopt this mode of life; they are generally assessed at half a rupee, or fifteen stivers, per month.

2. Charms of native women, Asiaticus [Philip Dormer Stanhope[523]

I have seen ladies of the Gentoo cast, so exquisitely formed, with limbs so divinely turned, and such expression in their eyes, that if you can reconcile yourself to their complexions, you must acknowledge them not inferior to the most celebrated beauties of Europe. For my own part, I already begin to think the dazzling brightness of a copper-coloured face infinitely preferable to the pallid and sickly hue, which banishes the roses from the cheeks of the European fair, and reminds me of the death-struck countenance of Lazarus risen from the grave. The English ladies are immoderately fond of dancing,

an exercise ill calculated for the burning climate of Bengal; and in my opinion, however, admissible in cooler latitudes, not a little indelicate in a country, where the inhabitants are covered with no more cloaths than what decency absolutely requires. Imagine to yourself the lovely object of your affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling, and every feature distorted with fatigue, and her partner with a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand impearled upon her forehead; and then ask your own heart, if an Indian damsel, just risen from the limpid bath, in all the native charms of cleanliness and artless beauty, is not much more likely to inspire you with sentiments of desire and love.

3. In Kashmir, George Forste[524]

The city of Kashmire once abounded with courtezans, equally gay and affluent; but the rigorous contributions of the Afghans have greatly reduced their number, and driven most of those that remain into a languid poverty. The few that I saw, afforded me much pleasure by their graceful skill in dancing, and voices peculiarly melodious. And here let me observe least I should afterwards forget, that the women of Kashmire are singularly fruitful: be the government ever so oppressive, or fortune at all points adverse, no baneful effects are seen to operate on the propagation of the species which is maintained with a successful perseverance.

4. The Southern Bayadere, Bishop Hebe[525]

A small old pagoda is in the entrance of the town, whose principal inmates, the presiding Brahmin and the dancing-girl, followed me to my tent. This was the first specimen which I had seen of the southern Bayadere, who differ considerably from the nach girls of northern India, being all in the service of different temples, for which they are purchased young, and brought up with a degree of care which is seldom bestowed on the females of India of any other class. This care not only extends to dancing and singing, and the other allurements of their miserable profession, but to reading and writing. Their dress is lighter than the bundles of red cloth which swaddle the figurante of Hindostan, and their dancing is said to be more indecent, but their general appearance and manner seemed to me far from immodest, and their air even more respectable than the generality of the lower classes of India. The poor girl whom I saw at Sadras, making

allowance for the difference of costume and complexion, might have passed for a smart, but modest English maidservant. The money which they acquire in the practice of their profession is hallowed to their wicked gods, whose ministers are said to turn them out without remorse, or with a very scanty provision, when age or sickness renders them unfit for their occupation. Most of them, however, die young. Surely, the more one sees of this hideous idolatry, the more one must abhor it, and bless God for having taught us better. I had heard that the Bayaderes were regarded with respect among the other classes of Hindoos, as servants of the gods, and that, after a few years service, they often married respectably. But, though I made several enquiries, I cannot find that this is the case; their name is a common term of reproach among the women of the country, nor could any man of decent caste marry one of their number. Yet the gods are honoured who receive such sacrifices! I have always looked on these poor creatures with no common feelings of sorrow and pity.

5. Dancers at Banaras, Captain Leopold von Orlic[526]

In another quarter of the city our attention was allured by wily bayaderes, who came to the lattices, or on the galleries, and endeavoured to attract our notice. Benares is famed for training the most beautiful bayaderes, who are also consecrated within the walls of this city: they are very proud of the place of their birth, but go into the most distant provinces of the empire. Their life is frittered away in dress, folly, and dancing; and, as long as their charms have the power of attracting, it is interwoven, as a privilege, with a succession of fleeting, transient amours; yet this established custom not only gains them the esteem of the people, but even the protection of the priesthood. When they parade through the streets, seated on a carriage, drawn by fine oxen, and dressed in rich and gaily-coloured costume, the populace are quite delighted to get a sight of these beauties, who group themselves with the most singular grace and attraction, and, in the most seductive manner, suffer their elegant and voluptuous forms to appear to advantage beneath their aerial dress, or their light shawl, flung carelessly over their shoulders. As they pass along the streets they sing a plaintive, monotonous song, accompanied by a tambourine, and a small trumpet, and, as they seem ever ready for sport, give vent to their mirth in humorous

observations, while their fine large black eyes, which are encircled with antimony, gleam like sparks of fire.

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Chapter 15
Hindu Rulers

A. General observations
B. The Sikhs
C. The Raja of Patiala
D. Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir
E. The Jat rulers
F. The Raja of Ballabgarh
G. Rulers of Rajasthan
H. The Marathas at Panipat
I. The Gaikwar of Baroda
J. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra
K. Raja Kishan Chand's family
L. Raja of Banaras
M. The Rajas of India

A. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

1. Sovereign did not possess despotic power, William Robertso[527]

Though monarchical government was established in all the countries of India to which the knowledge of the ancients extended, the sovereigns were far from possessing uncontrolled or despotic power. No trace, indeed, is discovered there, of any assembly, or public body, the members of which, either in their own right or as representatives of their fellow-citizens, could interpose in enacting laws, or in superintending the execution of them. Institutions destined to assert and guard the rights belonging to men in social state, how familiar soever the idea may be to the people of Europe, never formed a part of the political constitution in any great Asiatic kingdom. It was to different principles that the natives of India were indebted for restrictions which limited the exercise of regal power. The rank of individuals was unalterably fixed, the privileges of the different casts were deemed inviolable.

B. THE SIKHS

1. Execution of Banda and his followers, John Surman and Edward Stephenson, who were in the capital on a trade mission on behalf of the East India Company, in a letter to their superiors in Calcutta dated March 10, 1716, report on the executio[528]

Some days ago they [Banda and his followers] entered the city laden with fetters, his whole attendants which were left alive being about seven hundred and eighty all severally mounted on camels which were sent out of the City for that purpose, besides about two thousand heads stuck upon poles, being those who died by the sword in battle. He was carried into the presence of the King, and from thence to a close prison. He at present has his life prolonged with most of his mutsuddys in the hope to get an Account of his treasure in the several parts of his Kingdom, and of those that assisted him, when afterwards he will be executed, for the rest there are 100 each day beheaded. It is not a little remarkable with what patience they undergo their fate, and to the last it has not been found that one apostatized from his new formed Religion.

2. Meeting with Ranjit Singh, William Moorcrof[529]

On the evening of the 8th of May the Hakim [Aziz ad din, wazir of Ranjit Singh] came to conduct me to the presence of Ranjit Sinh. Having passed through one of the western gates of the fort, we crossed the garden in which stands the Jama Masjid, or principal mosque. Thence a long flight of brick steps led to a second gateway and court, crossing which we came to a third gate that opened into a more spacious inclosure, in which stood a number of horses caparisoned. From this we entered a large court flagged with marble, and on the side opposite the entrance was an open apartment, in which the Maharaja was seated. Upon my approach he partly rose from his chair, which was of gold, and pointed to another, of silver, opposite to him, for me to sit down. His courtiers sat down upon the carpet on either side, forming a lane from his chair to mine. The gateways were well guarded, but here were only two matchlock-men, sitting one on either hand of the Raja. After the ordinary inquiries I expressed my thanks to him for the attentions I had received since entering his territories, and requested leave to offer the few trifles I had brought for his acceptance. These were a pair of double-barrelled, and a pair of three-barrelled pistols, a sword, and the model of a cannon, with carriage and all appurtenances complete. This miniature piece of ordnance was made by Mr. Donnithorne, the mint master at Farokhabad, and was of singularly beautiful execution. To these I added some white chowri tails and bags of musk from the mountains. Ranjit was much pleased with the pistols, and still more with the cannon. Entering upon the main

purpose of my travells, that of procuring horses, he ordered some of his to be exhibited, and about fifty were passed in review. They had all rich bridles, saddles, and housings, and were of the breeds of Dhani and Ghep, forest districts in the Punjab, the Lakhi Jangal, Rohtas, Atak, Kabul, and Bokhara. One which had cost 1700 rupees at Bokhara was beautifully made except in the legs below the knees and hocks, where he was too slight. For a grey Persian horse the Raja told me he had given 7000 rupees (*700l*), but it struck me as inferior to most of those exhibited. After the horses had been fully inspected I took my leave…

Parade

On the 10th I was present upon the Raja's invitation at the parade of two regiments which he had formed on the model of the Company's sipahis. The men were Sikhs, Hindustani's, and Gorkhas: the first were in general tall well-looking men; the second were of a mixed appearance; the last generally short but muscular. The Raja beheld their evolutions from the top of a low building at the place, where I joined him. He seemed to take great interest in his regular battalions, but they are not popular amongst his officers. Desa Singh told Izzet Ullah that all Ranjit's conquests had been won by the sword, and he had never known the infantry and artillery of any service. The Raja told me that these regiments had been first trained by a Naik, who had deserted from the Company's service. He was very communicative. After the review he showed me some more of his horses, chiefly from Bokhara; and then consulted me on the state of his health, complaining much that he could not bear such strong potations as he had been used to do formerly; he told me also that he had once sent an account of his ailments to General Ochterlony, that a Europeans surgeon might prescribe for him, and that he had in consequence received some medicines, but had never taken any of them. These were afterwards sent to me, and finding one of them to be elixir or vitriol, I mixed a few drops with water, and drank it in the presence of the Hakim, in order to remove any suspicion that might lurk in a mind so constituted as that of Ranjit appears to be…

Ranjit tries to secretly view Lord Lake

Early on the morning of the 13th I had my audience of leave. The Maharaja was peculiarly communicative and familiar. He told me that when Lord Lake entered the Panjab in pursuit of Holkar, he felt a strong desire to

see the European general and his officers. His courtiers endeavoured to dissuade him, affirming that the very sight would be unlucky; but he was determined to gratify himself, and for that purpose disguised himself as a common trooper, and accompanied by a party of his soldiers, repaired to the British camp. They went to Mr. Metcalfe's tent, and sent word that some Sikhs had come out of curiosity to see the Sahibs, and begged he would indulge them. He immediately complied with their desire, but soon distinguished Ranjit Singh amongst his visitors.

3. An inquisitive Indian, Victor Jacquemon[530]

I have spent a couple of hours on several occasions conversing with Ranjit *de omni re scibili et quibusdam aliis*. His conversation is a nightmare. He is almost the first inquisitive Indian I have seen, but his curiosity makes up for the apathy of his whole nation. He asked me a hundred thousand questions about India, the English, Europe, Bonaparte, this world in general and the other one, hell and Paradise, the soul, God, the devil, and a thousand things besides. Like all persons of quality in the East he is a *malade imaginaire*, and since he has a large band of the loveliest girls of Kashmir and sufficient means to pay for a better dinner than anybody else in the country, he is particularly annoyed at not being able to drink like a fish without getting drunk, or eat like an elephant without choking. Women no longer give him any more pleasure than the flowers in his garden, and for good reasons, and that is the most cruel of his ills.…

This model Asiatic king is no saint: far from it. He cares nothing for law or good faith, unless it is to his interest to be just or faithful; but he is not cruel. He orders very great criminals to have their noses and ears cut off, or a hand, but he never takes life. He has a passion for horses which amounts almost to a mania; he has waged the most costly and bloody wars for the purpose of seizing a horse in some neighbouring State which they had refused to give or sell him. He is extremely brave, a quality rather rare among Eastern princes, and though he has always been successful in his military campaigns, it has been by treaties and cunning negotiations that he has made himself absolute king of the whole Punjab, Kashmir, etc., and is better obeyed by his subjects than the Mogul emperors were at the height of their power. A professing Sikh, though is reality a sceptic, he goes to Amritsar every year to perform his devotions, and, oddly enough, visits the

tombs of various Moslem saints as well; yet these pilgrimages do not upset any of his more strait-laced co-religionists.

4. Meeting with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, W.G. Osborn[531]

Cross-legged in a golden chair, dressed in simple white, wearing no ornaments but a single string of enormous pearls round the waist, and the celebrated Kohy-nur, or mountain of light, on his arm, – (the jewel rivalled, if not surpassed, in brilliancy by the glance of fire which every now and then shot from his single eye as it wandered restlessly round the circle,) – sat the lion of Lahore.

On Runjeet's seating himself, his chiefs all squatted on the floor round his chair, with the exception of Dheean Sing, who remained standing behind his master.

Though far removed from being handsome himself, Runjeet appears to take a pride in being surrounded by good-looking people, and I believe few, if any other courts either in Europe or the East, could shew such a fine looking set of men as the principal Sihk Sirdars.…

As soon as all were seated, and we had replied to Runjeet's inquiries after Lord Auckland's health, &c., the presents were produced, and apparently received with great satisfaction. Contrary to the usual native custom, Runjeet condescended to examine them very minutely, and appeared to count every pearl and jewel before he gave them into the hands of his treasurer…

Inquisitive nature

As this was merely an audience of introduction, the object of the mission was not touched upon, and our time was principally occupied in answering Runjeet's innumerable questions, but without the slightest chance of being able to satisfy his insatiable curiosity. It is hardly possible to give an idea of the ceaseless rapidity with which his questions flow, or the infinite variety of subjects they embrace. "Do you drink wine?" "How much?" "Did you taste the wine which I sent you yesterday?" "How much of it did you drink?" "What artillery have you brought with you?" "Have they got any shells?" "How many?" "Do you like riding on horse-back?" "What country horses do you prefer?" "Are you in the army?" "Which do you like best, cavalry or infantry?" "Does Lord Auckland like wine?" "How many

glasses?" "Does he drink it in the morning?" "What is the strength of the Company's army?" "Are they well disciplined?" &c…

Appearance

Ill looking as he undoubtedly is, the countenance of Runjeet Sing cannot fail to strike every one as that of a very extraordinary man; and though at first his appearance gives rise to a disagreeable feeling almost amounting to disgust, a second look shews so much intelligence, and the restless wandering of his single fiery eye excites so much interest, that you get accustomed to his plainness, and are forced to confess that there is no common degree of intellect and acuteness developed in his countenance, however odd and repulsive its first appearance may be.

His height is rather beneath the usual stature of the Sikhs, and a habitual stoop causes him to look shorter than he really is. He is by no means firm on his legs when he attempts to walk, but all weakness disappears when he is once on horseback. He has still a slight hesitation in his speech, the consequence of a paralytic stroke about three years ago; but those about him assert that his health is much improved within the last twelvemonth. His long white beard and mustachoes give him a more venerable appearance than his actual age would lead you to expect; and at fifty-eight years of age he is still a hale and hearty old man, though an imaginary invalid.

Runjeet Sing possesses great personal courage, a quality in which the Sihks are supposed to be generally deficient; and until the last few years, always led his troops into action himself.

His character was formerly that of a generous and liberal master, and it was his custom to go into action with his arms covered with golden bracelets, and to reward with a pair of them any act of personal courage on the part of his soldiers which might happen to meet his observation. But the vice of old age, avarice, is fast creeping upon him; and at this moment, two out of three of his regular infantry regiments at Peshowar are in a state of open mutiny for want of their pay, one of them being eighteen, and the other twenty-two months in arrears.

With six millions sterling in his treasury at Amritsir, such is his love of money, that he will risk the loss of his kingdom rather than open his hoards, and disgusts his people and army by this ill-timed and cruel parsimony; at a time, too, when his most bitter enemies, Dost Mahommed Khan and the

Afghans, are only watching for the first favourable opportunity to attempt his destruction.

Infantry parade

1st June – Agreeably to invitation, we repaired this morning to meet the Maharajah, and see some of his regular infantry upon their parade. We found about two thousand men under arms, and some foot artillery. They are a fine-looking body of men, dressed in white jackets and trowsers, with black belts and pouches, and wear the yellow Sihk turban. They submit willingly to the same discipline and regulations as our own Sipahis, but have a prejudice against wearing a cap or shako, and previous to their enlistment make an agreement that they shall not be required to do so, or to shave.

They work in three ranks, and do everything by beat of drum, according to the French fashion; are not what is called well set up, but beautifully steady on parade, and fire with greater precision and regularity, both volleys and file firing, than any other troops I ever saw. They are paid the same as Company's Sipahis, or rather are promised that such will be the case, though they are frequently upwards of a year, and seldom less than ten months, in arrears. When they are half-starved, and growing desperate, and Runjeet thinks they will bear no more, he makes a compromise with them, and giving half or one-third of what is due to them, half frightens and half cheats them into giving up all further claims. They are finer men, I think, than the Company's Sipahis, have fewer prejudices than most natives, and are more easily managed; and though, as a nation, the Sihks are generally supposed to be wanting in courage, it is impossible to deny that Runjeet's troops have occasionally fought well. They are tall, rather slight, but very manly-looking men, with great length of limb, and broad, open chests; are excellent marchers, both as regards speed and bottom, for they are capable of making very long marches, not only on emergencies, but have done so with cheerfulness and alacrity for days together. They are hardy far beyond the generality of natives, and seem a merry, light-hearted race of people. All their movements on parade are very steady, but much too slow; they have but one pace for everything, and the double step is unknown to them.

The Sihk army possesses one great advantage over our own – the ease with which it can be moved. No wheel carriage is allowed on a march, their

own bazaars carry all they require; and thirty thousand of their troops could be moved with more facility, and less expense and loss of time, than three Company's regiment on this side the Sutlege.

Artillery

3rd June – Accompanied the Maharajah to his artillery practice ground, where we found twelve horse artillery guns, of different calibers, but tolerably well horsed and equipped. These guns are the refuse of his artillery, and only used to accompany him when he marches. His great depot is at Lahore, and is said to be very superior, and decidedly his best arm, and the one he takes most interest in. He was trying his own shells; at five hundred yards the practice was indifferent, but at eight and twelve hundred it was excellent. Many of the shells exploded exactly over the curtain; and when one burst with more than usual accuracy, he turned round and remarked, "I think that will do for Dost Mahommed." At the conclusion of the practice, we rode with him for a short time, and the sun getting hot, returned to our tents to a late breakfast.

5. 'He looked exactly like an old mouse,' Emily Ede[532]

Yesterday was the day of the great meeting. All the ladies (only ten with the whole army) came to breakfast at half-past seven, and so did 'the great Panjandrum himself.'…

Runjeet had no jewels on whatever, nothing but the commonest red silk dress. He had two stockings on at first, which was considered an unusual circumstance; but he very soon contrived to slip one off, that he might sit with one foot in his hand, comfortably. B. was much occupied in contriving to edge one foot of his chair on to the carpet, in which he at last succeeded.

Next to him sat Heera Singh, a very handsome boy, who is Runjeet's favourite, and was loaded with emeralds and pearls. Dhian Singh his father is prime minister, and uncommonly good-looking: he was dressed in yellow satin, with a quantity of chain armour and steel cuirass. All their costumes were very picturesque. There were a little boy and girl about four and five years old, children of some of Runjeet's sirdars who were killed in battle, and he always has these children with him, and has married them to each other. They were crawling about the floor, and running in and out between Runjeet and G., and at one time the little boy had got his arm twisted round G.'s leg. I sent to ask B. for two of the common pearl necklaces that are

given as khelwuts, and sent them with a private note round to G., who gave them to the children, which delighted the old mouse.

After half an hour's talk, Sir W.C., with some of our gentlemen, marched up the room with my picture of the Queen on a green and gold cushion; all the English got up, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired. Runjeet took it up in his hands, though it was a great weight, and examined it for at least five minutes, with his one piercing eye, and asked B. for an explanation of the orb and scepter, and whether the dress were correct, and if it were really like; and then said it was the most gratifying present he could have received and that on his return to his camp, the picture would be hung in front of his tent, and a royal salute fired. When all the other presents had been given that could come in trays, 200 shells (not fish, but gunpowder shells) were presented to the Maharajah, and two magnificent howitzers, that had been cast on purpose for him (as I think I told you), which seemed to please him; and outside, there was an elephant with gold trappings, and seven horses equally bedizened. His strongest passion is still for horses: one of these hit his fancy, and he quite forgot all his state, and ran out in the sun to feel its legs and examine it. Webb (the coachman) went down in the afternoon to take the Mizzur horses to Runjeet, and gave us such an amusing account of his interview.

6. A Fete for Ranjeet: Talking Friendship, Emily Ede[533]

We had prepared our fete at the end of the street – a large compound enclosed on three sides with a large tent for us, and a small one for Runjeet filling up the fourth side, guards all round to prevent anybody who had not an invitation from going in. The large tent opened into a long *shemiana* – I hardly know how to explain that, but it is, in fact, a tent without sides, merely a roof supported by pillars; this looked out into the compound, which was laid out like a flower garden, only instead of flowers there were little lamps laid out, as thickly as they could be placed, in the shape of flower borders. On the ground alone, P. said there were 42,000 lamps, and the garden was railed in by an *espalier* of lamps. It was really very pretty and odd. G. and Runjeet had their great chairs in the center, with B. on the other side of G., F. next to B., then Sir G.R. and a long row of ladies. I sat by the side of Runjeet, and next to me Kurruck Singh, his son, and then another long row of his sirdars.

The instant Runjeet sat down, three or four of his attendants came and knelt down before him – one, the Fakeer Uzeez-ood-deen, who is his interpreter and adviser and the comfort of his life. We all ought to have Uzeez-ood-deens of our own, if we wish to be really comfortable. The others arranged his gold bottle and glass, and plates of fruit, and he began drinking that horrible spirit, which he pours down like water. He insisted on my just touching it, as I had not been at his party on Saturday, and one drop actually burnt the outside of my lips. I could not possibly swallow it. Those two little brats, in new dresses, were crawling about the floor, and he poured some of his fire down their throats. We had two bands to play; and when the fireworks were over, a large collection of nautch-girls came in front of Runjeet, and danced and sang apparently much to his satisfaction. They were a very ugly set from Loodheeana. I could not help thinking how eastern we had become, everybody declaring it was one of the best-managed and pleasantest parties they had seen. All these satraps in a row, and those screaming girls and crowds of long bearded attendants, and the old tyrant drinking in the middle – but still we all said: 'What a charming party!' just as we should have said formerly at Lady C.'s or Lady J.'s. I could not talk with any great ease, being on the blind side of Runjeet, who converses chiefly with his one eye and a few signs which his fakeer makes up into a long speech; and Kurruck Singh was apparently an idiot. Luckily, beyond him was Heera Singh, who has learnt a little English, and has a good idea of making topics, and when C. came and established himself behind the sofa I got on very well with Runjeet.

After the conversation had lasted nearly an hour, there was, I suppose, a little pause between G. and him, for he turned round and said something which C. translated in his literal way, 'The Maharajah wishes your lordship would talk a little more *friendship* to him.' G. solemnly declared he had talked an immense deal of friendship, but, of course, he began again. Another of Runjeet's topics was his constant praise of drinking, and he said he understood that there were books which contained objections to drunkenness, and he thought it better that there would be no books at all, than that they should contain such foolish notions. He is a very drunken old profligate, neither more nor less. Still he has made himself a great king; he has conquered a great many powerful enemies; he is remarkably just in his government; he has disciplined a large army; he hardly ever takes away life,

which is wonderful in a depot; and he is excessively beloved by his people. I certainly should not guess any part of this from looking at him.

7. Review of Horses, Emily Ede[534]

The first show of the day was Runjeet's private stud. I suppose fifty horses were led past us. The first had on its emerald trappings, necklaces arranged on its neck and between its ears, and in front of the saddle two enormous emeralds, nearly two inches square, and carved all over, and set in gold frames, like little looking-glasses. The crupper was all emeralds, and there were stud-ropes of gold put up on something like a martingale. Heera Singh said the whole was valued at 37 lacs (370,000*l*); but all these valuations are fanciful, as nobody knows the worth of these enormous stones; they are never brought or sold. The next horse was simply attired in diamonds and turquoises, another in pearls, and there was one with trappings of coral and pearl that was very pretty. Their saddle-cloths have stones woven into them. It reduces European magnificence to a very low pitch.

8. Durbar for Ranjit Singh

November 29th. Ferozepore, Fanny Ede[535]

We have had a very busy morning. The great durbar for the reception of Runjeet was at eight o'clock, that the troops might not be kept out in the sun. There was an immense shew of troops got up for him. George had to go to meet him on his elephant a little way from the camp. As usual the crush of elephants at the moment of meeting was awful. Nothing can prevent the mahouts on both sides from pressing their elephants to the last moment. However, George succeeded in transferring Runjeet from his howdah to his own without dropping him. He is so very little there might have been some danger of such a catastrophe.

We received him in the outer tent, and he sat down on the sofa between us with his legs tucked up. There was an immense rush of followers after him and it was some time before they would go out and get into order. Almost all his immediate courtiers have excellent manners, thoroughly gentlemanlike, making their topics through an interpreter. He himself does not wear a single jewel, but some of his favourites are covered with them and all their dresses are perfectly magnificent. He examines everything quite closely with his one eye and asks an infinity of questions. The long beard is as white as this paper. Emily, from the various prints of her, had

painted a picture of the Queen in her coronation robes, which turned out successfully, and this was set in a large gold frame very much emeralded and diamonded and given to him. And it answered thoroughly. Sir W. Cotton brought it in and they all stood up and saluted…Runjeet said that when he got to his own camp and hung it up a salute of a hundred guns would be fired. Our presents to him have been very magnificent in the line of jewels, shawls, horses and canon. There was one horse took him so much he ran out into the sun to examine him, and a European man who took them to him had to ride them all before him for an hour and a half. He brought two little children with him, and five years old, a little boy and a girl, affianced to each other. They were orphans of his chiefs who had been killed in battle and he carries them about with him everywhere. They were tumbling about on the floor of the tent. George has to return his visit tomorrow.

9. Party by Ranjit Singh, Fanny Ede[536]

I did not write yesterday, dear, because I had a deal to do. Runjeet was to give us a party at his tents. George, Macnaghten and William [Osborne, Military Secretary to Lord Auckland] set off for a private conference at three, I followed them at five, Emily meaning to keep her strength for the great review tomorrow. Sir W. Cotton was to go with me and I set off with him and his aides-de-camp in the carriage and a squadron of lancers to guard us – very grand and dusty. We had to cross the Sutlege into Runjeet's territories and had to get upon elephants to go over the bridges of boats. The approach to the tents was beautiful. They were surrounded by a large enclosure of scarlet and embroidered cloth, the tents themselves made of shawls and embroidered cashmere and all his chiefs covered in jewels and armour, and shawl drapery. I was a little shy on my first arrival among the Singh family. However, Heera Singh, a boy who has great power over Runjeet, and Sher Singh who is a great soldier and supposed to have an eye to the throne when Runjeet dies, talked very well through an interpreter. I was taken to a silver chair at the entrance of the tent where George and Runjeet and William were sitting, and in a few minutes they joined me. We were in a kind of open tent with silver pillars. It was soon filled with chiefs and nautch girls – in his troop of amazons as he calls them. I was disappointed in their beauty.

Runjeets's next step was to have a low solid gold table placed before him and two large gold branch candlesticks on the floor by it. The table was covered with gold bottles and cups and some specimens of Sikh cookery – spiced balls of meat, or rather essence of meat, of every strong composition, pomegranate seeds etc. There were two little ugly children as usual who serve Runjeet and me for our standing jokes. The composition he calls wine is like burning fire, much stronger than brandy, and his great delight when he sets in to be gay is to make people drink it. At first he was content with making George and Sir W. Cotton swallow it – or rather pretend to swallow it. Then he began plying me with gold cupfuls. I got on very well for some time, pretending to drink it and passing it to his cup-bearer. But he grew suspicious, put it up his one eye, looked well into the cup, shook his head and gave it me back again. The next time he put his finger into the cup to see how much was gone. I made Major Wade explain to him that ladies did not drink so much in England, upon which he watched till George's head was turned away and passed a cup to me under his arm, thinking George was the horrid tyrant who prevented me. Fireworks were going all round us and nautch girls dancing before us all the time we were there. I got him to show us his 'Sea of Light,' [the Kohinoor] a diamond out of which he starved Shah Shoojah. It is as large as a small egg. Some of the emeralds he showed us at the same time are quite wonderful and I hope he came by them honestly.

In the course of the evening they brought the king a neat little tray and he took diamond bracelets from it and put them on my arms, and a large diamond ring which he put on my finger, and a large string of pearls which puzzled us both dreadfully to get over my bonnet. I went in a bonnet because though the Sikhs think very ill of us for appearing at all, they would think still worse of us if we were to appear with our heads uncovered. When Runjeet's countenance lights up he is very clever. Otherwise he sits like a little old grey statue. We left him still drinking when we came away and we were not left with the impression that the Sikhs lead strictly moral lives.

10. Ranjit Singh provides for English regiments, Fanny Ede[537]

Runjeet…feeds us all, to the lowest camp followers. Nothing is allowed to be bought in the bazaar, and with three regiments you may conceive the

expense…

We have not moved today. The Maharajah sent word, he knew it was not our custom to travel on Sundays so he had provided two days' provisions. The united sense of all the political agents has been put together to stop this provisioning system. With three regiments in addition to the usual number of camp followers, I am afraid to say how many thousand people are to be fed, and it must be a heavy burden on Runjeet's chiefs and people, though he does not care himself. Moreover it is a point of conscience to make the soldiers and servants indent for only strict necessities, and as they are all well paid they would rather be allowed to have what they like and pay for it. However, it turns out to be the custom to feed allies who march through the kingdom, and it would be considered a national disgrace to do otherwise. The very fire wood we burn is sent to us, and as I never see a tree I want to ask Runjeet confidentially where it comes from.

11. The Koh-i-noor, W.G. Osborn[538]

Soon after sunrise, Sirdar Ajeet Sing arrived in camp to conduct us to the city where the Maharajah held a public durbar in his palace, for the purpose of investing us with the dresses of honour, and giving us leave to depart from his court. We found him sitting with most of his chiefs around him, in a small marble hall in the garden of his palace, and after half an hour's gossip on various subjects, I put him in mind of his promises to shew me the Koh-i-noor, which he immediately sent for. It certainly is a most magnificent diamond, about an inch and a half in length, and upwards of an inch in width, and stands out from the setting, about half an inch; it is in the shape of an egg, and is set in a bracelet between two very handsome diamonds of about half its size. It is valued at three million sterling, is very brilliant, and without a flaw of any kind. Runjeet was anxious to know what it would be valued at in England, and whether we had ever seen so fine a one, &c. His string of pearls was, I think, if possible, even handsomer than the diamond; they are about three hundred in number, and literally the size of small marbles, all picked pearls and round, and perfect both in shape and colour.

C. THE RAJA OF PATIALA, GODFREY CHARLES MUND[539]

[March 1828] Two days after, we entered the territories of the Patialah Chief, a Rajah of the Seikh tribe, whose dominions extend over a wide tract

of country between the Jumna and Sutledge rivers. He is the most powerful of this sect after Runjeet Singh of Lahore, who rules the Punjab, a district between the Indus and the Sutledge. The Patialah Rajah holds his court at the modern town of the same name; Sirhind, the ancient capital of the province, having fallen to ruin. A political agent of the honourable Company resides constantly at the seat of government…

About 2 miles from Sirhind the Rajah of Patialah came out to meet Lord Combermere [Commander-in-Chief]. The cavalry portion of his escort were very fine martial-looking troops, but his infantry, dressed in imitation of the Company's sepoys, were the most absurd- looking rabble possible…

The Rajah came in the afternoon in grand state to our camp, to visit the Commander-in-Chief. He is a remarkably fine man, with high, noble features, a quiet, benevolent expression of countenance, and a long beard flowing over his breast: but it was not until he had dismounted from his elephant, and raised himself from the stooping posture he was obliged to assume on entering the door of the Durbar tent, that we remarked his amazing stature. He is at least 6 feet 4 inches, large boned, muscular, and erect; and as he stepped forward to embrace Lord Combermere, it appeared that, with the slightest increase of energy in his hug, he might have crushed him to pieces. His person was totally unadorned by jewels (though his son and nephew, boys of twelve and eight, were covered with precious stones). A large circular shield of buffalo's hide, studded with gold, hung on his shoulders, and a long sword and dagger were stuck through his waist-shawl. Many of his warrior attendants, whose rank entitled them to sit at the Durbar, were nearly as tall as their chief, and all armed to the teeth.

The Seikhs have a great variety of weapons. I observed, among his escort, the musket, matchlock, sword, spears of sundry forms, dagger, and battle-axe; but the arm that is exclusively peculiar to this sect is the quoit: it is made of beautiful thin steel, sometimes inlaid with gold; in using it, the warrior twirls it swiftly round the forefinger, and launches it with such deadly aim, as, according to their own account, to be sure of their man at 80 paces.…

It is presumed by certain historical speculators, that the battle between Alexander the Great and Porus, the Indian chief, took place somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sirhind. The present Rajah of Patialah is no bad

representative of the gigantic Porus, and, indeed, he is distinguished by that title among the English,

D. MAHARAJA GULAB SINGH OF KASHMIR, ALEXANDER GARDNE[540]

The character of Gulab Singh in the early days of his power was one of the most repulsive it is possible to imagine. Ambitious, avaricious, and cruel by nature, he reduced the exercise of his cruelty to a system for the promotion of the objects which his ambition and avarice led him to seek. He exercised the most ruthless barbarities, not in the heat of conflict or the flush of victory only, nor in the rage of an offended sovereign against rebellious subjects: he deliberately committed the most horrible atrocities for the purpose of investing his name with a terror that should keep down all thoughts of resistance to his sway.

To turn to smaller traits; he is an eater of opium, he tells long stories, offers little, promises less, but keeps his word; has a good memory, and is free and humorous with even the lowest and poorest class of his subjects. The partaker and companion of their toils and labours, seeming to be their diligent and careful instructor and father, their intimate village brother, their free, jocose, humorous neighbour, their constant visitor; yet, with all this, in reality a very leech, sucking their life's blood, the shameless trader of their sons and daughters; the would-be great merchant of the East, the very jack-of-all-trades, the usurer, the turn-penny, the briber and the bribed. With all this he must be accounted the very best of soldiers, and, for an Asiatic and an uneducated man, he is an able, active, bold, and energetic, yet wise and prudent commander. He is anything but strong-headed and hot-blooded; prudently making slow, resolute, and judicious movements, thinking more of his resources, reserves, &c., than is the wont of Orientals. Looking more to the future and its wants and requisites than to the present or the past, slowly he proceeds, feeling his way as he advances, quick in taking advantages, relying much on his subtle political talent, and looking on arms as his last resource. In the field of battle he is self-composed, prudent, and watchful to the last degree; but at the breach, storm, or charge, he freely, though reluctantly, expands his men, while himself just the man to be at their head if required. Generally, however, he is the cool and able commander in the rear.

E. JAT RULERS

1. Skilfulness of Suraj Mal, Father Wende[541]

One would perhaps say that this Jat had too large a portion of good fortune in all his enterprises and that it would seem that fate was pleased to favour him extraordinarily. With this I would in part agree; however, one cannot deny him a certain poise in the most deplorable situations, and a wisdom of I do not know which quality, though not erudite in the art of governing, which he possessed equally with the greatest men of time, and I would be bold as to say that he exceeded the majority of them. During the time in which the *nawabs* and other mighty Mohammedans of Hindustan were obliged to serve at their own costs the Abdali in his large expeditions to pillage and ravage their own country, being enjoined to proffer money towards his exploits, Suraj Mal, on his own lands, knew to protect his territory from the designs of such a formidable enemy, enjoyed calm in the midst of troubles in which more or less all his neighbours were involved, consolidating his power while others fell; in a word, growing during the general decline of the empire.

2. Portrait of Suraj Mal, Father Wende[542]

He was of above-average height and robust with a rather dark complexion and quite heavy features. He had intense sparkling eyes and his entire physiognomy showed more fire than one noticed in his bearing, which was gentle and versatile, though of the gentleness of a cat, so to say, who did not fail to make felt his claws at the same time as he would have appeared to be most endearing. For more than twenty years he had almost solely the direction of affairs. When Badan Singh was still alive, and afterwards, four children were born to him of the four women he is known to have had at the same time: Nahar Singh, his heir apparent born of a Jatni; Jawahar Singh and Ratan Singh, born of concubine of the Gauruva caste; and Nawal Singh, of another. Hansia, his beloved, sister of Balram, was barren; she adopted Jawahar Singh as her son, who, however, badly repaid her. Being of peasant extraction, he knew to distinguish himself among people of merit and to esteem them. Having found the Jats already rich, but *zamindars* and still unknown, except through thievery, he left them powerful and reputed throughout Hindustan. Although of a nature to not pay much heed to others, he never failed in respect towards those whom he held to be of a station

above his own. He nevertheless showed that he was not altogether so flexile in his actions as he was in his conversation. Until a few years before his death, when he no longer relied upon the *raja* Madho Singh, he never omitted to go annually to Jaipur at the time of *dasahra*, to pay him his respects, recognizing his indebtedness to the *raja* as his vassal; however, truthfully said, this was more by word than deed. He had always the greatest attention for the person of the late *wazir* Ghazi-ud-din Khan, although formerly his cruelest enemy, and after he had taken refuge with him, he did not permit anyone to offend him, neither those of his following, nor his descendants. In a word, he was politic, valiant and great beyond his extraction, to the extent to awaken admiration and even fear beyond his domain. One cannot re-approach him enough for a base envy of the wealth of others, even after he had raised himself to the highest fortune, having always kept at his command bands of robbers who brought him booty, and whom he could never resolve to relinquish. His covetousness compelled him to economise more than was becoming, considering the immense riches in his possession. It went to the extent of miserliness, often causing family and troops to languish in indigence and, at his death, he owed the salary of two years to all his people, whom his successor immediately satisfied….

He was proud to be *zamindar*, knowing to value the land which he little by little subjugated, and to conserve the peace or hasten to its defense. There were few or no foreign troops in his service. With his Jats he made himself master of a vast territory. They cultivated the land, they defended it; he made warriors of them and, after their military duties for which he had needed them, they returned to their ploughs, no less industrious peasants than courageous soldiers, when it was a matter of defending the territory where they were settled. In this way, Suraj Mal avoided superfluous expenditures, at the same time as he drew from the country in abundance the wherewithal to very considerably augment the deposit in his treasury. He was loved by his own and respected by all near to him, not so much because of the exploits which he accomplished, as because he was forthright in his capability to do what he had taken upon himself. Disciple of Jai Singh, there was almost no one else in Hindustan in his time, excepting Najib Khan, head of the Rohelas, who knew to conduct himself with greater wisdom and approbation as ruler. The reputation of the Jats rose under him so high that one might say it can become no greater, and that

after him (as the fortune of men cannot remain forever fixed and firm for along period in one place), it must decline.

F. THE RAJA OF BALLABGARH, BISHOP HEBE[543]

he Raja of Bullumghur holds a considerable territory along this frontier [Faridabad] as a feudatory of the British Government, on the service of maintaining two thousand men to do the ordinary police duties, and guard the road against the Mewattee and other predatory tribes. The family and most of their people are of the Jat race, and they have for many generations been linked by friendship and frequent intermarriages with the neighbouring Raja of Bhurtpoor, who is now our friend, but whose gallant and successful defence of his castle against the Lord Lake during the Maharatta war, has raised the character of Jats, previously a very low caste to considerable estimation for their valour in all this part of India. The present acting Raja of Bullumghur is only Regent, being guardian to his nephew, a boy now educating at Delhi. I had heard the Regent and his brother described as hospitable and high-spirited men, and was not sorry to have an opportunity of seeing a Hindoo court.

January 4. – A little before day-break we set off as usual, through a country something and but little, more fertile than that we had passed. It improved, however, gradually as we approached Bullumghur, which, by its extensive groves, gave evidence of its having been long the residence of a respectable native family. I was not, however, at all prepared for the splendour with which I was received. First, we saw some of the wild-looking horsemen, whom I have already described, posted as if on the look-out, who, on seeing us, fired their matchlocks and galloped off as fast as possible. As we drew nearer we saw a considerable body of cavalry with several camels and elephants, all gaily caparisoned, drawn up under some trees, and were received by the Raja himself, a fat and overgrown man, and his younger brother, a very handsome and manly figure, the former alighting from a palanquin, the other from a noble Persian horse, with trapping which swept the ground. I alighted from my horse also and the usual compliments and civilities followed. The elder brother begged me to excuse his riding with me as he was ill, which indeed we had heard before, but the second went by my side, reining in his magnificent steed, and shewing off the animal's paces and his own horsemanship. Before and

behind were camels, elephants, and horsemen, with a most strange and barbarous music of horns, trumpets, and kettle-drums, and such a wood of spears, that I could not but tell my companion that his castle deserved its name of "Fort of Spears." As we drew nearer, we saw the fort itself, with high brick walls, strengthened with a deep ditch and large mud bastions, from which we were complimented with a regular salute of cannon. Within we found a small and crowded, but not ill-built town, with narrow streets, tall houses, many temples, and a sufficient number of Brahminy bulls to shew the pure Hindoo descent of the ruler. The population of the little capital was almost all assembled in the streets, on the walls, and on the house-tops, and salaamed to us as we came in. We passed through two or three sharp turns, and at length stopped at the outer gate of a very neat little palace, built around a small court planted with jonqauils and rose-bushes, with a marble fountain in the center, and a small open arched hall, where chairs were placed for us. Sitringees were laid, by way of carpet, on the floor, and the walls were ornamented with some paltry Hindoo portraits of the family, and some old fresco paintings of gods, goddesses, and heroes encountering lions and tygers.

G. RULERS OF RAJASTHAN

1. Jai Singh, the Raja of Amber : the Jesuit[544]

[Jai Singh, the Raja of Amber, had asked Dupleix to procure him two astronomers from Chandernagore. The General Superior of the Jesuit Order in India consented "in the hope that (the prince) would be more favorably disposed to Christians." On 6 January 1734, they left Chandernagore for Delhi. They described Jai Singh as] a rich, powerful prince, well-versed in astronomy, for which he spared no expenses. He had several astronomers who observed the skies night and day without a break, in magnificent observatories that he had built at his own cost, particularly those; in Delhi... and Jaipur, a fair-sized city, at least as big as Orleans... All the streets of this city are perfectly straight...

2. The Rana of Udaipur, Bishop Hebe[545]

The Ranah of Oodeypoor has a large extent of territory and, in ordinary years, a singularly fertile one, were these people to cultivate it. But he was quite ruined and beggared by Bapoo Sindia and Jumsheed Khan. Half his revenues at least are mortgaged to shroffs and money-lenders and his

people are pitiably racked in order to pay the exorbitant interest of his debts. It has been the misfortune of his family to have been the oldest and purest in India; to be descended in a right light from the Sun without any debasing mixture, having resisted all attempts of the Emperors of Delhi to effect an intermarriage of the houses, and reckoning, I believe, in their pedigree, one or two Avatars of the Deity. In consequence they have been generally half mad with pride, perpetually marrying among themselves, fond of show and magnificence beyond their means, or the usual custom of Hindoo Sovereigns, and very remarkably deficient in knowledge and intelligence. The present Ranah adds to all these advantages a great fondness for opium. In consequence the revenue is collected in the most oppressive, and dissipated in the most absurd manner, and except in the large towns which have obtained, more or less, the protection of the British Resident. The country, Dr. Gibb said, has profited infinitely less than either Malwah or the rest of Meywar, by the peace which it has enjoyed since the destruction of the Pindarrees. Yet, in connection with Jyepoor, the country is plentiful and thriving. Corn is cheap, and the number of beggars less than I have seen on this side of Delhi. And when the very unfavourable season is taken into consideration, I really think that present appearances may be well accounted for, without supposing any great oppression on the part of their government.

H. THE MARATHAS AT PANIPAT, FATHER WENDE[546]

They introduced themselves there for the first time under the reign of Muhammad Shah; from him they obtained subsequently the rule of Ujjain in Malwa, whence they spread through the empire. Being called upon in the contentions which arose between *rajas* and *umaras*, they themselves gradually developed to masters of the greater part of the regions of this vast empire.

Marathas: One speaks everywhere of those people, the Deccan is replete with their names and might, as is Hindustan and, in a word, the entire Grand Mughal monarchy.…

Bhao, having obtained a certain advantage over a Pathan detachment left at Kunjpura, not for from Panipat towards the Jamuna, thought himself already to be victorious; he then advanced to Panipat within sight of the Abdali, where he erroneously began to entrench. The Pathans allowed this

to pass; subsequently all his communication lines with the surrounding region were severed and the Marathas remained as if blockaded by themselves. Finally, after three months, despairing of the extreme drought which made itself felt in the camp, they left their trenches and threw themselves at the Abdalis and allies. However, being vigorously met and repulsed on all sides, they retreated, with the enemy in front, by whom they were violently attacked, and behind, the ditch which had been made for their security all around the entrenchment. Thus pressed and toppled one over the other, they were quickly altogether routed and the majority cut to pieces, as much as the Abdalis had the force to kill them, which they continued to do for several days after the battle. Bhao perished there with the greater part of his men, leaving immense booty for the conquerors. Nothing was saved. Ten to fifteen thousand had the good fortune to escape with Malhar Rao, who, on the fourth day following the engagement, regained their breath near Agra, more than 120 *kos* from the field of battle.

They took on this occasion more than 8,000 Marathas captive, besides the people who follow along with such a large army. Artillery, treasure, baggage, everything remained there and the Marathas had never brought so much from the Deccan. The Pathans, in fact, obtained enough in this affair to not need to think again so soon of another expedition. One had wanted then to restore Bhao, and there were actually those who assumed his name and title and who had influence; it was even maintained that Bhao had been recognized with certainly. And, although all that was dispelled shortly afterwards, it is still said that, having wanted to make his way to the Deccan, he was assassinated by order of those who are today in power. It is certain that he no longer lives, and that with him the greater part of the Maratha's power in Hindustan also went to the grave.

I. THE GAIKWAR OF BARODA, BISHOP HEBE[547]

The Guicwar is said to be a man of talent who governs his states himself, his minister having very little weight with him, and governs them well and vigorously. His error is too great a fondness for money, but as he found the state involved in debt, even this seems excusable. His territory is altogether considerable, both in Cutch, Catteywar, and Guzerat, though strangely intersected and cut up by the territories of Britain, Sindia, and several independent Rajas. Those of Lunewarra and Doongurpoor, which used to

hold of Sindia, now pay him tribute also, as do the Rajas of Palhanpoor and Catteywar. Still his income, amounting to no less than eighty lacs, or, nearly, £800,000, exceeds greatly any thing which might have been expected from the surface under his rule, and the wild and jungly nature of some parts of it, and can only be accounted for by the remarkable population and fertility of those districts which are really productive. Out of these revenues he has only 3000 irregular horse to pay, his subsidiary force being provided for out of the ceded territory, and he is therefore, probably, in more flourishing circumstances, and possesses more real power than any sovereign of India except Runjeet Singh. Sindia, and, perhaps, the Raja of Mysore, might have been excepted, but the former, though with three times his extent of territory, has a very imperfect control over the greater part of it, and, indeed, cannot govern his own house: and the latter is, apparently, intent on nothing but amusing himself, and wasting his income on costly follies of state-coaches and gimcracks, to which the Guicwar wisely prefers the manner of living usual with his ancestors…

Visit of Gaikwar

In the evening we went in all the state which we could muster, to pay our visit to the Guicwar, who received us, with the usual Eastern forms, in a long narrow room, approached by a very mean and steep stair-case. The hall itself was hung with red cloth, adorned with a great number of paltry English prints, lamps, and wall-shades, and with a small fountain in the centre. At the upper end were cushions piled on the ground as his Highness's musnud, with chairs placed in a row on his left hand for the Resident and his party. The evening went off in the usual form, with Nach girls, Persian musicians, &c. and the only things particularly worthy of notice were, that his Highness went through the form of giving the Resident and myself a private audience in his own study, a little hot room up sundry pair of stairs, with a raised sofa, a punkah, and other articles of European comfort as well as two large mirrors, a print of Buonaparte, and another of the Duke of Wellington. He there shewed me a musical snuff-box with a little bird, in which he seemed to take much pride and an imperfect but handsome copy of the Shah Nameh, of which he desired me to accept. The rest of our conversation consisted of enquiries after the Governor General, the war, the distance from Calcutta, and other such princely topics, till, a reasonable time for our consultation having elapsed, we returned down

stairs again. The next thing that struck me was the manner in which the heir-apparent, made his appearance in the Durbar, announced by nearly the same acclamations as his father, and salaaming, as he advanced, to the persons of rank, with almost equal grace, and more than equal gravity. After bending very low, and touching the ground before his father's seat, he went up to Mr. Williams with the appearance of great pleasure, climbed upon his knee, and asked him for a pencil and paper with which he began to scribble much like my own dear little girl. The third circumstance I remarked was the general unconstrained, and even lively conversation which was carried on between the Raja, his courtiers, and Mr. Williams, who talked about their respective hunting feats, the merits of their elephants, &c. much as, *mutatis mutandis*, a party in England might have done...

J. RAJA SANSAR CHAND OF KANGRA, WILLIAM MOORCROFT[22]

Raja Sansar Chand is a tall, well-formed man, about sixty. His complexion is dark, but his features are fine and expressive. His son, Rai Anirudha Sinh, has a very handsome face and ruddy complexion, but is remarkably corpulent. He has two sons, one of twelve, the other of five years of age, both less fair than himself. Sansar Chand was formerly the most powerful Raja from the Setlej to the Indus. All the potentates from the former river to Kashmir were his tributaries or dependants, and he was extremely wealthy, possessing a revenue of thirty-five lacs of rupees. He is now poor, and in danger of being wholly subjected to Ranjit Sinh. His misfortunes are mainly owing to himself, and his decline presents a remarkable contrast to the rise of his neighbour, and now paramount lord, Ranjit Sinh.

K. RAJA KISHAN CHAND'S FAMILY, BISHOP HEBER[23]

…in a court, whose gateway had still its old folding doors on their hinges, the two boys whom we had seen on the beach came forward to meet us, were announced to us, as the great grand-sons of Raja Kissen Chund, and invited us very courteously, in Persian, to enter their father's dwelling. I looked round in exceeding surprise. There was no more appearance of habitation than in Conway. Two or three cows were grazing among the ruins, and one was looking out from the top of a dilapidated turret, whither she had scrambled to browze on the ivy. The breech of a broken cannon,

and a fragment of a mutilated inscription lay on the grass, which was evidently only kept down by the grazing of cattle; and the jackalls, whose yells began to be heard around us as the evening closed in, seemed the natural lords of the place. Of course, I expressed no astonishment, but said how much respect I felt for their family, of whose ancient splendour I was well informed, and that I should be most happy to pay my compliments to the Raja, their father.

They immediately led up a short, steep, straight flight of steps, in the thickness of the wall of one of the towers, precisely such as that of which we find the remains in one of the gateways of Rhuddlan Castle, assuring me that it was a very "good road;" and at the door of a little vaulted and unfurnished room like that which is shews in Carnarvon Castle, as the queen's bed-chamber, we were received by the Raja Omichund, a fat shortish man, of about 45, of rather fair complexion, but with no other clothes than his waist-cloth and Brahminical string, and only distinguished from his vassals by having his forehead marked all over with alternate stripes of chalk, vermillion, and gold leaf. The boys had evidently run home to inform him of our approach, and he had made some preparations to receive us in Durbar. His own Musnud was ready, a kind of mattress laid on the ground, on which, with a very harmless ostentation, he had laid a few trinkets, a gold watch, betel-nut box, &c. Two old arm-chairs were placed opposite for Stowe and me. The young Rajas sat down at their father's right hand and his naked domestics ranged themselves in a line behind him, with their hands, respectfully folded. On the other side the Sotaburdar stood behind me: Stowe's servant took place behind him, and Abdullah between us as interpreter, which function he discharged extremely well, and which was the more necessary, since in strict conformity with court etiquette, the conversation passed in Persian. I confess I was moved by the apparent poverty of the representative of a house once very powerful, and paid him more attention than I, perhaps, might have done had his drawing-room presented a more princely style…

L. VISIT TO THE RAJAH OF BANARAS, EMILY EDEN[24]

The Rajah of Benares asked us to come to his country-house called Ramnugger (how it is spelt, I cannot say; probably with none of those letters). It is on the other side of the Ganges. We drove down to the river-

side through a dense cloud of dust. I asked one of our servants to *dust* me gently with my pocket-handkerchief, and without any exaggeration a thick cloud came out of my cape…

We found the rajah's boats waiting for us – a silver armchair and footstool for his lordship in the prow, which was decorated with silver peacocks, and a sort of red embroidered tent for '*his women'*, where we placed ourselves, though there was another boat with two inferior silver chairs for F. [her sister Fanny] and me. All these things are grandly imagined, but with the silver chairs there are boatmen in dirty liveries or no liveries at all! – and it is all *discrepant*, or generally so.

The rajah is immensely rich; he had a great many handsome things. I enclose a sketch to illustrate for the children 'their dear devoted creature', G. [her brother George], first in the silver tonjaun that took him up from the ghaut, and then a back view of him on his elephant. I often wonder whether it really can be G. the original simple, quiet one. He does it very well, but detests great part of the ceremonies, particularly *embracing* the rajahs!

The rajah met us at the ghaut, and we were all carried off to the elephants, and got on them to go and see his garden, though it was nearly dusk. But the first sight was very striking.

Eighteen elephants and crowds of attendants, and then crowds as far as we could see of natives, going 'Wah! Wah! Hi Lord Sahib.' We rode about till it was quite dark, and then the rajah proposed we should return; and when we came to the turn of the road, the whole of the village and his castle, which is an enormous building, was illuminated. Wherever there was a straight line, or a window, or an arch, there was a row of little bright lamps; every cross of the lattices in every window had its little lamp. It was the *largest* illumination I ever saw. We went on the elephants through the great gateway, in a Timour the Tartar fashion, into the court. Such torches and spearmen and drums and crowds, like a melodrama magnified by a solar microscope; it was the sort of scene where Ellen Tree [a well-known actress] would have snatched up a doll from under Farley's sword, and said, 'My boy, my boy, my rescued Agib!' or words to that effect, while the curtain fell slowly. We got off at the door of an immense hall, a sort of court, and the rajah's servants spread a path of scarlet and gold kincob from the door to the seat at the farthest end, for us to walk on. Considering that it is a pound a yard, and that I have been bargaining for a week for enough for

a wadded *douillette* and was beat out of it, it was a pity to trample on.…The rajah put us three on a velvet sofa, with a gold gauze carpet before it. He sat on one side of us and his father on the other, and Mr. B. and Mr. C. on each side to interpret, and then the aides-de-camp and the other ladies; and then the nautch-girls began dancing. He had provided an immense troop of them, and they were covered with jewels and dressed in gold brocades, some purple and some red, with long floating scarfs of gold gauze. Most of them ugly, but one was I think the prettiest creature I ever saw, and the most graceful. If I have time I will send a little coloured sketch of her, just to show the effect of her dress. She had another girl danced slowly round with their full draperies floating round them, without stopping, for a quarter of an hour, during all which time they were making flowers out of some coloured scarfs they wore, and when they had finished a bunch they came and presented it to us with such graceful Eastern genuflexions.

The whole thing was like a dream, it was so curious and unnatural. Then the Ranee sent for us, and F. and I set off in tonjauns for the women's apartments, with the ladies who were with us. They carried us through a great many courts, and then the rajah gave me his cold, flabby little hand, and handed us up some narrow, dirty stairs, and came in with us behind the purdah and introduced us to the Ranee his mother, who was very splendidly dressed, and to some of his sisters, who were ugly. Then they asked us to go and see an old grandmother, and the Ranee laid hold of my hand, and one of the sisters took F., and they led us along an immense court on the roof, to the old lady, who is blind and very ill; but they had dressed her up for us, and we had to kiss her, which was not very nice. There was another immense nautch provided, which we had not time to look at. We gave our rings, and they brought the trays of presents which are usually given, a diamond ring and drops for earrings, two necklaces (very trashy), some beautiful shawls and kincobs, and some muslin; then they put immense skipping-ropes of silver braid, bigger than a common boa, round our necks, and small ones on the other ladies, and then poured attar of roses on our hands, and we left the old lady. When we came back to the Ranee's room, she showed us her little *chapel*, close to her sofa, where there were quantities of horrid-looking idols – Vishnu, and so on. Several native girls were introduced to us, but only one who was pretty, and who has just been betrothed to the father of the rajah. The young Ranees, or whatever they are

called, are very shy, and stand with their eyes closed, but the older ones had great fun when we were going away in pouring the attar over our gowns, and utterly spoiled mine, which was silk; next time I shall go in muslin. When we came down, the trays for G. were brought in; they covered what would be called a very large room, and some of the gold stuffs have turned out to be very beautiful. It is a stupid etiquette, that we are not to appear to see these presents. It is a *tribute* and the superior is too grand to see what the inferior offers. When that was done, we went to the illumination, which was done on a very large scale, but not so neatly as at home; then to the boat, where the rajah accompanied us, and there was a second illumination on the river, much more beautiful than the first – and the blue lights, and the crowds, and the great pile of buildings made a grand show. We got back at eleven, very tired and starving hungry, but it was a curious sight and much to be remembered.

M. THE RAJAS OF INDIA, CAPTAIN LEOPOLD VON ORLICH[25]

On a lovely morning, the 5th of February [1843], we rode to Delhi, the ancient Indraprast'ha, the capital of the Great Moguls: we were all mounted on elephants, because, according to etiquette, the Governor General could only approach on this noble animal. Luxuriant fields of wheat, already in ear, lay extended before us, interspersed with the most fantastic ruins, the arches, domes, and columns of which rose above the thick foliage of the trees, or were covered with their branches as with a magic veil. Behind these ruins we saw the sun rise in all its glory and beauty: a sunrise more magnificent and striking I have never seen.

Near a ruined caravansary, about a mile before our camp, the chief men of Delhi, mounted on about fifty elephants, were ranged in a line closed by the road side, waiting for the approach of the Governor-General. It was really very imposing to see so many richly-adorned elephants, with silver houdahs, in which sat the first men of the ancient Mogul empire, richly dressed, decked with jewels, and wearing a Kashmir shawl, thrown like a toga over the right shoulder, bowing with great reverence to Lord Ellenborough, and, touching their forehead with their right hand, thus saluting us with their salam…

Arrival of the Rajas

…the arrival of several Indian princes, who came from a great distance, with their court and their troops, to pay their respects to the Governor-General. Their arrival was announced by salutes, such as are due to reigning princes, from the bulwarks of Delhi. We have already the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, with 5000 men; the Rao Rajah of Alwar, with 4000 men; the Rajah of Bickaneer, with 10,000 men; the Raja of Dhoolpoor, with 5000 men; the Rajah of Shapoorah, with 600 men. The Rajah of Jeypoor would have greeted the Governor-General in person, but, he imagines that he should lower himself, if he were to come to Delhi, because he considers the King of Delhi as of inferior descent, and thinks that the latter might, perhaps, fancy that the visit was intended for him.

The camps of these rajahs are all pitched on the field of ruins, and present the most singular and motley scene of Indian manners and customs. Journeys of this kind, which the princes undertake with great numbers of servants and cattle, sometimes exhaust their pecuniary resources, and they are obliged to remain stationary for several months after, or else to borrow money at high interest, whereby their subjects are afterwards the more oppressed.

The Rajah of Bickaneer appeared on the 18th of February: he was the first who came to our camp to attend the Durbar. His family, a younger branch of the house of Joudpoor, is one of the most ancient in India, and, as the Rajah informed us, was driven with its tribe, consisting of above 90,000 persons, by the Moguls from the fertile plains of the Jumna into the wilderness. His country is, indeed, 18,059 square miles in extent, but it contains only half a million of inhabitants. The revenues amount to more than thirty lacs, of which, however, only five lacs come to the Rajah's share, while the chiefs and Jaghidars receive the rest. His force consists of about 2000 cavalry, 8000 infantry, and 35 pieces of cannon.

The situation of his country, which lies on the border, and in the interior of the great Indian desert, the nature of the soil, where water fit to drink cannot be obtained at less than 200 or 300 feet below the surface, have protected it from the incursions of the Mahrattas; but, on the other hand, the Rajah has often been brought into difficulties by his rebellious subjects, particularly by the predatory Takoors. Rajah Kour Rattan Singh had been three months upon the journey, attended by 10,000 men, of whom 2000 were armed.

The entry of his Highness had a rather antique appearance, but it was very mean. His suwars, mounted on camels, rode on before; he was carried in a richly-gilt takt-i-rawan attended by his son and successor, his brother and nephew, twenty-two barons, twenty-two ministers and chief officers, and several hundred men armed with lances, shields, and swords. The Rajah and his attendants were all dressed in full white robes, and wore red conical turbans; they carried a shield on their backs, and sabres in their hands. The appearance very much resembled the pictorial representations of the ancient Egyptians.

The Rajah, who, conformably with the ancient Indian etiquette, had been well instructed in the paces of the elephant, entered the tent with this heavy step, and was received by Lord Ellenborough, who shook him cordially by the hand. His Highness was free, communicative, and animated in conversation. His minister took the liberty, in describing the dominions of his sovereign, to make some witty remarks on its natural poverty and desolation, at which the Rajah smiled. "We have," said he, "neither lions nor tigers, because water is scarce, only hares and feathered game, and after a continuance of rain, wild boars; but rain is as scarce with us as gold!" His Highness left us in the course of half an hour, loaded with rich presents.

Soon afterwards the Rajah of Bhurtpoor appeared, on a handsome, splendidly adorned and painted elephant, on whose head was a golden peacock. He was preceded by his suwars on camels; then came his horses, coaches, and his palanquins; his relations, sirdars, and principal officers were mounted on elephants; his troops were partly on horseback and partly on foot. His Highness has been educated under the care of the English; he is only twenty-five years of age, tall and robust, but, he is disfigured by the small pox, and has no advantages of person; he has, however, the virtues which distinguish a good Indian prince, among which that of gratitude to his benefactors, the English government, is not wanting. This young Rajah was dressed in a long blue silk robe, trimmed with gold lace, and richly adorned with jewels; his two cousins wore green silk, his nineteen barons and ministers were arrayed in divers-coloured garments. As the Rajah is naturally very reserved and silent, his visit was but short; the presents were brought, ottar or roses was distributed, and he took his departure…

Raja of Alwar

Though the Rajah [of Alwar] has only a revenue of ten lacs, there was nearly as much splendour in his procession as in that of the Rajah of Bhurtpoor, and his suite was not inferior, for he was accompanied by thirty of his captains, officers, and ministers. The conversation between him and the Governor-General lasted full half an hour. He spoke of his journey, and of his country, and, on receiving his presents, repeatedly expressed his joy at being so liberally supplied with arms.

Rajah of Shapoorah

After him came the Rajah of Shapoorah, a branch of the house of Odeypoor, whose possessions are partly in this state and partly in the British territory; his equipage was very simple, for his revenue is only one lac; he was in a takt-i-rawan, and his attendants on foot and on horseback…

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Chapter 16
Parsees, Christians

A. The Parsees
B. The Christians

A. THE PARSEES

1. Character of the Parsees, Viscount George Valenti[548]

From the length of time which Bombay has been under the control of Europeans, the Persees, since their arrival there, have adopted little of the Asiatic manners. They indeed wear the dress, which they informed me had been adopted on their arrival, but they eat and drink like the English. Ardiseer Dady, one of their richest members, gave me a most magnificent entertainment. The table for the Europeans was chiefly covered with English cookery, but they sent me from their own several dishes, which were very highly seasoned, and good. The wines were excellent; but when I adjourned to their table, I was not a little astonished to find liqueurs placed opposite each Persee, which they drank in glasses as freely as wine, and which, though they sat late, seemed to have no effect on them. Their houses are furnished with a profusion of English looking-glasses, prints, and paintings. They always light them up remarkably well; but on this occasion the whole gardens were illuminated with torches and lamps, which had a most brilliant effect. The band playing in the verandah, and the crowd of differently dressed people had the semblance of an English masquerade. We had a very good set of nautch-girls, which much pleased Sir James Mackintosh, who had not before seen this Asiatic amusement. Coffee and tea, pawn and attar, lavender water, and other perfumes, completed the melange of this Anglo-Asiatic entertainment, from which we departed about midnight.

To the credit of the Persee humanity, they provide for all their poor; and to the credit of their private morals, there is not a single prostitute, or mistress to a gentleman, of their cast, in the settlement. They are generous and splendid in the higher orders; and in the lower, active and intelligent, far surpassing as servants the Mussulmauns or Hindoos. They mostly speak English with propriety. In their persons they are a handsome race, fairer than the natives, though not possessing the clear skin of the Europeans. In

their manners they are uniformly conciliatory and mild. I confess that I infinitely prefer them to any race of people in the East subject to the British control. They have numerous temples to Fire but their priests seem to have no authority in temporal concerns, nor much spiritual control. Their religion is tolerant, and, as far as it throws no impediment in the way of the public service, must be considered politically as a good one.

2. Parsees in British India, Maria Graha[549]

The Parsees in British India enjoy every privilege, civil and religious. They are governed by their own *panchait*, or village council. The word *panchait* literally means a council of five, but that of the Guebres in Bombay consists of thirteen of the principal merchants of the sect; these were chosen originally by the people, confirmed by the government, and have continued hereditary. This little council decides all questions of property, subject, however, to an appeal to the recorder's court; but an appeal seldom happens, as the *panchait* is jealous of its authority, and is consequently cautious in its decisions. It superintends all marriages and adoptions, and inquires into the state of every individual of the community; its members would think themselves disgraced if any Parsee were to receive assistance from a person of a different faith; accordingly, as soon as the children of a poor man are old enough to marry, which, in conformity to the Hindoo custom, is at five or six years of age, the chief merchants subscribe a sufficient sum to portion the child; in cases of sickness, they support the individual or the family, and maintain all the widows and fatherless.

The *panchait* consists both of dustoors and laymen; all religious ceremonies and festivals come under its cognizance, together with the care of the temples, the adjusting the almanack, and the subsistence and life of the dogs. I could not learn with certainty the origin of the extreme veneration of the Parsees for this animal; every morning the rich merchants employ koolis to go round the streets with baskets of provision for the wild dogs; and, when a Parsee is dying, he must have a dog in his chamber to fix his closing eyes upon. Some believe that the dog guards the soul, at the moment of its separation from the body, from the evil spirits; others say that the veneration for the dogs is peculiar to the Indian Guebres, and that it arose from their having been saved from shipwreck in their emigration to

India, by the barking of the dogs announcing their approach to the land in a dark night.

The Parsees use some solemnities when they name their children, which is done at five or six months old; when the muslin shirt is put on the first time, a sacred fire is lighted, prayers are repeated, and the name is given. Since their intercourse with Europeans, they persist in calling this ceremony christening, because it is performed when the first or proper name is given; the second name is a patronymic; thus, Norozejee Jumsheedjee, is Norozejee the son of Jumsheedjee.

The Parsees are the richest individuals on this side of India, and most of the great merchants are partners in British commercial houses. They have generally two or three fine houses, besides those they let to the English; they keep a number of carriages and horses, which they lend willingly not only to Europeans, but to their own poor relations, whom they always support. They often give dinners to the English gentlemen, and drink a great deal of wine, particularly Madeira. The Guebre women enjoy more freedom than other oriental females, but they have not yet thought of cultivating their minds. Perhaps this is owing in great measure to the early marriages which, in compliance with the Hindoo customs, they contract. By becoming the property of their husbands in their infancy, they never think of acquiring a further share of their affection, and, with the hope of pleasing, one great incitement to mental improvement is cut off.

3. Parsee Women, Anna Harriette Leonowen[550]

The Parsee women that I met and visited in Bombay were on the whole, remarkably good-looking as girls; before they conceal their fine curly hair they are really beautiful, and the children among the loveliest and happiest to be found in the East.

The women are fair-complexioned, with a delicate brunette tinge, with large eyes and regular features, often exquisitely formed, owing to their dress being free from anything like pressure on the body; but they rob themselves of a part of their beauty by the custom of concealing their beautiful hair under white linen bands bound around the brow. They wear very wide silk trousers, gathered and fastened at the ankles, over this a silk tunic, often descending in graceful folds to the feet and bound at the waist, while a deep, wide scarf of silk or some other light texture gracefully drapes

the whole person and serves at once the double purpose of a head-dress and a veil.

They occupy in their homes a much more honourable position than either the Hindoo or Moslem women. I used to meet them in the streets and bazaars, driving in their open carriages, surrounded by their bright, happy-looking children…

The Parsee woman is as independent in her home and marriage relations as the European, although the universal seclusion of high-born Hindoo and Mohammedan woman has not been without its influence on her domestic life. The first use of the veil among the Persian women was as a symbol of dignity and honour rather than of concealment from motives of modesty. In the early days of the Zoroastrians woman was held not so much as an equal, but as something superior in the home. In social rights and home-duties the husband and wife shared alike, and side by side they ministered to the holy fires on their household hearths.…

[T]here are among the Parsees even to-day a few old fashioned observances which might be introduced with great advantage to the wife and mother among the labouring and even richer classes of European nations. For instance, even in the poorest families there are certain days when the woman is considered unfit to cook, wash, bake, sweep the floor, or light the house lamp. So strenuous are the laws against her working at these times that among certain persons her touch is held to pollute the things or person that comes into close contact with her. She is forbidden to perform even the lighter offices which may fall to her share in the house. She separates herself from the family on such occasions. If she is too poor to keep a servant, her husband is enjoined to do her part of the housework in addition to his own outdoor labour, whatever that may be. The same rules apply to all female servants.

B. THE CHRISTIANS

1. Mr. Wrede's account of Syrian Christians, who contrary to Portuguese belief, followed the doctrine of Nestorius, and acknowledged the Patriarch of that sect residing in Syria, as their ecclesiastical chie[551]

Their number must have been very considerable in the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Portugueze became first acquainted with them;

since they possessed about one hundred and ten churches in the countries now subject to the Travencore and Cochin rajahs and at this present time, after the manifold persecutions, oppressions and successive revolutions that have almost depopulated the whole coast, they are computed to amount to no less than one hundred and fifty thousand souls.

They are indiscriminately called St. Thome Christians, Nes-torians, Syrians, and sometimes the Malabar Christians of the mountains, by the Portugueze writers of that time, and by the sub-sequent missionaries from Rome. The most common name given to them by the Hindoos of the country is that of *Nazaranee, Ma-pila* and more frequently *Surians,* or *Surianee Mapila.*

The Portugueze were fond of bestowing upon them the name of St. Thome Christians, though this appellation does not appear to have been, or now to be, very common amongst themselves. It originates probably from the chief who settled the first colony of Syrians on the coast, and who was, according to their tradition, their first bishop; and founder of their religion in these countries; and whose name was MAR THOME. 'This is corroborated by the curious circumstance of their giving the name of MAR THOME to every ecclesiastical chief, or bishop of theirs, although his real name be JOSEPH or ABRABAM; not improbably in compliment to their first bishop and founder, for whom they have still a religious veneration. His arrival and settlement on the coast, may perhaps at a future period be ascertained, with historical accuracy, to have taken place during the violent persecution of the sect of NESTORIUS under THEODOSIUS the Second, or some time after. But the bigotted Portugueze missionaries laid hold of this name to renew the story of the arrival of ST. THOMAS the Apostle in India; who they pretended had converted a great number of idolaters on the coast of Malabar, and afterwards on the other side of India, as far as *Malliapoor,* now *St. Thome,* where he suffered martyrdom.

All traditions and Malabar records agree, that the Syrian Christians, or Nazaranee Mapilas, were known, and had been settled on the Malabar coast long before either the Arabs or Jews. In the Malabar histories, the first mention of a Syrian colony of the Christians is made in the reign of COCOORANGON PERUMAL, who probably lived in the sixth century; a wealthy Syrian merchant, of the name of THOME CANNANES, is said to have landed at *Oranganore,* where he was received, and induced to settle,

by great privileges granted to him by the PERUMAL. He afterwards married two wives; one of the *Nair,* and one of some low caste; by whom he had a very numerous progeny, who after his death had great disputes about his inheritance.

We find again mention made of two Syrian, or Chaldaean bishops, at *Coilan,* or *Quilone,* about one hundred years after its foundation; where they were extremely well received by the rajah, and permitted to build a church, which was still extant when CABRAL first visited Quilone. The grants and privileges which they received from the rajah were engraved upon copper plates; which many centuries afterwards, were shewn to Archbishop de Menezes at *Tevalacaree.*

If one adds to these historical dates the name of Syrians retained by the St. Thome Christians, their distinct features, and complexion somewhat fairer than the rest of the Malabars, the style of their building, especially any their, churches; but, above all, the general use of the Syrian, or rather Chaldaean language, which is still preserved in all their religious functions, even in those churches which have since embraced the Roman rite, and that to this day they take their Christian and family names from the Syrian or Chaldaean idiom, no doubt can remain but that the St. Thome Christians are originally a colony of *Nestorians,* who fled from the dominion of the Greek emperors, after THEODOSIUS the second began to persecute the followers of the sect.

They made at first some proselytes among the brahmins and Nairs, and were on that account much respected by the native princes; so that even at present they consider themselves equal in rank to either of the above two castes. They are in fact in much greater estimation among the Hindoos than the Christians converted by the Portugueze, and mostly picked up from the lowest caste. Many of the St. Thome Christians now preserve the manners and mode of life of the brahmins as to cleanliness, and abstaining from animal food….

They all wore swords and targets, and some of them had firelocks; they were great marksmen, and from their eighth year frequented the firing schools: husbandry and trade were their principal occupations, and, next to the brahmins, the St, Thome Christians furnished the greatest quantity of pepper to the Portugueze.

As to their religious tenets, they followed generally the doctrine of NESTORIUS. They admitted no images of saints in their churches, where the Holy Cross alone was to be seen. They had only three sacraments, baptism, eucharist, and the orders; and would not admit transubstantiation in the manner the Roman Catholics do. They knew nothing of purgatory; and the saints they said were not admitted to the presence of GOD, but were kept in a third place till the day of judgment. Their priests were permitted to marry, at least once in their life. Their rite was the Chaldaean or Syrian.…

The uncontrolled power of Papal Rome had not then reached the Syrian churches in Travencore: they preserved their independence, and remained for ages unmolested, until the maritime discovery of India by de Gama: after which, priests and inquisitors from Goa disturbed their peace, burnt their unadulterated versions of the sacred scriptures, and compelled many of their churches to acknowledge the pope's supremacy.

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Chapter 17
Muslims in India

A. Some observations
B. Muslim Rulers
C. Muslim Women

A. SOME OBSERVATIONS

1. Two categories of Moors, Robert Orm[552]

The Moors of Indostan may be divided into two kinds of people, differing in every respect, excepting in the profession of the same religion. Under the first are reckoned the descendants of the conquerors; Tartars continually naturalizing themselves in Indostan, through the encouragement which their martial spirit is sure to receive; Arabians and Persians who have quitted their own, to seek their fortunes in this country. The second rank of Moors comprehends all the descendants of converted Gentoos – a miserable race, as none but the most miserable of the Gentoo casts are capable of changing their religion.

The Tartars are known amongst themselves to be of honest and simple manners; and if at times fierce and cruel, they cease to be so when they cease to be enemies of war.

The conquest of Indostan was made by them with little difficulty, and has since been maintained with less: a distinction of religions (that of Mahomed, and that of the Gentoos) has ensued, whilst the conqueror may without control vaunt his own, and insult that of the subject; the subject, by being more numerous has only become more despicable, from this proof of not daring to exert his strength. Almost the whole wealth of this vast territory is divided amongst the Moors, the effect of their tenaciousness in keeping all offices of the government amongst themselves. The principle of the government has nevertheless reduced all these mighty lords to be as much the slaves to some powers, as others are slaves to theirs. A licentiousness and luxury peculiar to this enervating climate, have spread their corruption, and instead of meeting with obstacles from laws or opinions, is cherished as the supreme good to the utmost excesses.

All these will surely be deemed causes sufficient to have changed, in the present Moors of Indostan, the spirit which their ancestors brought with

them into it: and from hence many and dreadful vices are now naturalized amongst them.

A domineering insolence towards all who are in subjection to them, ungovernable willfulness, inhumanity, cruelty, murders and assassinations, deliberated with the same calmness and subtlety as the rest of their politics, an insensibility to remorse for these crimes, which are scarcely considered otherwise than as necessary accidents in the course of life, sensual excesses which revolt against nature, unbounded thirst of power, and an expaciousness of wealth equal to the extravagance of his propensities and vices – this is the character of an Indian Moor, who is of consequence sufficient to have any character at all…

2. Politeness and ceremonies of the Moors, Robert Orm[553]

…We find, therefore, amongst the Moors, the ceremonies of outward manners carried to a more refined pitch than in any other part of the world, excepting China. These manners are become a fundamental of their education, as without them a man would, instead of making his fortune, be liable to lose his head.

An uncivil thing is never said amongst equals: the most extravagant adulation, both of gesture and words, is lavished upon the superior. The grandee is seated in his Durbar, where all who approach to pay their respects are ranged according to their respective degrees of station or favour. All is attention to his countenance: if he asks a question, it is answered with the turn that will please him: if he asserts, all applaud the truth: does he contradict, all tremble: a multitude of domesticks appear in waiting, as silent and immovable as statues. This is the ceremonial of paying court. I speak not of the Durbar as the tribunal of justice: there injuries must cry aloud, or will not be heard…

3. Muslim ostentation, a factor of indigence, Father Wende[554]

It should…be noted that this vogue, or rather vice, of cutting a great figure by the splendour of great expenditure is one of the contagions which the Moors or Mohammedans have introduced to and spread throughout Hindustan. The Mohammedans are accustomed to eating and attiring themselves well, of being voluptuous and debauched at the same time as they love idleness and indolence. Arrogance and haughtiness being their nature, they attempt only to appear grand and glorious outwardly. This

imaginary grandeur results usually in greater outlay than they have revenue. Most frequently, the children of these *amirs* finish their days as *faqirs*, or mendicants; nor must one go farther in their families to their grandchildren to see this borne out, to whom rarely their riches have the good fortune to arrive.

4. The Moplahs, James Forbe[555]

About a fourth part of the inhabitants of Malabar are Moplahs, or Mahomendans, descended from the Moors and Arabians, who have settled there at different times, and married Malabar women: they are the principal merchants in the country, both for foreign and home trade: many are proprietors of trading vessels, navigated by Mahomedan commanders and seamen, in which they make an annual voyage to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs; and after disposing of pepper, cassia, cardamoms, cotton-cloth coir-ropes, and other productions of Malabar, they return with coffee, drugs, dates, and dried fruits. Those on the sea-coast use a corrupt language between the Arabic and Malabar: the Koran and the few books they possess are written in Arabic. The Moplahs engaged in commerce, and enjoying an intercourse with other people, are tolerably courteous and orderly; these in the interior, who are too proud to work or engage in agricultural pursuits, are generally an idle worthless race; parading about the country with a broadsword, or murdering time, in one of the swings already mentioned. These are of a most turbulent revengeful spirit, prone to mischief, especially against the Nairs, whom they consider as infidels, proud and haughty as themselves. When intoxicated with bhang, or opium, they frequently run *amuck,* and in a dreadful state of phrenzy, murder every person they meet, until they are overpowered and destroyed.

The Nairs are at constant variance with the Moplahs; and the king of Travencore, jealous of their ambitious revengeful temper, keeps them in great subjection, and levies frequent contributions on their property; to which they reluctantly submit, from knowing they would experience the same treatment from other governments.

5. Religion mixes itself with their lives, Bishop Hebe[556]

I cannot help admiring in the Mussulmans the manner in which their religion apparently mixes itself with every action of their lives; and though it is but too true that all this has a tendency to degenerate into mere form or

cant, or even profanation of holy things, for the constant use of God's name in the manner in which some of them use it, scarcely differs from swearing, it might be well if Christians learned from them to keep their faith and hope more continually in their minds, and more frequently on their lips than the greater number of them do. Above all, it seems to be an error, particularly in a heathen country, to act as if we were ashamed of our religion, to watch the servants out of the room before we kneel down to our prayers, or to dissemble in secular matters the hope and trust which we really feel in Providence.

6. The Boras, Bishop Hebe[557]

We went thirteen miles more to a village called Tekaria, where we re-entered the Company's territory. The country still, and, indeed all the way to Broach, was chiefly cultivated with cotton, the roads very bad, and worn into deep ruts, the trees less tall, spreading, and numerous than we had been accustomed to see…

The Tussildar and his assistant were old men of the Mahommedan sect of Boras, and, whether justly so or no, seemed regarded as usurers and oppressors by the people under their care. The Boras in general are unpopular, and held in the same estimation for parsimony that the Jews are in England.

7. The Muslims of Calcutta, Rev. James Lon[558]

The Mussulmans of Calcutta though adopting various Hindu practices, have never amalgamated with the Hindus. They seem to retain towards them the views of Timur who said, – 'The Hindu has nothing of humanity but the figure.' Ambitions characterized the Moslem here last century as much as avarice did the Gentoo, but the days are gone for ever when a Mussulamn like the Foujdar of Hooghly had Rs. 6000 monthly salary and when the *kora* or the whip was hung up in every Mofussil Court for the Mussulman officials to flagellate the Hindus. In 1804 the Muslims of Calcutta memorialized the Marquis Wellesley because a thesis was proposed at Fort William College 'on the utility of translations into the vernacular of works on different religions.' But they are in the script and in yellow leaf and even Tippu was obliged to employ Hindus in the revenue as he lost so much by the ignorance of Moslem revenue officers.

8. The Mohammedans belong to one great family, Captain Leopold von Orlic[559]

The Mahometans of India, both in the army and in towns and villages under the British dominion, as well as those of foreign states, are every where the same. They belong to one great family, united by the same religion and the same interests, and will always be ready to defend their national cause with their services and their money. Religion and government are never divided in the mind of the Mahometan, and he will never forget that his supremacy in India has been totally overturned by the English.

The eyes of the whole Mahometan population of India will be turned upon him who preaches a crusade against the infidels, and the result will be followed and supported with as much anxious expectation and interest in the remotest village of the Deccan, as in Calcutta or Delhi. Symptoms of such a disposition have frequently appeared, even in the army. Yet it is difficult to determine the impression which it would make on the Mahometans in the ranks of the British army. They are more observed by their officers and their Hindoo comrades, than the inhabitants of the towns can be, and we may be certain that they would be the last of the Mahometan population, to join in any such movements.

At present this is not to be apprehended, nay, it is almost impossible that a general rising of the Mahometans in India can take place; they have lost all hopes of it; and if the Mahometan does not acknowledge it, yet he feels most sensibly that there is now no existing power to which he could attach himself.

B. MUSLIM RULERS

MUGHAL EMPERORS

1. Shah Alam, Thomas Twinin[560]

At the edge of the carpet I took off my sandals…advanced alone a little beyond the first line of persons sitting, and turning to my right, when half way between the two lines I saw the Emperor immediately before me at the farther extremity of the lines. He was sitting, with his face towards the terrace, upon a low tukkt or throne, covered with crimson velvet or silk, and was surrounded by numerous persons standing, some behind him in the divan, others along the corridor on each side.…

Though seventy-one years of age, he looked the tallest and stoutest of all present. Though prepared to see him blind, as he was, the appearance of the Great Mogol upon his throne in such a situation was an extraordinary and most distressing spectacle, especially as his affliction did not proceed from accident, nor arise in the course of nature, but resulted from an act of most inhuman barbarity committed by one of his subjects. There was, however, nothing repulsive in the Emperor's appearance, nothing being perceptible but a depression of the eyelids.…

2. Akbar II, Bishop Hebe[561]

The 31st December was fixed for my presentation to the Emperor, which was appointed for half-past eight in the morning. Lushington and a Captain Wade also chose to take the same opportunity. At eight I went, accompanied by Mr. Elliot, with nearly the same formalities as at Lucknow, except that we were on elephants instead of in palanquins, and that the procession was perhaps, less splendid, and the beggars both less numerous and far less vociferous and importunate. We were received with presented arms by the troops of the palace drawn up within the barbican, and proceeded, still on our elephants, through the noblest gateway and vestibule which I ever saw. It consists, not merely of a splendid gothic arch in the center of the great gate-tower, – but, after that, of a long vaulted aisle, like that of a gothic cathedral, with a small, open octagonal court in its center, all of granite, and all finely carved with inscriptions from the Koran, and with flowers. This ended in a ruinous and exceedingly dirty stable-yard! where we were received by Captain Grant, as the Mogul's officer on guard, and by a number of elderly men with large gold-headed canes, the usual ensign of office here, and one of which Mr. Elliot also carried. We were now told to dismount and proceed on foot, a task which the late rain made inconvenient to my gown and cassock, and thin shoes, and during which we were pestered by a fresh swarm of miserable beggars, the wives and children of the stable servants. After this we passed another richly-carved, but ruinous and dirty gateway, where our guides, withdrawing a canvas screen, called out, in a sort of harsh chaunt, "Lo, the ornament of the world! Lo, the asylum of the nations! King of Kings! The Emperor Acbar Shah! Just, fortunate, victorious!" We saw, in fact, a very handsome and striking court, about as big as that All Souls, with low, but richly-ornamented buildings.

Opposite to us was a beautiful open pavilion of white marble, richly carved, flanked by rose bushes and fountains, and some tapestry and striped curtains hanging in festoons about it, within which was a crowd of people, and the poor old descendant of Tamer-lane seated in the midst of them. Mr. Elliott here bowed three times very low, in which we followed his example. This ceremony was repeated twice as we advanced up the steps of the pavilion, the heralds each time repeating the same expressions about their master's greatness. We then stood in a row on the right-hand side of the throne, which is a sort of marble bedstead richly ornamented with gilding, and raised on two or three steps. Mr. Elliott then stepped forwards, and, with joined hands in the usual eastern way, announced, in a low voice, to the emperor, who I was. I then advanced, bowed three times again, and offered a nuzzur of fifty-one gold mohurs in an embroidered purse, laid on my handkerchief, in the way practiced by the Baboos in Calcutta. This was received and laid on one side, and I remained standing for a few minutes, while the usual court questions about my health, my travells, when I left Calcutta, &c. were asked. I had thus an opportunity of seeing the old gentleman more plainly. He has a pale, thin, but handsome face, with an aquiline nose and a long white beard. His complexion is little if at all darker than that of an European. His hands are very fair and delicate, and he had some valuable-looking rings on them. His hands and face were all I saw of him, for the morning, being cold, he was so wrapped up in shawls, that he reminded me extremely of the Druid's head on a Welch halfpenny. I then stepped back to my former place, and returned again with five more mohurs to make my offerings to the heir apparent, who stood at his father's left hand, the right being occupied by the Resident. Next, my two companions were introduced with nearly the same forms, except that their offerings were less, and that the Emperor did not speak to them.

The Emperor then beckoned to me to come forwards, and Mr. Elliott told me to take off my hat, which had till now remained on my head, on which the Emperor tied a flimsy turban of brocade round my head with his own hands, for which, however, I paid four gold mohurs more. We were then directed to retire to receive the "Khelats" (honorary dresses) which the bounty of "the Asylum of the World" had provided for us. I was accordingly taken into a small private room, adjoining the Zennanah, where I found a handsome flowered caftan edged with fur, and pair of common-

looking shawls, which my servants, who had the delight of witnessing all this fine show, put on instead of my gown, my cassock remaining as before. In this strange dress I had to walk back again, having my name announced by the criers (something in the same way that Lord Marmion's was) as "Bahadur Boozoony, Dowlut-mund," &c. to the presence, where I found my two companions who had not been honoured by a private dressing room, but had their Khelats put on them in the gateway of the court. They were, I apprehend, still queerer figures than I was, having their hats wrapped with scarfs of flowered gauze, and a strange garment of gauze, tinsel, and faded ribbands flung over their shoulders above their coats. I now again came forward and offered my third present to the Emperor, being a copy of the Arabic Bible and the Hindoostanee Common prayer, handsomely bound in blue velvet laced with gold, and wrapped up in a piece of brocade. He then motioned to me to stoop, and put a string of pearls round my neck, and two glittering but not costly ornaments in the front of my turban, for which I again offered five gold mohurs. It was, lastly, announced that a horse was waiting for my acceptance, at which fresh instance of imperial munificence the heralds again made a proclamation of largesse, and I again paid five gold mohurs. It ended by my taking my leave with three time salams, making up, I thing the sum of about threescore, and I retired with Mr. Elliott to my dressing-room, whence I sent to her Majesty the *Queen*, as she is generally called, though Empress would be the ancient and more proper title, a present of five mohurs more, and the Emperor's chobdars came eagerly up to know when they should attend to receive their bukshish. It must not, however, be supposed that this interchange of civilities was very expensive either to his Majesty or to me. All the presents which he gave, the horse included, though really the handsomest which had been seen at the court of Delhi for many years, and though the old gentleman evidently intended to be extremely civil, were not, worth much more than 300 s. rupees, so that he and his family gained at least 800 s. rupees by the morning's work, besides what he received from my two companions, which was all clear gain, since the Khelats which they got in return were only fit for May-day, and made up, I fancy, from the cast-off finery of the Begum. On the other hand, since the Company have wisely ordered that all the presents given by native Princes to Europeans should be disposed of on the Government account, they have liberally, at the same

time, taken on themselves the expense of paying the usual money nuzzurs made by public men on these occasions. In consequence none of my offerings were at my own charge, except the professional and private one of the two books, with which, as they were unexpected, the Emperor, as I was told, was very much pleased.

I had, of course, several bukshishes to give afterwards to his servants, but these fell considerably short of my expenses at Lucknow. To return to the hall of audience. While in the small apartment, where I got rid of my shining garments, I was struck with its beautiful ornaments. It was entirely lined with white marble, inlaid with flowers and leaves of green serpentine, lapis lazuli, and blue and red porphyry; the flowers were of the best Italian style of workmanship, and evidently the labour of an artist of that country. All, however, was dirty, desolate, and forlorn. Half the flowers and leaves had been picked out or otherwise defaced, and the doors and windows were in a state of dilapidation, while a quantity of old furniture was piled in one corner, and a torn hanging of faded tapestry hung over an archway which led to the interior apartments…

The Emperor

Achbar Shah has the appearance of a man of seventy-four or seventy-five; he is, however, not much turned of sixty-three, but, in this country, that is a great age. He is said to be a very good-tempered, mild, old man, of moderate talents, but polished and pleasing manners. His favourite wife, the Begum, is a low-born, low-bred, and violent woman, who rules him completely, lays hold on all his money, and has often influenced him to very unwise conduct towards his children, and the British Government. She hates her eldest son, who is, however, a respectable man, of more talents than native princes usually shew, and happily for himself, has a predilection for those literary pursuits which are almost the only laudable or innocent objects of ambition in his power. He is fond of poetry, and is himself a very tolerable Persian poet. He has taken some pains in the education of his children, and, what in this country is very unusual, even of his daughters. He too, however, though not more than thirty-five, is prematurely old, arising partly from the early excesses into which the wretched follies of an Eastern court usually plunge persons in his situation, – and partly from his own subsequent indulgence in strong liquors. His face is bloated and pimpled, his eyes weak, and his hand tremulous. Yet, for an Eastern prince,

as I have already observed, his character is good, and his abilities considered as above the common run.

3. Bahadur Shah II, Captain Leopold von Orlic[562]

The present king (whose title is Abul Mozuffer Sarajuddyn Mahomed Bahadur Shah Badsha-i-Ghazie) is the mere shadow of a prince, and has lost the affection of his people by his dissolute life and his quarrelsome temper; he is not on good terms with his family, and is constantly at variance with his ministers…

To the great regret of his family, the King, who is in his sixty-ninth year, contracted a new marriage a few months ago, and lately had much correspondence with Scindia, as he is very anxious that he should send him a physician who, as his Majesty expresses it, possesses the invaluable art of exciting an appetite, who may enable a person to consume twenty pounds of provisions in a day! It was still uncertain whether the Rajah of Gwalior will spare this wonderful man for any time…

4. The Nawab of Awadh

January 1st 1838. Gifts by Heir-apparent, Fanny Ede[563]

Oude is the greatest independent kingdom next to Runjeet Singh's, and certainly in their own way the natives are magnificent people – their magnificence running entirely to shew and precious stones. Besides fifteen trays of shawls to each of us, pearl and emerald necklaces and diamond combs, there were two sets of ear-rings, each ear-ring made of a single diamond with a single emerald drop that were too beautiful, and the presents to George were of course still more splendid. Most of them will probably be given to Runjeet Singh when we meet him. The rest of them will be sold – when I can spend a few thousand pounds for you very advantageously.…

We had another breakfast at the Palace which is a very *Arabian Nights* looking building – the throne is worth £250,000 – all the pillars supporting it studded with rubies and the fringes round the canopy pearls and emeralds…

In the evening we had to go to the Palace again to see some fireworks. Nobody but ourselves, Macnaghten who came over to act ambassador, Col. Lowe at whose house we were staying, the Orange baby, the Oude family (for 'Oude and we are very familiar') and about eighteen brothers of them

and sons in proportion, all remarkably happy in the shape of their turbans. There was written up in letters of fire 'God save Lord Auckland Governor-General of India', 'God save the King of Oude and Col. John Lowe resident of Lucknow'. I was particularly taken by the sublimity of that…But it was altogether a striking looking scene, the banks of the river were illuminated, the fire works were let off from the water and boats full of nautch girls and jugglers in their splendid dresses were lighted up in front.

We went next day to see some of the King's garden palaces. One is beautiful, of inlaid marble, fountains playing in all the rooms and the garden full of flowers – orange trees covered with ripe oranges and parroquets flying about in flocks. The ladies' apartments are always melancholy-looking – built up by high walls…The city is full of beautiful mosques and buildings. One of the palaces we saw had just been pulled down and rebuilt because one of the last King's three hundred wives had died there – another had poisoned herself finding he had grown tired of her. He was only 35 years old when he died this year and seems to have been quite mad from folly.

Having the power of life and death over his subjects it happily did not take the turn of extreme cruelty. He only now and then put them in prison without any reason and took their property to help on one of his own whims. His chief amusement was dressing, and I saw an excellent sketch, not of him but of his train, done by a native. He heard that our Kings wore long trains at their coronations and so he had one made for himself, so long it extended through two or three rooms. There is a sketch he had done of the finest room in his palace with a long file of servants passing through it bearing part of his train, neither the end of it nor he himself appearing. When the Bishop was there he took a great fancy to his dress and suggested that he should make one like it. Think of the Bishop's horror. The English hair dresser he had taken into his service was in despair because at the King's death he was left in possession of eighteen wigs of different colours which the King had ordered for his own wear at one hundred guineas each.

There is one palace called the egg palace which looks at a distance exactly like a great white egg – he had it built because he wanted something peculiar. I did that from a native sketch of him in one of his carriages.

C. MUSLIM WOMEN

1. A visit to the Royal Zenana at Bhuj, Anne Katherine Elwoo[564]

[I will give you] a description of a Jahrejah's [a community who observed elements of both Hindu and Muslim faiths] Zenana at Bhooj, to which, by express invitation, I paid visit on the third of January 1826.

We were received on our arrival at the gates of the palace by Ruten Sie, who attended C. [her husband] and his staff (he then being in command of the cantonment) to the Rao's Durbar; whilst the ladies of the party were handed over to the women's attendants, by whom we were escorted through several courts, till we reached a flight of steps which led to an apartment, at the door of which, surrounded by her attendants, stood the Rannee, the wife of the ex, and the mother of the present Rao. She received us most courteously, and with as much grace as an English princess could have done. She was a pretty woman, with soft languishing eyes, very white teeth, and an agreeable and expressive countenance. Her costume was a handsome sarree, much worked with gold, and her arms, ankles, and throat were loaded with gorgeous bangles and necklaces of pure gold; a number of handsome pearls were in her hair, and massy rings in her nose and ears, but her ornaments were rather heavy than elegant, and more valuable than brilliant. After mutually exchanging salaams, she took her seat in a low silver armchair, supported by cushions, whilst common chairs were placed for us, and the attendants, dressed in the heavy red sarree of the country, sat down on the ground, gazed at us with insatiate curiosity, and talked an immense deal, but respectfully.

The Zenana, of which so much has been said, and of which Burke, I think, gives so flowery and poetical a description, was a small dark apartment, with unglazed windows closed by wooden shutters. Its furniture consisted of a four-poster bed and a small couch – a very handsome carpet – the Rannee's silver chair – another of a similar description, probably for her lord and master, – and with our seats, the inventory is completed.

The manners of the Rannee were dignified, yet extremely soft, gracious, highly pleasing, and very superior to those of her attendants. Though from etiquette never allowed to leave her Zenana, yet she appeared quite *au fait* at all the gossip, and even scandal of the English camp, and seemed intimately acquainted with the particulars of a matrimonial *fracas* which had taken place there some time before. She put a number of questions to

us, and after we had satisfied her curiosity, on our asking her whether she had any family, she told us she had one son (the young Rao), and, poor thing, it was with a melancholy sigh that she added, and 'two daughters, both dead.' Probably they had 'had milk given them,' the barbarous custom of the Jahrejah tribe.

As I was not sufficient Hindoostanee scholar at this time to carry on the conversation fluently myself, my Ayah assisted as interpreter, and with all my respect for Majesty, it was with difficulty I kept my countenance, when, after hesitating a little at the English term for Rannee, she interpreted the dignity into 'Mrs. King'. On our receiving the summons from the gentlemen, 'Mrs. King' seemed duly impressed with the necessity of obeying the behests of a husband, and after presenting us with betel-nut wrapt up in a leaf, termed paung, inundating us with rose water, and pouring sandal-wood oil over us, we made our salaams and retired, she requesting us to repeat our visit *at least*, once a fortnight, and I flatter myself, that in the sameness and tedium of a Zenana life, we must indeed have been considerable amusement, and have afforded the fair inhabitants topics for conversation for a long time afterwards.

'Mrs. King', or the Rannee of Cutch, is said to be very much attached to her husband, and the ex-Rao Bharmuljee, notwithstanding he has three or four other wives; and she has even built a tomb to some relation whom he murdered, in expiation of the offence. She is very fond of narrating the particulars of his deposition to all those who will give her a patient hearing, which she considers as very hard and unjust, and, very naturally and properly, does all she can to procure him friends. She was, at this time, very anxious that her son should marry; for, to the disgrace of the family, he was ten years old, and had no wife! a circumstance which had never occurred to any of his predecessors before! and unfortunately, on account of the expenses, there seemed to be some difficulty in procuring him one.

2. Begum Samru, Victor Jacquemon[565]

I seem to have forgotten last year to tell you about my visit to the Begum (the Persian for princess) Sumru at Sirdhana near Meerut. Know, then, that Colonel Arnold took me to see her one Sunday morning in December while I was with him at Meerut. I had breakfast and dinner with the old witch and even kissed her hand gallantly. At dinner I had the honour of clinking

glasses with her like a regular John Bull. On returning to Meerut on the following day I received an invitation to dine with her on Christian Day. She is an old hussy quite a hundred years old, bent double and as shriveled as a dried raisin, a sort of walking mummy who still conducted all her own business, listening to two or three secretaries at a time, while dictating to three more. Not four years ago she had some of her wretched ministers and courtiers who had fallen into disgrace blown from the mouth of her cannon; they were simply fired off like bullets. This is a story (a true one) that at the age of sixty or eighty she had a young slave-girl of whom she was jealous buried alive, and held a nautch (ball) for her husband upon this horrible grave. Her two European husbands both died violent deaths. For the rest, she was as brave as she was cruel. Some Italian monks got hold of her and made her mortally scared of the devil. She built a fine Catholic church at Sirdhana, and has recently written to the Government requesting that, on her death, part of her domain may be permanently made over to her church to provide for its upkeep. She has written to the Pope asking for a bishop of Sirdhana; yet she is not in her dotage.

Out of her revenue of sixteen lakhs (four million) she buries eight every year in her gardens, though she could give them to anybody she likes and on her death they will become the property of the English Government.

3. Father Severin Noti, the German Jesuit, on the principality of Sardhana, ruled by Begum Samr[566]

The fiefs under Moghul rule showed a certain resemblance to the feudal states of the Germanic tribes after the migration of nations, and played an important role when the central power of the Moghul Empire was beginning to shrink and needed the support of military forces. At that time the holder of a jaghir would gradually assume all sovereign rights inside the region and come to regard it as a hereditary fief. The same applied to Sumru's jaghir; because we know for certain that his widow exercised full jurisdiction, even over life and death. The holder of a jaghir was called jaghirdar, a name which may be considered the equivalent of "feudal baron". Thus, Sumru rose as high as being a baron. In actual fact, however, he rose even higher, for his jaghir quickly became known as the Principality of Sardhana, and his widow was always honoured with the title "Begum" by the English. Sumru a prince! All due honour to the energetic craftsman

from Strassburg! Whatever his character may have been – and it was often slandered or at any rate misjudged – his compatriots will not grudge him their admiration for his genius.

Sumru's fief, known as the Principality of Sardhana until the year 1836, was situated in what was called Doab, and stretched eastward from the Jumna nearly as far as the Ganges, from Muzaffarnagar in the North to the vicinity of Aligarh in the South. The annual revenue of the Principality amounted to 6 lakh rupees, 1,200,000 marks at the then rate of exchange.…

Sumru was in his 58th year and fully engaged in the duties of his office as Governor of Agra, when the Angel of Death recalled him from the scene of his earthly career on May 4th, 1778. His body was buried in the Catholic cemetery called Padritola or Padre Santo. Above his grave rises the beautiful mausoleum built to his memory by his mourning wife…

Sumru's only, but illegitimate, son was only fourteen years old – a retarded child – and already showing a strong inclination to vice. So he was plainly incapable of succeeding his father to the fief or to the brigade command. Therefore, the officers of the orphaned corps unanimously decided to request the Emperor to recognize the widow as successor. Yet Shah Allum, mindful of the services rendered by Sumru, wished to honour the deceased in his son; hence, he not only let the fief run on in the name of the youth but also granted him the honorary title of Nawab, so that the young Sumru appears in the later official records as Nawab, or Nawab Zaffar Khan. On the other hand, the mannish character of the dead man's widow was not unknown to the Shah; so he did not hesitate to comply with the officer's request to confirm the "Princess" as supreme brigade commander, as well as *de facto* holder of the fief as Begum Sumru. In this way, India – not without amazement – saw the ancient legend of the fighting Amazons come true. For more than half a century, this modern Penthesilea stood at the head of a small army. Not only was she a general but as Begum she also reigned over a small nation for no less than 58 years; she maintained a glittering court with an extensive civil and military administration and proved everywhere – though to a slightly lesser degree – the equal of her great contemporary, the Empress Catherine of Russia.

4. The wife of Nawab of Junagarh, a 'Woman of business,' Marianne Postan[567]

Emerging from the verandah into the open court-yard, a slave conducted me up a flight of steps, into a room, fitted up to resemble a tent, and from thence into the apartments appropriated to the harem. The first, was a spacious hall, surrounded with lights but otherwise unfurnished, and from this, I was ushered upon a spacious terrace prepared for my reception. The floor was covered with fine scarlet cloth, and the low parapet was hung with Persian carpets. Chairs were ranged along the center, and slaves bearing torches stood upon the edge of the carpet. The wives of his Highness [the Nawab of Junagarh] advanced to meet me, magnificently dressed, and blazing with innumerable jewels. Seating me upon the center chair, they drew the others round, and began to chat on various subjects, with great good nature, and much courteousness of manner. The principal wife, the Rahit Buckte, was good looking, and about four-and-twenty years of age; her manner was lively, her conversation unusually intelligent, and her round fat face irradiated with the good humour. The second lady, the Dosie Beebee, had the airs of a coquettish and spoilt beauty, her dark languishing eyes rendered still more attractive by a very judicious application of the radiance-giving Soormay, and her henna tinted, and delicate little feet, appearing to sustain with difficulty, the weight of her pearl-embroidered slippers. The Ameer Buckte was a staid person, richly dressed, but without any personal attractions, and the Beebee Bhoe, was absolutely frightful.

The ladies were attired in a similar costume, of Kincaub trowsers, tight at the ankle, a full, richly embroidered satin petticoat, with a little cholah or bodice, and a saree of coloured gauze, embroidered with gold flowers. Their glossy hair, simply braided across the forehead, was adorned with strings of fine pearl; about a dozen costly necklaces hung over the cholahs of each, and the ear-rings, toe-rings, nose-rings, bracelets, and anklets, were innumerable.

The Beebees had not, on my previous occasion, met a European lady, and they perplexed me with questions upon our manners and habits of passing time. They expressed particular interest about our fancy works, of which Mohammedan ladies are great admirers. The Rahit Buckte desired her slave girls to bring some cholahs of her own embroidering, which displayed great ingenuity, neatness and taste. After chatting for some time, I suggested the necessity of a return to my party, who I concluded were weary of the

Nuwaub's method of shewing them attention. On this hint, pan suparree appeared, upon superbly chased silver trays, covered with crimson and purple velvet napkins, embroidered with gold, and edged with a deep gold fringe.

The usual quantity of dry suparree nut, pan leaves, and spice, having been deposited on my lap, and my luckless apparel deluged with sandal oil and rose water, each of the ladies threw a wreath of Mogree flowers on my neck, and pressed me to visit them on the following day, proposing to accompany me to the Nuwaub's favourite garden, at the foot of the Girnar.

Anxious of course to cultivate the acquaintance of my gentle friends, I readily acquiesced, and descending to join my party in Durbar, we all returned, gratified, and fatigued to the Serai.

The following morning at eleven, Sheik Mahmoud, the favourite Chelah [attendant] of his Highness, summoned me to the harem, and was accompanied by an attendant, laden with fine mangoes, as an offering from the Nuwaub. On entering the palace, I did not as before visit the public reception rooms, but was received by the Rahit Buckte at the door of her own apartments. Her attire was little splendid than that worn in the evening, for the ladies of the east, only happy in being well attired, have not any nice distinctions between the fitness of particular toilettes; the ease, and simply beauty of a morning deshabille, which distinguishes our English taste, is unappreciated; and a mid-day sun, whose beams pierce the jalousies of an eastern harem, blazes on glittering jewels, which with us, are considered fit only for the glare of festal lamps.

Surrounded by slave girls, all chatting merrily together, and some with their infants in their arms, we proceeded through a suite of several apartments to the Beebee's sitting room. There was an air of privacy and quietness, about this little Mohammedan boudoir, particularly inviting; and while its arrangement promised an unusual degree of comfort, a free circulation of air was insured by its height. Numerous windows of wrought stone work which surround it, afforded the fair inmate a charming view of the sacred mount, and the fine minarets of the neighbouring musjids, towering above the majestic trees which skirt the town...

As the Beebee's Mehtah or steward was present, a fine grey-beared intelligent looking man, I ventured to enquire what were her pecuniary

resources, as I felt a little anxious on the matter of Mohammedan husbands' generosity, and the weighty affair of pin money.

The Rahit Buckte most unreservedly explained, that on her marriage, the Nuwaub had bestowed on her a gras or estate, consisting of eight villages, which she farms on her own account. The chief produce consisted of mangoes, but the value of the villages varied; the whole seemed to average, about three hundred rupees, or thirty pounds, a month.

The Rahit Buckte proved herself during our conversation, to be a good woman of business, quite *au fait* on the subject of grain, plough, mangoe trees, et cetera, from which her revenue is derived; large ledgers, written in the Guzzeratee character, were produced, and particular pages readily referred to, in explanation of the subject. Her estate, the Beebee told me, was situated between Junagarh and the sea, where the country, from its natural fertility, was called the Neil Nagir, or land of the blue waters. The Rahit Buckte is considered a miracle of learning by the inhabitants of the harem; she reads and writes Persian, Guzzeratee, and Hindostanee, which she acquired from her father's priest or peer, when a little girl. The Nuwaub had married her as a widow, which is a very unusual circumstance in Mohammedan families.

Fully aware of the strict system of seclusion which forms the etiquette of the harem, I was surprised to find her Mehtah admitted to her presence; but she said, with the Nuwaub's family it was usual to receive personal attendants of either sex, but that the servitors of one Beebee, were excluded form the apartments of the rest, if of the forbidden sex.…

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Graham, *Letters*, pp., 5-7

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Kaul pp., 437

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Moorcroft, vol. 1, pp., 150-151

[←7]
Dyson, p., 218

[←8]
Roberts, 1972, pp., 18-22

[←9]
Ibid., 33-36

[←10]
Heber, vol. II, pp., 152-153

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Ibid., vol. II, pp., 158-159

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Ibid., vol. III, pp., 107-108

[←13]
Ghose, pp., 44-45

[←14]
Captain Leopold von Orlich, vol. I, pp., 106-107

[←15]
Nair 1984, pp., 30-31

[←16]
Burnell, pp., 49-50

[←17]
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[←18]
Ibid., pp., 107-108

[←19]
Moorcroft, vol. II, pp., 145-152

[←20]
Heber, vol. III, pp., 67-68

[←21]
Parkes, p., 44

[←22]
Honoria Lawrence, p., 56

[←23]
Ibid., p., 58

[←24]
Ibid., p., 65

[←25]
Orme, pp., 298-299

[←26]
Dyson, p., 234

[←27]
Nair 1984, pp., 132- 133

[←28]
Ibid., pp., 139-141

[←29]
De Grandpre, Vol. II, pp., 119-121

[←30]
Heber, vol. III, p., 124

[←31]
Ibid., pp., 9-10

[←32]
Griffith, p., 7

[←33]
J. Talboys Wheeler, p., 199

[←34]
Nair 1984, pp., 106-107

[←35]
Ibid., p., 95

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Ibid., pp., 161

[←37]
Moorcroft, vol. 1 pp., 19-20

[←38]
Heber, vol. II, pp., 141-142

[←39]
Ibid., pp., 149-150

[←40]
Ibid., pp., 276-277

[←41]

J. Talboys Wheeler, p., 130

[←42]
Moorcroft, vol. 1, pp., 7-9

[←43]
Ibid., pp., 159-162

[←44]
Twining, pp., 127-128

[←45]
Vigne, vol. I, pp., 100-101

[←46]
Heber, vol. III, p., 50

[←47]
Leifer, p., 36

[←48]
Ibid., pp., 40 -41

[←49]
Orme, pp., 299-300

[←50]
Ibid., pp., 296-297

[←51]
Ibid., pp., 276-277

[←52]
Vincent, pp., 127-128

[←53]
Nair 1984, p., 133

[←54]
Marshall, p., 47

[←55]
Dow, vol. III, pp., xxxv-xxxvi

[←56]
Dharampal (b), p., 252

[←57]
Hodges, pp., 3-4; 33-34

[←58]
Orme, p., 297

[←59]
Wendel, pp., 28-29

[←60]
Ibid., pp., 29-30

[←61]
Willson, pp., 25-31

[←62]
Forster, vol. I, pp., 60-61; 65-66

[←63]
Ibid., pp., 65-66

[←64]
Dyson, p., 132

[←65]
Marshall, pp., 259-261

[←66]
Robertson, p., 197

[←67]
Grant, p., 41

[←68]
Craufurd, vol. II, pp., 39; 83

[←69]
S.P. Carey, p., 190

[←70]
Arbuthnot, vol. I, pp., 127-128

[←71]
Ibid., vol., II, p., 3

[←72]
Dyson p., 157

[←73]
Graham, *Letters,* pp., 85-88

[←74]
Ibid., p., 322

[←75]
Dyson, p., 65

[←76]
Ibid., pp., 46-47

[←77]
Heber, vol., II, p., 427

[←78]
Sleeman, pp., 345-46

[←79]
Ibid., pp., 392-393

[←80]
Ghose, pp., 128-129

[←81]
Dyson, p., 66

[←82]
Orme, pp., 297-298

[←83]
Willson, p., 29

[←84]
Orme, p., 306

[←85]
Forster, vol. II, pp., 22-24

[←86]
Moorcroft, vol. II, p., 131

[←87]
Heber vol., III, pp., 27-28

[←88]
Parkes, pp., 244-245

[←89]
Griffith, pp., 13-14

[←90]
Lawrence, p., 52

[←91]
Ibid., pp., 90-91

[←92]
Orme, p., 303

[←93]
Ibid., pp., 304-306

[←94]
Nair 1984, p., 135

[←95]

Moorcroft, vol., II, pp., 132; 136-137

[←96]
Heber vol., II, p., 231

[←97]
Osborne, p., 167

[←98]
Lawrence, pp., 76-77

[←99]
Griffith, p., 13

[←100]
Lawrence, pp., 75-76

[←101]
Ibid., p., 209

[←102]
Heber, vol., III, p., 110

[←103]
Parkes, pp., 17-18

[←104]
Nair 1984, p., 108

[←105]
Forster, vol., I, pp., 85-87

[←106]
Heber, vol., II, pp., 26-27

[←107]
Hodges, pp., 94-95; 106-111

[←108]
Eden, pp., 98; 105-106; 106-108; 109

[←109]
Nair 1984, p., 96

[←110]
Orme, p., 260

[←111]
Kaul, pp., 182-184

[←112]
Abbe Dubois 1968, pp., 80-97

[←113]
Nair 1984, pp., 148-151

[←114]
Wendel, p., 8

[←115]
Ibid., pp., 100-101

[←116]
Von Orlich, vol. II, pp., 70-71

[←117]
Mundy, pp., 206-207

[←118]
Vincent, p., 124

[←119]
Dow, Vol. II, p., 389

[←120]
Ibid., vol. III, pp., xxxvi-xxxvii

[←121]
Vincent, p., 80

[←122]
Craufurd, vol. II, pp., 298-299; 307

[←123]
Heber, vol. III, pp., 109-110; 122

[←124]
Madra and Singh, pp., 81-82

[←125]
Ibid., pp., 230-231

[←126]
Elphinstone, 1815, pp. 75-6

[←127]
Masson, vol. I, pp., 433-435

[←128]
Forster, vol. I, pp., 331-333; 338-339

[←129]
Grey, p., 18-19

[←130]
Ibid., p., 32

[←131]

Ibid., p., 32

[←132]
Osborne, pp., 142-147

[←133]
Madra and Singh, p., 163

[←134]
Ibid., pp., 237-238

[←135]
Ibid., pp., 295-296

[←136]
Forster, vol. II, p., 24

[←137]
Ibid., pp., 28-30

[←138]
Moorcroft, vol. II, pp., 128-129

[←139]
Forster, vol. I, pp., 354-356

[←140]
Heber, vol. II, pp., 216-217

[←141]
Mundy, pp., 103-104

[←142]
Fanny Eden, p., 150

[←143]
Griffith, pp., 6-7

[←144]
Heber, vol. II, p., 210

[←145]
Kaul, pp., 104-106

[←146]
Twining, pp., 124-125

[←147]
Lawrence, pp., 45-46

[←148]
Heber, vol. II, pp., 4-5

[←149]
Ibid., vol. III, p., 23

[←150]
Ibid., pp., 25-27

[←151]

Ibid., pp., 61 -62

[←152]
Burnes, pp., 83-84; 87-88

[←153]
Masson, vol. I, pp., 378-379

[←154]
Burton, pp., 309-310

[←155]
Ibid., pp., 338-341

[←156]
Von Orlich, vol. I, pp., 91-96

[←157]
Masson, vol. I, pp., 219-229

[←158]
Ghose, pp., 55-56

[←159]
Burnell, pp., 108-109

[←160]
Nair 1984, pp., 98-99

[←161]
De Grandpre, vol. II, pp., 62-65

[←162]

[←163]
Sykes pp., 93-94

[←164]
Wendel, pp., 111-112

[←165]
Broughton, pp., 69-71

[←166]
Masson, vol. I, p., 47

[←167]
Hugel, pp., 310-311

[←168]
Ghose, pp., 57-59

[←169]
Sleeman, pp., 426-427

[←170]
Broughton, pp., 35-36

[←171]
Ibid., pp., 36-37

[←172]
Hugel, pp., 338-339

[←173]
Broughton, pp., 189-195

[←174]
Moorcroft, vol. 1, pp., 17-19

[←175]
Ibid., p., 165

[←176]
Ibid., pp., 175-176

[←177]
Parkes, pp., 67-68

[←178]
Jacquemont, p., 263

[←179]
Ghose, p., 57

[←180]
Ibid., pp, 59-60

[←181]
Parkes, pp., 135-140

[←182]
Ibid., p., 271

[←183]
Davidson, vol. I, pp., 87-101

[←184]
Fay, pp., 126-127

[←185]
Broughton, pp., 44-45

[←186]
Heber, vol. II, pp., 333-334

[←187]
Parkes, pp., 141-142

[←188]
Kaul, pp., 342-343

[←189]
Ibid., pp., 132-134

[←190]
Orme, pp., 261-262

[←191]

Ibid., pp., 259-260

[←192]
De Grandpre, vol. II, pp., 50-53

[←193]
Moorcroft, vol. 1, pp., 20-21

[←194]

Ibid., pp., 57-58

[←195]
Ibid., vol. II, pp., 132-135

[←196]
Ibid., pp., 146-148

[←197]
Twining, p., 126

[←198]
Griffith, pp., 14-15

[←199]

Von Orlich, vol. II, pp., 122-123

[←200]
Ibid., pp., 123

[←201]
Twining, p., 93

[←202]

Dharampal 1983 (a), pp., 257

[←203]
Francis Buchanan, vol. I, pp., 3-4

[←204]
Madra and Singh, pp., 231-232

[←205]
Moorcroft vol. 1 pp., 48-49

[←206]
Ibid., vol. II, p., 155-157

[←207]

Ibid., vol. 1, p., 7

[←208]

Heber, vol. II, p., 241-242

[←209]
Von Orlich, vol. I pp., 121-122

[←210]
Orme, p., 262-265

[←211]
De Grandpre, vol. II, pp., 54-55

[←212]
Moorcroft, vol. II, pp., 164-184

[←213]

Ibid., vol. 1, pp., 110-113

[←214]

Ibid., vol. II, p., 195

[←215]
Ibid., p., 213

[←216]
Ibid., pp., 214-217

[←217]
Vincent, p., 70

[←218]

Ibid., p., 128

[←219]
Willson, pp., 29-30

[←220]

De Grandpre, vol. I, pp., 163-167

[←221]

Ibid., pp., 168-169

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[←448]
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[←451]
Deane, p., 190

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[←458]
Father Wendel, pp., 130-131; 134

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Parkes, pp., 243- 245

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Osborne, pp., 95-97

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Ghose, pp., 146-149

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Mundy, pp., 62-66

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[←561]
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[←563]
Fanny Eden, pp., 102-104

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Leifer, pp., 71-73

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Ghose, pp., 150-154